

Rubrics, Images and Indulgences in Late Medieval Netherlandish Manuscripts

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Rubrics, Images and Indulgences in Late Medieval Netherlandish Manuscripts

By

Kathryn M. Rudy



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Cover illustration: Opening of a manuscript prayer book, with a full-page miniature depicting a monk's prayers releasing a soul from Purgatory, and a rubric and prayer for releasing a soul, made c. 1475–1500 in South Holland. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms BPH 145, fols 167v–168r.

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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

This book is dedicated to Paul Wackers



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Preface

This book was conceived through the marriage of curiosity and a bit of free time, as most projects probably are. I was living in Belgium and had finished my dissertation a year ahead of schedule and decided to spend the rest of my time learning Middle Dutch and reading the medieval vernacular manuscripts in the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels. In the process of doing that, certain texts caught my eye—those written in red—and I was intrigued because these red texts sometimes mentioned images. The first one I noticed was a prayer to the Virgin's body parts, which was to be read in front of her image. Other red texts mentioned that the reader would earn an indulgence for reading the accompanying prayer. These red texts seemed to me to open onto a universe of the anthropology of the image: how did their original users behave in front of images? What did they expect from their devotions in terms of purgatorial remissions and rewards? What was the text's role in conditioning the use of the image, or even its production?

This book is an attempt to answer these questions, at least as concerns the Dutch-speaking Low Countries in the century before the Protestant Reformation. That event is the natural terminus to a study that is essentially about the relationship between images and indulgences, as the Reformation eradicated indulgences in much of the Northern Netherlands.

Reading these Middle Dutch prayer books made the received story of the origins of the Reformation suddenly seem anaemic and wrong-headed. That story—the high-school textbook version—always starred Martin Luther as the protagonist who marched up the stairs of Wittenberg Cathedral to nail up his theses, a form of graffiti that is at once violent and polite.¹ The source of the anger that motivated such an act was his disgust that the Church was selling indulgences. The textbook version might at this point refer to Chaucer's Pardoner, a licentious and

greedy buffoon, who offered to assuage his fellow Christians' post-mortem fears for a small fee. I for one came away with an image of pre-Reformation Christians scraping together their hard-won pennies to give them to an unctuous Papal salesman, something akin to the craze for buying real estate on the moon in the years following the first lunar landing. However, the story that the documents tell—that is, the documents I went round Europe reading for a decade—offer a different view of the lived reality of indulgences. Yes, pre-Reformation Christians felt a keen anxiety about the horrors of damnation and struggled to remain Hell-free. But their methods of obviating the reaper—at least those to which their prayer books attest—have more to do with praying their way out of a hole than spending their way out of one. That is the story I would like to tell.

This study is about the performance of prayer as recorded in Middle Dutch manuscript prayerbooks. The quantity and variety of this Middle Dutch material illuminates the extraordinary richness of individualized devotional practice and, ultimately, of religious ferment that led to the Reformation.² In this study the 'performance of prayer' shall mean the practice of individual piety, as opposed to liturgical ritual. By constructing a pleading monologue with God, Jesus, Mary, or a saint, individual piety helped to build protection for the votary's afterlife through correctly uttered words, in the presence of appropriate images, performed with sufficient gravitas.³ Prayer

1 For example, according to Heard et al., 2011, p. 18, Martin Luther was 'an Augustinian and theologian at the University of Wittenberg. Luther's objection was initially to papal "indulgences", tokens which could be purchased to lessen a penitent soul's time in Purgatory and which formed an important source of income for the medieval papacy. Luther was critical of the promise of deliverance in return for money and his concern led him to ask what was necessary for salvation. His answer, an inflammatory one, was that faith alone could bring a soul to heaven. In making this argument, he challenged the whole system of late medieval Christianity, which was based on the understanding that good works and charity were necessary to secure a place in heaven.'

2 This material has largely been ignored by scholars outside the Low Countries. The great exception is James Marrow, who has brought many previously unknown manuscripts to light and has also treated some of the accompanying devotional literature ensconced in manuscripts, especially in Marrow 1979. Paul Saenger's catalogue from the Newberry Library in Chicago contains the most extensive catalogue of Dutch manuscripts in America; see Saenger 1989. Several scholars have published rich studies about images and devotion from the same period in England, especially East Anglia, including: Sheingorn 1987; Gibson 1989; Duffy 1992; Swanson 1995; and Bartlett and Bestul 1999. Because of its geographical position, East Anglia shared many devotional habits with Northern Europe, especially the Southern Netherlands (Gibson 1989, p. 22ff); and large numbers of Southern Netherlandish prayerbooks were exported to the region, for which see Rogers 1982, 2002; Hirsh 1996.

3 Some have called prayer a dialogue (e.g., Gorissen 1973, p. 151, in his discussion of private prayer); however, the grammatical structure of prayer is rarely a dialogue but usually a monologue, written for delivery by the votary him- or herself. Prayers also commonly appear in the language of entreaty and persuasion. Some texts are written as dialogues, famously Gregory's *Dialogues*, which provide

books lay out rules for enactment, largely written as rubrics, which implicate devotional images in myriad ways. It is my contention that prescriptions in prayer books reveal aspects of the function and reception of devotional images in the fifteenth century.

The monetary association with indulgences was troubling to Luther because it laid out a price for salvation, the thing that, perhaps beyond all others, cannot be quantified via such a simulacrum. Rubrics, although they did not form such a recognizable economy, nonetheless created different processes for achieving the same outcome; that is, they demanded something material in exchange for something immaterial (though no less urgent). The material quantity they demanded, however, was literally physical: it was an act of the body, and the corresponding movement of the mouth and the mind. In this, the rubrics required a far more involved participation than simply the exchange of money. In fact, rather than decreasing the degree of commitment involved in the indulgences, rubrics actually increase votaries' involvement and participation. The system I am describing in this book is something much more deeply integrated in people's daily processes than just a bit of money would suggest. Prayer-based indulgences were rooted in people's fears (of Hell and Purgatory), desires (for salvation, but also for a position within a contemporary religious population, including perhaps membership in an indulgence-earning brotherhood), reading habits (routinized prayer), and visual environment (including images for earning indulgences). Images, as transitions between the material world of the viewer and an immaterial world of the salvific figures they invoked, were crucial to the individual's ability to enact the prayers that were largely the currency of indulgences.

In the years since I began collecting rubrics, that is, transcribing and organizing them, several important studies have emerged whose authors recognize the importance of indulgences for understanding aspects of late medieval culture. These studies have largely expounded on the situation in England, which was similar although

not identical to that in the Netherlands. Eamon Duffy has gone some distance in demonstrating the role that indulgences played in the 'traditional religion' of England.⁴ Joachim Jacoby has written a slim article about instructions for prayer before 'images of pity', primarily English single-leaf woodcuts.⁵ Flora Lewis wrote a gem of an article about 'indulgences and the promotion of images', and one wishes she would write more.⁶ John B. Friedman has analysed indulgenced images and texts in their devotional contexts for a selection of northern English manuscripts.⁷ Robert Swanson has made indulgences the star in a thick and meaty monograph and has spearheaded the study of indulgences as a cultural factor in England.⁸ John Bossy has categorized prayer as 'social, devotional, and "me" prayers' as he shows that prayers became less social and more individualistic, especially as believers of the fifteenth century read their own vernacular prayer-books during mass rather than tuning in to the Latin Mass.⁹ Virginia Reinburg has discussed indulgences in passing in her study of French books of hours.¹⁰ Rachel Fulton, drawing upon published sources, offers an overview of late medieval votaries who counted both prayers and rewards.¹¹ She considers 'praying by numbers' a rather unfortunate and risible chapter in Catholic history. Thomas Lentes treats some of the same ideas, but without the value judgements.¹² Lentes is correct in calling prayer a form of currency that votaries could earn and spend, and I aim here to further expand upon some of his ideas with respect to Netherlandish (rather than German) culture. In a nutshell, late medieval literature in the Netherlands emphasizes vernacular literacy and the inclusiveness that follows it, whereas English devotional culture and books, including those imported from the Netherlands, more often appear in Latin, and one has the sense that literacy was more rarefied there. Netherlanders had a much more advanced culture of making and consuming books, and a broader social base of readers.

the rhetorical structure for Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogue on Miracles*, and a very few prayers are also written in that form, such as the dialogue between *Christ and the Loving Soul* (*Christus und die minnende Ziel*), for which see the edition by Williams-Krapp 1989. Grammatically, most prayers provide theatrical lines for only one speaker. In his structural analysis, Antti Alhonsaari takes up the problem of whether the human activity of prayer constitutes a monologue or dialogue; see Alhonsaari 1973. I generally agree with Virginia Reinburg's assessment that prayer, as structured by (French) books of hours, was both 'discourse and act' (Reinburg 2012, p. 139).

4 Duffy 1992.

5 Jacoby 2005.

6 Lewis 1992.

7 Friedman 1995, *passim*, esp. pp. 160–164.

8 Swanson 2007.

9 Bossy 1991. Bossy coins the term 'sanctified whingeing' (p. 148), which Eamon Duffy goes on to use (and claim as his own term). I have not adopted Bossy's categories or terms.

10 Reinburg 2012. As Peter Kidd points out in his review (Kidd 2013 in *Catholic Historical Review*), the book suffers because all the prayers and rubrics are given only in English translation without the French or Latin sources.

11 Fulton 2007.

12 Lentes 2001.

I am emboldened by others' scholarly efforts, and yet I still have something new to say on the topic. Whereas most of these authors (with the exception of Reinburg and Lentjes) have drawn evidence from printed works, I concentrate in the pages below on unpublished manuscript evidence. In fact, with this study I am answering Swanson's call to arms when he writes:

One reason for the neglect of these indulgences [i.e., those associated with specific prayers] may be their different documentary context, and the opacity of the evidence. The search moves from administrative and financial material, which permits some attempt at quantification, to prayerbooks and personal records, which resist that approach. The narrative which can be created is more dependent on penetrating personal and collective mentalities than is the case with other pardons. Devotional indulgences may also need greater awareness of contexts, to set them against evolving traditions and trends in the western church as a whole, not just in England.¹³

In my book, I tackle some of the sources that Swanson rightly deems opaque, and bring them to light. In the process I put indulgences into a context that includes individual mentalities, as well as votaries' relationships with

their visual and material cultures. What interests me is how the veritable explosion in prayer book consumption in the fifteenth-century Netherlands mediated readers' relationships with images, and how those images and texts in turn mediated readers' perceived understanding of the afterlife. With an appendix of primary source material filling nearly a third of this study, I intend to draw heavily upon manuscripts that provide a direct link to believers' psycho-devotional worlds. Thus, the appendix lurks behind all the data and facts cited in the book. It contains transcriptions of all the Middle Dutch material that appears translated throughout the study.

This book is divided into four parts. The first deals with the nuts and bolts of rubrics and indulgences and provides a backdrop to the rest of the study. Part 2 covers Christological images and prayers, including the Mass of St Gregory, the Wounds of Christ and other images of the Passion. Part 3 addresses Marian indulgences and images, with an emphasis on those surrounding the Virgin *in Sole* and its accompanying indulgence. Part 4 considers the implications of rubrics, images, and indulgences, including a new class of images that take purgatorial remission as their subjects. Rubrics, images, and indulgences form a system that increases in magnitude, complexity, and importance in the fifteenth century. This system inflects habits of mind and public and private behaviour, and exerts considerable force on the contents of books, on the images at altars (and on their status), and on the course of history itself.

13 Swanson 2007, pp. 246–247.

Acknowledgements

One of the fascinations of the late medieval Christian public was to follow the details of its purgatorial remission. Some of the roots of our twenty-first-century statistical habits to calculate just how quickly we are going to hell in a handcart—Harper's Index, grade-point averages, good and bad cholesterol ratios, the national debt clock, the magnitude of polar ice, on-line options trading, Malthusian population speculations, the calories in a banana, the available space in the Cloud—appear in the fifteenth century. There was a general interest in mathematics and numbers and tallying things up. I cannot accurately assess the numeracy of the late fifteenth-century people whose prayer books I investigate in this study, but I do know that they put great credence into the figures associated with Purgatory and indulgences, even if they were somewhat befuddled by them. Medieval believers probably had more reverence than nimbleness for numbers. One indicator is that all the indulgences in all the prayer books I studied are listed in unwieldy Roman numerals, not Arabic numerals, which are much easier to manipulate. In the Low Countries, Arabic numerals came into use among the urban mercantile classes along with the advent of credit-debit systems of banking, as they were much easier to add, subtract, multiply, and divide. But Roman numerals held sway in the general population and in the prayer books under consideration here until the Protestant Reformation changed both the discourse and the medium of that discourse.¹⁴ In a manuscript written by tertiary sisters at the convent of St Maria in Galilea in The Hague in 1522, the scribe, possibly Maritgen Heynricxdr, was fascinated by the new-fangled Arabic numerals and wrote them down in a list. Dividing her page into columns, she inscribed all the familiar Roman numerals in black opposite all the Arabic ones in red (HKB, Ms 79 K 4; fig. 1). Her system falls apart a bit in the final column but, despite a few wobbles, she makes it to 100,000.¹⁵

Here are my own statistics for this book. Thanks to the record-keeping in electronic files, I can report that I worked on this book for 165,360 minutes, from 2003

until 2011, when I had to transfer to the file to a new system that lost those data. I conducted the research for this book at 163 individual repositories of medieval manuscripts, some of them private, the great majority of them public. I took just over 550 trips to study these manuscripts. I used trams, trains, motorcycles, jets, ships, buses, cars, and boots to reach manuscripts from Los Angeles to Cracow, from Stockholm to Rome. Much of the research occurred at the Royal Library in The Hague, where I took 266,096 words of notes, and at the Royal Library in Brussels where I took 224,693 words of notes. About one per cent of the material I collected for this study made it into the final book.

To accomplish this, I owe a great debt to the Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO), who took a gamble on a foreigner writing about Dutch heritage. It supported me for three glorious years while I was a post-doctoral researcher in the Middle Dutch department at the University of Utrecht under the guidance



FIGURE 1 *Folio in a lay breviary showing Roman and Arabic numerals, side-by-side; copied by a tertiary sister in The Hague, 1522.*

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 79 K 4, PART 3, FOL. 85V.

14 Wood 2002, p. 12, points out that Arabic numerals replaced Roman ones in the twelfth century. This, however, was not true for devotional literature.

15 Her concordance of numerals is related to a longer tradition, including one for which Roman numerals are coupled with signs that resemble Hebrew characters. This system appears inscribed, for example, at the end of a thirteenth-century Bible (Edinburgh, University Library, Ms 8). See King 2001.

of Professor Paul Wackers. I collected most of the evidence for this book then. After that, during the three years that I was Curator of Illuminated Manuscripts at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, I accomplished almost nothing on this book. A regular job can be detrimental to one's creative output. I am nonetheless grateful to, and in awe of, several people from that era, Ed van der Vlist chief among them.

Having a year's research leave enabled me to finish this book in two stimulating locations, thanks to a Getty Residential Scholarship at the Getty Center in Los Angeles (in autumn 2015), and a Humfrey Wanley Visiting Fellowship at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (in spring 2016). I thank both institutions for their fine libraries and stimulating company and for the gift of unstructured time. I cordially thank James H. Marrow and Emily Rose, whose support enabled this publication to appear in full colour.

Completing this project would quickly have slipped into a form of asceticism had it not been for friends in North America, Europe and the UK who lavished hospitality upon me, including Richard Adams, Henriëtte van 't Hoog, Klaas van der Hoek, James Marrow, Meredith Hale, Phillip Lindley, Jan Waszink, Manon van der Loo, Tony Foster, Barbara Baert, Jan van der Stock, Kees Schepers, Anne McClanan, Saskia van Bergen, Rysiek Kulczycki, Marlene Hennessy, and Brennan Cavanaugh. I am fortunate to have excellent colleagues at St Andrews and am especially indebted to Brendan Cassidy, Julian Luxford, Dawn Waddell, Lynn Ayton, Emily Michelson, and Andrew Pettegree. I thank my family, especially Don Rudy, Kim Winbush, Angelina Winbush, Gabe Winbush, Sophie Winbush, Joan Zalonis, Andrew Skol, Yael Hoffman, Linda Kappelt, Erik Kappelt, Kathy Wizzard, and all my cousins, who are the most creative people I know. I am also grateful to the friends and colleagues who have

supplied me with photographs and tipped me off about interesting rubrics and photographed manuscripts for me and sent me Xeroxes and later pdfs and jpegs. Other friends and colleagues have contributed to making this book more informative, accurate and elegant than it otherwise would have been. They include: Robert Arpots, Saskia van Bergen, Jennifer Borland, Xanthe Brooke, Ann Kelders, Lieve de Kesel, Roger de Kesel, Anne Korteweg, Manon van der Loo, Julian Luxford, James Marrow, Eef Overgaauw, Stephen Palmquist, Stella Panayotova, Andrea Pearson, Paul Saenger, Rene Stuij, Robert Swanson, and Bettina Stoll-Tucker. I thank Suzanne Walker for her insightful comments on drafts and earlier versions. With great care and insight, Lisa Regan and Katharine Ridler have improved this book's logic, flow and style. Sanne de Vries painstakingly combed through my Middle Dutch transcriptions, and Martine Veldhuizen helped to pinpoint meaning in certain Middle Dutch terms. Kamil Kopania made arrangements for me to see manuscripts at the Biblioteka Kapitulna in Wrocław. I am also grateful to the two peer reviewers who gave me voluminous comments, many of them helpful. You can thank (or blame) them that this book is 75,000 words shorter than the version I had initially submitted. And to Richard Gameson, the series editor: thank you for your level-headed edits and calm, rational sanity. I admit that I was sad when you deleted the sentence, 'The rubric takes both of Alice's mushrooms' (referring to a text that is copied in both long and short versions), but must admit that that is not the kind of sentence that belongs in a serious scholarly work.

I have not given many public talks about this material, but I did discuss it at Emory University in Atlanta, thanks to an invitation from Celeste Brusati and Walter Melion, and am grateful for the responses and suggestions from the conference attendees.

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- 30 Folio in the Villers Miscellany with the *arma Christi* and a textual description of the associated indulgences. Made c. 1320 in Sint-Truiden. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 4459-70, fol. 152v 57
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- 32 Prayer to the *arma Christi*, with column-wide miniatures depicting the Five Wounds and Christ’s garment and gamblers’ dice, with a figure holding a torch in the margin. Made c. 1375–1400 in the Southern Netherlands (Brabant?). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. KA 36, fol. 76v 60
- 33 Folio in a manuscript with the Face of Christ painted in an initial, prefacing the Roman indulgences. Written and illuminated c. 1374 in Brabant. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 E 5, fol. 57v 61
- 34 Face of Christ, fragment from an image probably depicting Veronica holding her towel, stamped from pipe clay, mid-fifteenth century, from Utrecht. Utrecht, Centraalmuseum 63
- 35 Folio in a manuscript prayer book with the Face of Christ drawn into the space left for an initial. Manuscript made in the late fourteenth century at the Rooklooster at Oudergem near Brussels. Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 1353, fol. 114v 64
- 36 Folio in a manuscript prayer book with the Face of Christ painted into the initial of the *Salve sancte facies*. Manuscript made in 1503 in the Southern Netherlands. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. IV 1250, fol. 18v 65
- 37 Full-page miniature depicting the Face of Christ, inserted opposite the prayer *Salve sancta facies*. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, fols 161v–162r 66
- 38 Masters of the Delft Grisailles, full-page miniature depicting the Face of Christ, made c. 1460–80 in Delft (?). Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.165, fol. 107v 67
- 39 Opening in a prayer book with a full-page miniature depicting Christ as Salvator Mundi, opposite the *Salve sancta facies*. Manuscript made c. 1480–1490 in Bruges. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 135 J 10, fols 87v–88r 68
- 40 Folio in a book of hours with a rubric for a procession with relics and cross. Made c. 1440–1460 in Delft. Nijmegen, Radboud Universiteit, Ms. 295, fol. 193v 69
- 41 Opening in a prayer book with a rubric framing the *Cum invocarem* to be read in front of a cross. Made c. 1375–1400 in the Southern Netherlands (Brabant?). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. KA 36, fols 108v–109r 70
- 42 Opening in a prayer book with the continuation of a rubric framing the *Cum invocarem* to be read in front of a cross. Made c. 1375–1400 in the Southern Netherlands (Brabant?). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. KA 36, fols 109v–110r 70
- 43 Folio in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, with a miniature by the Master of Catherine of Cleves depicting a carpenter measuring the wood for Christ’s cross with a piece of string. Made c. 1440 in the Northern Netherlands. New York, Morgan Library & Museum, Ms. M.917, p. 105 74
- 44 Folio in a prayer book with an image of a wound as a fraction of Jesus’ height. Made in 1530 in Germany. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 10758, fol. 18r 77
- 45 Opening in a prayer book with a full-page image depicting the measured wound of Christ on a shield, with nails illusionistically penetrating the page, opposite a prayer to the Five Wounds. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 78 J 7, fols 95v–96r 78

- 46 Folio in a book of hours with a prayer to the Nail of the Passion and an image depicting the nail. Made c. 1480–1490 in Groningen. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. Reid 33, fol. 86v 79
- 47 Folio added to a manuscript, with an image of three nails in a landscape. Painted after 1497 in Deventer (?). Deventer, Stadsarchief en Athenaeumbibliotheek, Ms. I,37, fol. IIV 80
- 48 Folio in a book of Devotional exercises, with a rubric choreographing behaviour for a prayer to be read at Advent. Made c. 1460–80 in North Brabant. Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. I G 17, fol. 1r 81
- 49 Cover sheet made of recycled material for a manuscript with devotions for the Christ Child at Christmas. Copied in the early sixteenth century in Brussels. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 8218, fol. Ar 83
- 50 Print depicting the Nativity pasted to the inside front cover of a book of devotions for the Christ Child at Christmas. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 8218 83
- 51 Incipit of the prayers to the baby Jesus to be read at Christmas at the crib of Jesus. Copied in the early sixteenth century in Brussels. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 8218, fol. 1r 84
- 52 Folio from a Book of Hours with a full-page miniature depicting the manuscript's patron alongside St John on Patmos. Made in 1488 in South Holland. Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms I G 52, fols 133v–134r 84
- 53 Folio in a prayer book with wounds inscribed by the rubricator. Made c. 1400 in Oudergem bij Brussel. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 2905-09, fols 173v–174r 85
- 54 Opening in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting Christ as a fountain to preface the Spiritual Tavern. Made in 1535, probably in Tournai. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 9, fols 93v–94r 86
- 55 Folio in book of hours, with a parchment painting depicting the Five Wounds of Christ. Manuscript copied c. 1450, with images added later in the fifteenth century. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 133 E 15, fol. 121v 88
- 56 Opening in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting St Catherine of Siena displaying her stigmata, opposite the *Hundred Articles*. Manuscript copied c. 1450, with images added later in the fifteenth century. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 133 E 15, fol. 226v 89
- 57 Full-page image depicting the Five Wounds of Christ, inserted into a book of hours from Zwolle. Image made c. 1460–1480 in Arnhem(?). Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 6 H 31, fol. 18v 90
- 58 Folio in a prayer book, with a historiated initial depicting Christ loosening himself from the Cross in order to embrace a woman in the garb of a *zwartzuster*. Made c. 1500 in the Southern Netherlands (Geel?). Heverlee, Park Abbey, Ms 18, fol. 138r 97
- 59 Folio in a prayer book, with a historiated initial depicting Christ displaying his wounds to a *zwartzuster*. Made c. 1500 in the Southern Netherlands (Geel?). Heverlee, Park Abbey, Ms. 18, fol. 107r 98
- 60 Historiated initial showing Christ opening his side wound to release the torrent into the chalice on the ground before him. Made c. 1500 in the Southern Netherlands (Geel?). Heverlee, Park Abbey, Ms. 18, fol. 49v 98
- 61 Folio in a prayer book with prayers to the body parts of Christ, to be read on Tuesday, with an embossed paper Crucifixion pasted at the bottom of the page. Made c. 1500 in Venray. Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. I G 35, fol. 3v 99
- 62 Mosaic icon with the *Akra Tapeinosis* (Utmost Humiliation), or Man of Sorrows, in a series of frames. Mosaic icon, Byzantine, late 13th–early 14th century. Basilica di Sta Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome 102
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- 64 Opening in a Birgittine breviary with a full-page miniature depicting St Bridget of Sweden having a vision, across from the incipit of the 'devout office which beata Brigida read with devotion every day'. Made c. 1390–1400 in Naples. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 F 29, fol. 2v–3r 104
- 65 Israel van Meckenem, *Gregorian Man of Sorrows*, c. 1495, copper engraving, 16.6 × 11 cm; Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. B 135 106
- 66 After Israel van Meckenem, *Gregorian Man of Sorrows*, c. 1510–20, hand-coloured engraving on paper, formerly used as a page in a prayerbook. London, British Museum, inv. 1868, 1114.79 106
- 67 Opening in the Hours of Katherine Thomaes, with a full-page miniature depicting Katherine Thomaes, accompanied by her confessor and St Katherine, opposite a prayer to St Katherine. Made c. 1500–1520 in Antwerp. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. IV 190, fol. 96v–97r 111
- 68 Opening in the Hours of Katherine Thomaes, with a full-page miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory and a historiated initial depicting Christ as Man of Sorrows. Made c. 1500–1520 in Antwerp. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. IV 190, fols 88v–89r 111
- 69 Opening in a prayer book, with a rubric prefacing the Verses of St Gregory, in long and short forms. Made

- c. 1505–1515 in the Northern Netherlands. Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 641 (=KHS 13), fols 171v–172r 112
- 70 Folio in a book of hours, with the *Adoro te*. Made c. 1460 in Delft. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 12080, fol. 101r 113
- 71 Opening in a book of hours, with a rubric before the *Adoro te*. Made c. 1450–1480 in the bishopric of Utrecht. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 19551, fols 85v–86r 115
- 72 Opening in a book of hours, with a full-page Mass of St Gregory with a cardinal and other officials, opposite the *Adoro te* in Middle Dutch. Made c. 1500–1510 in the Southern Netherlands (Mechelen?). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 71 G 53, fols 32v–33r 119
- 73 Opening in a book of hours, with a full-page Mass of St Gregory, and a historiated initial with the arma Christi. Made c. 1455–60 in Utrecht. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 135 E 40, fols 110v–111r 120
- 74 Miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory, detail of fig. 73. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 135 E 40, fol. 110v 121
- 75 Folio inserted into a prayer book, with a full-page miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory. Manuscript copied c. 1440–1460 in South Holland; miniature painted c. 1440–1460 in South Holland; miniature painted c. 1440–1460 in South Holland. Copenhagen, KB, Thott 129 octavo, fol. 49v 122
- 76 Folio in a book of hours, with a hand-painted engraving depicting the Mass of St Gregory glued on and painted border decoration around it. Made c. 1475–90 in the eastern Netherlands. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 11059, fol. 17v 123
- 77 Opening in a book of hours, with an inserted leaf bearing an image of the Mass of St Gregory (unfinished), opposite the incipit of the *Adoro te* in Middle Dutch. Manuscript copied c. 1513–25 in 's-Hertogenbosch (?); image roughly contemporary. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. IV 410, fols 45v–46r 124
- 78 Opening in a book of hours, with a full-page Mass of St Gregory, opposite the *Adoro te* in Middle Dutch. Made c. 1475–1500 in Delft. Collection Dr. J.H. van Heek, Huis Bergh Foundation, 's-Heerenberg, Ms. 18, fols 153v–154r 125
- 79 Folio in the Trivulzio Hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory. Manuscript written and assembled c. 1469 in Ghent. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. SMC 1, fol. 103v 126
- 80 Attributed to the Master of the Fountain of Life, *Mass of St Gregory*, c. 1510, oil on panel, 92 × 78 cm. Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, Inv. s194 127
- 81 Mass of St Gregory with Philip the Good kneeling at a prie-dieu, painted on a loose parchment leaf and inserted into his prayerbook. Leaf made and added c. 1450 in the Southern Netherlands. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 3-1954, fol. 253v 128
- 82 Folio in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory, with donors in lower margin, painted by the Masters of the Dark Eyes. Manuscript (bound out of order), made c. 1500–1510 in South Holland. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 135 E 19, fol. 2v 129
- 83 Master of the Aachen Altar, outer wings of the Crucifixion Altarpiece, with the Mass of St Gregory and donors, Hermann Rinck and his wife Gertrud von Dallem, c. 1505, for the Church of St Colomba in Cologne. Oil and tempera on panel; panels 109 × 54 and 106 × 54 cm. Liverpool Art Museum, Accession no. 1225, 1226 131
- 84 Folio in a missal, with a historiated initial depicting donors kneeling at an altar where the priest is performing mass. Made c. 1350–1366 in the Southern Netherlands. The Hague, Meermanno Museum, Ms. 10 A 14, fol. 139r, detail 132
- 85 Folio added to a French book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory, witnessed by the female donor presented by a saint with a bannered cross staff. Manuscript made c. 1430 in Brittany; leaf added slightly later. Boston, Massachusetts, Boston Public Library, Ms. q. med. 81, fol. 143r 134
- 86 Appearance of the Virgin and Child to a group of Dominicans in a church, early 16th century, Northern Netherlands. Painting on panel, Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, ABM s71 138
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- 88 Israel van Meckenem, Virgin and Child with a clock, c. 1490, engraving, signed at the upper part of the vegetal design 'IvM'. London, British Museum, inv. 1888,0619.31 144
- 89 Folio in the Hours of Margaret of Croy, with a column-wide miniature depicting Margaret of Croy kneeling before the Virgin with her dead son in her lap. Made c. 1450 in Utrecht or Bruges. Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms. 56, fol. 151r 145
- 90 Folio in a book of hours in Latin, with a column-wide miniature depicting the Virgin *in Sole*, prefacing the *O Intemerata*. Made c. 1450 in the Southern Netherlands. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 G 22, fol. 22r 146

- 91 Opening in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Annunciation, and the incipit of the Hours of the Virgin. Made shortly before 1497 in South Holland (Leiden?). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 3, fols 13v–14r 147
- 92 Master iam of Zwolle, *Lactation of St Bernard*, c. 1480–85, engraving, 320 × 241 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. RP-P-OB-1093 148
- 93 Folio in a prayer book with an image of the Virgin of Milan before an altar drawn directly on the page. Made c. 1513–1519 in the Netherlands. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 11237, fol. 75r 153
- 94 Folio in a prayer book, with a full-page miniature depicting the Virgin of Milan. Made c. 1500 in the eastern part of the northern Netherlands. Wrocław [Breslau], Biblioteka Kapitulna, Ms 716, fol. 67v 153
- 95 Folio in a prayer book, with a prayer to and an image depicting the Virgin of Milan. Made c. 1500–10 in the Duchy of Cleves. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. IV 263, fol. 42r 154
- 96 *Spes nostra*, with four canons and Sts Augustine and Jerome by an open grave, with the Visitation, in a courtyard, c. 1500, oil on panel, 88.7 cm × 104.3 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv.no. SK-A-2312 156
- 97 Opening in a prayer book, with a rubric for the glossed *Salve Regina*. Made 1450–1500 probably a tertiary of Sint-Catharinadal in Hasselt. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 21953, fols 357v–358r 157
- 98 Folio inserted into a prayer book, with a hand-coloured woodcut depicting the Virgin and Child. Woodcut made c. 1500 in the Southern Netherlands. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 11237, fol. 51v 158
- 99 Opening in the Prayerbook of Mary of Guelders, with a column-wide miniature depicting *The Tiburtine Sibyl and Augustus* attributed to the Passion Master of Mary of Guelders. Made in 1415 in the eastern part of the Northern Netherlands. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Germ. Quarto 42, fols 50v–51r 162
- 100 Folio in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Virgin *in Sole* with the Tiburtine sibyl and Augustus in the margin, painted by the Masters of the Dark Eyes. Made c. 1498–1519 in South Holland. London, British Library, Add. 20859, fol. 40v 163
- 101 Suspended Virgin *in Sole*, 1533, polychromed carved wood. Zoutleeuw, Sint-Leonarduskerk 163
- 102 Folio in a book of hours with a full-page miniature depicting *Pope Sixtus IV in prayer before an image of the Virgin*, painted by Gerard Horenbout c. 1500 in Bruges. London, British Library, Add. 35313, fol. 237r 165
- 103 Gerard Horenbout, *Pope Sixtus IV in prayer before an image of the Virgin*, c. 1500. London, British Library, Add. 35313, fol. 237r, detail of fig. 102 166
- 104 Folio in a book of hours with a prayer to the Virgin *in Sole*, with penwork from North Holland. Made c. 1501 in Enkhuizen. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 135 G 22, fol. 125v 167
- 105 Folio in a book of hours with the incipit of the Hours of the Cross, with painted and gilt initial and border decoration. Made c. 1501 in Enkhuizen. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 135 G 22, fol. 127r 167
- 106 Virgin *in Sole* and indulgence written in Dutch in xylographic characters, c. 1450–1500, hand-coloured woodcut print. London, British Museum, inv. 1895,0122.10 168
- 107 Opening in a book of hours, with an added full-page miniature depicting Lijsbett van Steengracht (?) in prayer before the Virgin and Child. Manuscript copied in 1497, probably in Geraardsbergen; miniature painted in the Southern Netherlands. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 11 2348, fols 130v–131r 169
- 108 Folio in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature attributed to Cornelia van Wulfschercke depicting the *Tripartite Rosary*. Made c. 1500–10 in Bruges. London, Sotheby's, 17 November 1999, Lot 3, fol. 82v (present whereabouts unknown) 170
- 109 Folio in a prayer book with an indulgenced Marian prayer surrounded by an illuminated border representing the origin of the *Ave Maria*. Made c. 1500–10 in the Southern Netherlands. Sutton Coldfield, Oscott, St Mary's College, no signature fol. 67r 171
- 110 Folio in a prayer book with a full-page miniature depicting the Virgin *in Sole* accompanying a female donor and an Augustinian sister, encircled in a rosary with the wounds of Christ as the decade beads. Made c. 1500 in the eastern part of the northern Netherlands. Wrocław [Breslau], Biblioteka Kapitulna, Ms 716, fol. 71v 171
- 111 Opening in a prayer book, with a parchment painting depicting the Virgin, facing the incipit of the prayer to the Virgin's body parts. Made c. 1450–1500 in Tienen (?). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 75 G 2, fols 196v–197r 174
- 112 Folio in the Hours of Kunera van Leefdael with a column-wide miniature depicting the *Pietà*, attributed to the Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle. Made c. 1415 in the Northern Netherlands. Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 5 J 26, fol. 162r 179
- 113 Folio in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting a soul burning in Purgatory. Made c. 1440 in the Southern Netherlands for export to England. London, Southwark Cathedral, Ms. 7, fol. 5v (on deposit at the British Library as Loan 85/7) 183

- 114 Opening at the Seven Penitential Psalms in the Hours of Katherine Thomaes, with a full-page miniature depicting the Last Judgement and border decoration depicting Purgatory. Made c. 1500–1520 in Antwerp. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. IV 190, fols 72v–73r 184
- 115 Folio in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, with a miniature by the Master of Catherine of Cleves depicting a burial, with an angel and a devil fighting over the deceased man's book of deeds. Made c. 1440 in the Northern Netherlands. New York, Morgan Library & Museum, Ms. M.917, p. 206 185
- 116 Opening in the Prayerbook of Mary of Guelders, with a full-page miniature depicting the Last Judgement, attributed to the Passion Master of Mary of Guelders. Made in 1415 in the eastern part of the Northern Netherlands. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Germ. Quarto 42, fol. 18v 186
- 117 Folio in the Hours of Jan van Amerongen and Maria van Vronensteyn, with a full-page miniature depicting the Last Judgement, attributed to the Master of Evert Zoudenbalch. Made c. 1460 in Utrecht. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. II 7619, fol. 138v 186
- 118 Opening in the Hours of Cornelia de Joeden, with a full-page miniature depicting the Last Judgement attributed to the Master of Yolande de Lalaing, and the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead. Made c. 1460–70 in Utrecht. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Germ. Octavo 648, fols 108v–109r 187
- 119 Opening in a book of hours, with full-page miniature of angels lifting souls from Purgatory, and incipit of the Vigil for the Dead. Made 1460–1470 in South Holland (Delft?). Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Germ. Octavo 89, fols 83v–84r 188
- 120 Folio in a book of hours, at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead, with a historiated initial depicting a woman praying before the mouth of Hell, and a man in a carnation in the margin, attributed to the Master of Evert Zoudenbalch. Made c. 1460–65 in Utrecht. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig IX 10, fol. 202r 189
- 121 Opening in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Resurrection attributed to the Masters of Hugo Jansz. van Woerden, and the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead with a historiated initial depicting souls in Purgatory. Made c. 1480–1490 in Leiden. Cambridge, University Library, Add. Ms. 4097, fols 124v–125 190
- 122 Folio in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead, with a historiated initial depicting a maw with souls burning in Purgatory. Made c. 1475–1485 in the eastern part of the Northern Netherlands. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 131 G 5, fol. 144r 192
- 123 Folio in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead, with a historiated initial depicting a maw with souls burning in Purgatory. Manuscript written and partially decorated in Groningen c. 1480–1490, with some historiated initials (including this one) completed elsewhere soon thereafter. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. Reid 33, fol. 1r 193
- 124 Opening in the Hours of Deliana van Doornik at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead, with a full-page miniature depicting an angel rescuing the soul of the patron. Manuscript written in Arnhem, with miniatures supplied from Germany, probably Cologne, c. 1460–80. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 137, fol. 201v 194
- 125 Folio in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead, depicting souls in Purgatory praying and being lifted out of the flames. Made in 1469 in Arnhem, Openbare Bibliotheek, Ms. 287, fol. 181r 194
- 126 Opening in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead, with a full-page miniature depicting a monk's prayers releasing a soul from Purgatory. Made c. 1480–1500 in South Holland. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 133 D 5, fols 86v–87r 195
- 127 Loyset Liédet, patients with bandaged heads approaching the altar of St Hubert, with a framed text hanging on the back wall, column-wide miniature in a copy of Hubert le Prevost, *Vie de St Hubert*, copied by David Aubert in 1463. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 F 10, fol. 25v 195
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- 132 Folio in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Harrowing of Hell. Made c. 1470–90 in Zwolle. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 133 H 31, fol. 141v 199
- 133 Opening in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead with a full-page miniature depicting the Harrowing of Hell and a historiated initial depicting the Mass for the Dead. Made c. 1460–1480 in Zwolle. Cambridge, University Library, Add. Ms. 4103, fols 171v–172r 200

- 134 Folio in a book of hours, with a rubric and prayer, and a painting in the margin depicting an angel saving a soul and raising it to heaven. Made c. 1475–90 in Delft. Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. B 1.46, fol. 156v 200
- 135 Opening in a book of hours, with the Verses of St Bernard, and a miniature depicting St Bernard subduing the devil. Made c. 1495 in the Northern Netherlands. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 135 G 19, fols 125v–126r 201
- 136 Opening in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead with a full-page miniature depicting Abraham carrying souls in a towel. Made c. 1450–1475 in Utrecht. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 133 E 22, fols 101v–102r 201
- 137 Opening in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead with a full-page miniature depicting with Jesus carrying souls in a towel while others continue to burn in Purgatory. Made c. 1475–1500 in Delft. Collection Dr. J.H. van Heek, Huis Bergh Foundation, 's-Heerenberg, Ms. 18, fols 100v–101r 202
- 138 Folio in a composite manuscript book of hours, from a section made c. 1440–1460 in Delft, with typical South Holland penwork decoration. Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, 334, fol. 65r 203
- 139 Folio in a composite manuscript book of hours, with a prayer and rubric to St Anne, from a section added c. 1475–1500 in the Southern Netherlands. Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, 334, fol. 183v 204
- 140 'Maria-Anna-Johannes' word-image with an IHS monogram *in Sole*, with inscriptions and border decoration, parchment painting inserted near the beginning of a book of hours copied in 1505 in the Southern Netherlands. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 8219, fol. Fv 205
- 141 Folio in a prayer book, with the IHS monogram *in Sole*, rubric and prayer. Manuscript written in 1527 by Stine Dutmers in Groningen, Monastery Thesinge, Benedictines. Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 2636, fol. 13v. Stolen before 2003 206
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- 143 Opening in a prayerbook with an IHS monogram *in Sole* painted within a frame. Made after 1503 in the Southern Netherlands. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. II 668, fols 164v–165r 208
- 144 Opening in a book of hours from Haarlem, with indulgenced prayers and IHS monogram *in Sole* added to the otherwise blank verso folio. Manuscript made in 1467 in North Holland (possibly Haarlem). Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. VIII D 26, fols 137v–138r 208
- 145 Mass of St Gregory, full-page miniature made c. 1500 added to an earlier prayerbook. Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, BMH h53, fol. 17r 209
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- 147 Christ at the centre of the universe, with Mass of St Gregory and the Virgin *in Sole* in the interstices, c. 1500–25, hand-coloured engraving. London, British Museum, inv. 1868,1114.231 211
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List of Abbreviations

Antwerp, PM	Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum
AUB	Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek
Baltimore, WAM	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum
Berlin, SPK	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz
BKB	Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I
BNM	Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta
BPH	Biblioteca Philosophica Hermetica collection within the HKB
Bruges, SB	Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek (Biekorf)
Copenhagen, KB	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek
HKB	The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek—National Library of The Netherlands
HMMW	The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum
KA	Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen (Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences) collection within the HKB
LBL	London, British Library
New York, MLM	New York, Morgan Library & Museum
Nijmegen, RU	Nijmegen, Radboud Universiteit
Paris, BA	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
Paris, BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
's-Heerenberg, HB	Collection Dr. J.H. van Heek, Huis Bergh Foundation, 's-Heerenberg, The Netherlands
UB	Universiteitsbibliotheek
UCC	Utrecht, Catharijneconvent

PART 1

Rubrics and Indulgences

∴

Rubrics and the Performance of Prayer

In the morning, as soon as you've been unsprung [from sleep] and want to get up, make three crosses, one over your forehead, one over your mouth, and one over your heart, in honour of the holy Trinity, and then speak the following words:

I stand up in the name of the father, of the son, and of the holy spirit, of the blessed Trinity and a glorious godliness, and in the name of Mary the blessed mother of God, of all angels, saints, and all of God's chosen people, and of everyone who is in the earthly and the heavenly throne. Amen.

BKB, Ms. 21893, fol. 201r–201v

A Franciscan lay brother who lived in the monastery of St Matthew in the town of St Truiden finished copying these words on the eve of St Thomas the Apostle day in 1482, when he laid down the final sentence on the last parchment page of his manuscript. If the plucky *beghard* (a male Franciscan tertiary) were following the instructions he had painstakingly copied, he would have sprung out of bed each morning, performed the actions of making three signs of the cross over his body, uttered the prescribed words, and then—protected by the Trinitarian shield he had formed around himself—tackled the rest of his day, which was also highly structured by the words and actions in his prayerbook.

For example, the *beghard* might have regularly practised devotions in front of an image of the Pietà. Such a prayer (with a rubric) is the final text he squeezed into his book, just before the colophon dated 1482. 'Rubric' comes from the Latin *rubrica*, meaning red ochre, the material stuff of the earliest red texts. A rubric, simply defined, is a heading written in red ink but, as the examples in this book make plain, rubrics often provide instructions. The prayer has a rubric that tells him what to do and what to expect as a reward:

rub: One should speak this prayer in front of the image of Our Lady in Pain, thereby earning 6686 years of indulgence. *inc:* Hail, Mary, full of anguish...

BKB, Ms. 21893, fol. 212r

'Our Lady in Pain' refers to an image of the Virgin with the dead Christ on her lap, such as one now housed—and still enthusiastically venerated—in the Church of Our Lady in Maastricht, a few hundred feet from where the *beghard's*

house would have stood (fig. 2). Not only does the prayerbook demand that the reader's performance take place in dialogue with such an image, but it also promises a generous indulgence for his efforts.

Instead of merely directing the *beghard's* activities at the eight canonical hours of the day, as a book of hours would do, this prayerbook structures his day from the moment he opens his eyes until he finally drifts off into slumber. As the church holidays succeed one another throughout the year, the book adjusts his prayers; as the reader himself moves through his environment, the prayerbook supplies him with the words to say in encounters with various devotional images. It governs his actions, his speech, his thoughts, and his encounters with both heaven and earth. Ultimately, it encapsulates in its 234 folios a whole world-view and the actions necessary to enact it.

In contrast to the better-known books of hours, which always included a core of fixed texts, prayerbooks form a broader category that subsumes the book of hours and can contain any combination of innumerable prayers, other texts, and images.¹ They can include any number of prayers for daily, hourly, or penitential prayers, prayers to be said in the mornings, evenings, or during mass; they also record hymns, psalms, *loricae* (breast plates, or protective word-shields), meditations on Mary's and Jesus' joys and mysteries, petitions to saints, calendars, necrologies, prayers for feast days, or other kinds of texts.² The user (or his or her advisers) probably determined which prayers to include and, especially if the owner lived in a monastery, often copied the book him- or herself. Prayerbooks often had cumulative content, that

1 Wieck 1988, analyses books of hours and their contents, and surveys their decoration. These texts form the *sine qua non* of the book of hours: the Little Office of the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms, and the Office of the Dead. If a manuscript does not contain these three texts, it cannot be considered a book of hours. Geert Grote's translation of the Latin book of hours has never been edited; however, several important studies have illuminated the Dutch vernacular book of hours. Wijk 1940 edits a Middle Dutch book of hours. See also Dijk 1990 and 1993.

2 Dronke 1988 defines *loricae* as 'prayers which implore the help of the Trinity, angels, and saints in the face of diverse peril' (p. 61). Early *loricae* were Irish or Welsh, although they were brought to the continent by Irish missionaries and survive in numerous copies, for which consult Gougaud 1911, 1912, who catalogues them.



FIGURE 2 *Pietà, fourteenth century, polychromed wood. Church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, Maastricht.*

is, written by several hands over time, since the object often passed from one owner to the next, with each reader adding new contents according to taste, or possibly, according to the urgings from a confessor or other spiritual adviser.³

Although many of the images that I discuss here are miniatures preserved in prayerbooks, they are not principally those that mark the major text divisions at the Hours of the Virgin or the Hours of the Passion or Cross. Such illustrative illuminations usually depict narratives and often form a series, such as the Life of the Virgin or the Infancy of Jesus. Rather, this study privileges images that are usually solitary, iconic (non-narrative) and relate to visions (for example, the Mass of St Gregory, the Man of Sorrows, the Virgin *in Sole*) or relics (the *arma Christi*, the Veronica), for these are the images that are mentioned in rubrics, activated by prayer, and tethered to indulgences. Iconic images have the potential to be activated in a way that narratives cannot. The first images to have been coupled with indulgences—copies of the Face of Christ impressed on Veronica's sudarium—were great cult images; the Mass of St Gregory, through narrative, told the

story of the creation of another great cult image—the icon in Sta Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome (discussed later in Chapter 5). Iconic images, in contrast to Biblical narratives, lend themselves easily to devotion, and indeed perform the transition from Christ-as-historical-figure to Christ-as-salvific-ritual that is the basis of early modern devotions. Iconic images help to make the transition from a Christ set in sacred history to Christ as the focus of a ritualistic present. Such images with this function appear in prayerbooks, but they would also have appeared in many different media in the public and private spaces of the late medieval devotee.

Devotional subjects constitute the majority of the images that survive from the period. Among these objects can be counted paintings ranging from minute images within manuscripts to behemoth altarpieces commissioned for churches; sculptures, including intricately carved and polychromed ivories, reliquaries of all descriptions, and even life-sized wooden sculptures depicting Christ with hinged arms and legs that function as giant puppets in *Depositio* rituals;⁴ and graphic works ranging from naïve line drawings to highly finished works in silverpoint. What did practitioners of prayer hope to gain from devotions

3 This issue was so important that I wrote a separate book about it: Rudy 2016a.

4 Kopania 2010.

addressed to images? More specifically, how did texts and images interact to affect a meaningful experience for late medieval votaries? Rubrics offer concrete suggestions for how devotees should interact with a wide range of images and, more importantly, the task of using them.

Rubrics can answer basic questions about how early modern devotees approached images. By providing direct, often highly specific instructions for how a votary should interact with a work of art, they give insights that should be of general interest to art historians, beyond those interested primarily in manuscripts. This holds true even for prayerbooks that are not illustrated, for they often contain rubrics that refer to images outside the codex, including the myriad sculptures depicting Mary, Jesus, and the saints that filled medieval shrines and now repose in museums of medieval art. Mental images that votaries constructed in their minds' eyes were probably based on paintings, sculptures, prints, and miniatures in manuscripts that they had seen, handled, and contemplated. Indeed, some rubrics actually specify a physical artwork, while others leave open the nature of the object to be contemplated. Concomitantly, some writers composed prayers around or in response to images; the recitation of these prayers reciprocally required the visual image in order to complete the devotional act.⁵ Beyond art historians, those interested in the co-development of social class and devotional practice in the later Middle Ages should take a close look at rubrics, tied as they are to the rise of the vernacular and the accessibility of the book.

Rubrics implicate images and their role in the multi-dimensional framework of salvation. Some rubrics indicate that votaries must read the accompanying prayers in front of an image, but give the reader some latitude in selecting the image. In a mid-sixteenth-century prayerbook certainly written by a nun, who refers to herself as 'Ic arme sculdenaersche' (Ghent, UB, Ms. 1734, fol. 1r) and 'Ic arme bedelaersche' (fol. 78v) and who uses a dialect that suggests an origin of Utrecht or its environs, is a rubric promising an indulgence to preface a prayer about Christ's judgement; this rubric (fol. 100) also indicates that the reader is to look at the image of Christ 'sitting in the grave', which is probably a Christ as Man of Sorrows. By this she probably meant an image of the Gregorian Man of Sorrows, which is often surrounded by the instruments of the Passion. As the rubric quickly points out, however, an image of Christ 'in the clouds' will also suffice. By this

an image such as one painted by the Masters of the Gold Scrolls may have been intended (fig. 3).

Although flexible in its exact subject, the image activates the prayer and is a necessary precondition for its performance. It reads:

rub: Item, Pope Gregory has given anyone who reads one Pater noster and Ave Maria with Requiem in front of an image of our Lord sitting in the grave or in the clouds 30,000 years' indulgence; and from each of 45 popes 40 years; and from each of 30 bishops 200 days. Pope Clement has also ordered this prayer and has added to it 23 years to anyone who sends it along. One should also read the following prayer: inc: O, Lord, Jesus Christ, since you shall pass your strict judgement over my soul, I beg you, by your holy Passion and your precious blood and your precious hard bitter death for all of my sins, and for all believers, living and dead. Amen.

Ghent, UB, Ms. 1734, fols 100r–100v

Some amount of the incredible proliferation of devotional images in the fifteenth century was the result, not only of the activities of the nobility, but also of the way their tastes trickled eventually down into the literate urban laity. Especially in cities such as Bruges, Ghent, Cologne, and later, Antwerp, the newly formed bourgeoisie imitated the spending and devotional habits of the nobility as best they could. Nobles encouraged devotion by putting on lavish public and semi-public performances of piety, which were on display as models for emulation. Philip the Good, for example, travelled among his vast land holdings with a large retinue and hundreds of pounds of textiles used to construct temporary private chapels, which undoubtedly displayed his activities as much as they concealed and privatised them (fig. 4).

At the opposite end of the social spectrum from the nobility, the monasteries proved fertile ground for new devotions and attendant attitudes. Many prayers originated within monastic walls before circulating to other monasteries and to the laity. A ubiquitous example of this mechanism was the book of hours, a devotional manual for the laity but largely based on the structure of the monastic breviary. In a process well under way by the late fourteenth century and flourishing in the fifteenth, other prayers and practices flowed along the same channels, thereby becoming the accessories of private devotion for the laity.⁶ The adoption and adaptation of a largely livresque prayer culture resulted from increased prosperity, literacy, and

⁵ Various scholars have noted the fungibility between the mental image and the physical one. See e.g. Harbison 1985; Biernoff 2002 and Jeffrey Hamburger's review of Biernoff in *Speculum* (January 2004), pp. 133–136.

⁶ Ringbom 1984, p. 30ff and *passim*.



FIGURE 3 Folio in a book of hours with a full-page miniature depicting Our Lord in the Clouds, attributed to the Masters of the Gold Scrolls. Painted c. 1430 in Bruges or Ghent.

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. 18270, FOL. 7V.



FIGURE 4 Folio in the *Traité sur l'oraison dominicale*, with a column-wide miniature depicting Philip the Good at Mass, by Jean le Tavernier, from c. 1457.

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. 9092, FOL. 9R.

urbanism, tempered by a vigorous fear of Final Judgement that was communicated through sermons.

In the promotion of indulgences across social classes, the role of literacy is directly tied to the development of a devotional vernacular for use by the proliferating mendicant and preaching orders. Behind the large number of manuscripts written in the vernacular in the Netherlands lies the influence of Geert Grote, the translator and reformer whose Modern Devotion movement increased the supply of vernacular devotional texts. Outside the courts, which were magnets and stimuli for new art, culture, and ideas, many new devotional ideas came from monastic reforms, such as Grote's, which widened the circle of participation by encouraging people to have book-centered religious lives without taking vows. Mendicant preachers, the Dominicans and especially the Franciscans, brought new devotional performance to the poor and the lowborn, as well as to the mercantile class that grew in proportion to urban prosperity. In particular the Franciscans emphasized tangible, image-centered spirituality and recommended that believers 'keep always before their eyes an image of the crucified Christ in vivid verisimilitude'.⁷ Grote himself translated several of the offices from the book of hours, as well as other devotional texts, from the Latin.⁸ Monasteries, institutions devoted to prayer, were ubiquitous in the Low Countries, meeting the devotional needs of a wide social swathe of the population. Although records survive haphazardly, they show that in 1526 the monasteries of 's-Hertogenbosch claimed one in nineteen inhabitants, meaning that more than five per cent of the population lived in religious foundations.⁹ Everyone knew someone who had entered a monastery. Because of their monastic origins, most prayers were written in Latin then translated into vernacular languages, including Middle Dutch. (Latin prayers were also translated into other vernacular European languages, especially French and German, and to a much lesser degree, English, but these remain outside the purview of the current study.)¹⁰

A smaller, but significant number of prayers were written directly in Middle Dutch, without a Latin prototype. Studying the rubrics of this new vernacular literature exposes a hitherto overlooked aspect of the performance of devotion, which deeply penetrated into the layers of the socio-economic fabric.

This period saw a prodigious participation in devotional activities and an unprecedented production of devotional paraphernalia, including images and texts. Their makers often employed methods of mechanized production to increase efficiency, such as churning out numerous identical moulded pipe-clay sculptures, dividing the labour of manuscript production, tracing manuscript illuminations, and eventually printing images, broadsheets, and entire books. Against this backdrop of mechanization is the proliferation of personal texts added by owners, acting as their own copyists and giving their texts specific individual or institutional references. Such personalizations defied the broader streamlining of the books' manufacture. The democratization, or at least increased accessibility of manuscripts (both in terms of their availability, because more of them were made, and their language, because they were made in the vernacular), was set against their paradoxical depersonalization by dint of being mass-produced—and so new rubrics and prayers were a way of personalizing them.

In the fifteenth century, prayerbooks far outnumbered romances, medical treatises, hagiographies, and even Bibles. Practising prayer was the major textual preoccupation, and not just inside the monastic walls, where prayer was the defining occupation. Prayers fill the bulk of the surviving manuscripts that late medieval Christians owned, copied, and used. Books of hours alone—just one subset of prayerbooks—now inhabit libraries, museums, and private collections in the tens of thousands.¹¹ Considering the vagaries of survival, this number represents only a fraction of production.¹² The vicissitudes of time and the religious and social upheavals that came with it, including the Protestant Reformation and the iconoclasm that followed in its wake, the Napoleonic Wars, as well as nineteenth- and twentieth-century collecting habits—to name only a few variables—have wreaked havoc on the

7 Fleming 1977, p. 251.

8 Moll 1880 provides an edition.

9 This statistic is cited in Gibson 1973, p. 14.

10 Victor Leroquais laid the groundwork for the study of Latin prayers in his series of publications about the books of hours and breviaries in the manuscript collection of the National Library of Paris; Leroquais 1927–1929. Those in French have been treated by Sinclair 1979; important groundwork for the Dutch vernacular manuscripts appears in Achten and Knaus 1959, which describes—and, more importantly, indexes—the rich holdings of the Darmstadt library; and Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, an ongoing project to describe the Middle Dutch manuscripts in the Royal Library of Belgium. These prayers in these

volumes unfortunately appear in random order, are not indexed, and not searchable, and the volumes, although erudite, have little utility beyond their own covers.

11 Korteweg 2002, p. 6.

12 Michael Sargent complicates this by convincingly arguing that there is no positive correlation between the number of surviving manuscripts and the popularity of the texts they contained; Sargent 2008.

survival of medieval devotional objects, including manuscripts. Those manuscripts copied and owned by nuns and religious women have probably survived with more regularity than those of other institutions, and as such loom large in this study.

Numerous prayerbooks were in circulation because prayer, as practised by Christians in Northern Europe at the end of the Middle Ages, was repetitive, both in its demand for cycles of verses said with mantra-like resonance, and in the regularity with which individual prayers were practised: hourly, daily, weekly, or yearly. Furthermore, prayerbooks necessarily spelled out and maintained the conventions that regulated, and more importantly, validated, prayer. Prayer was governed by ritual, structured round repeated words, and guided by images, both mental and physical.

As a whole category, Middle Dutch prayerbooks formed part of an ideological community, even if many of their owners and users were nuns who were cloistered, that is, bound by force of oath to remain within the walls of a monastic compound for life. Shared texts among different orders of religious women, as well as monks and laypeople, suggest that the conventual walls were semi-permeable membranes that allowed the passage of not only bodies but also of texts and the physical performances those texts inspired. Nuns and monks shared books within and beyond the convent walls. Such nuns and semi-monastic religious women were more likely to write in the vernacular; they copied prayers, transmogrified them, and used them daily. In some cases, laypeople bought manuscript prayerbooks from monastic scriptoria, so the prayers and practices on the inside entered lay devotional lives through that channel. This study, therefore, treats manuscripts that were made for lay and religious alike.¹³ I will treat Dutch-speaking votaries as a single linguistic community but will further refine audiences for the various prayers treated in this study on a case-by-case basis.

This linguistic community changed enormously during the century prior to the Protestant Reformation. I would like to emphasize two major changes that occurred between the mid-fourteenth century and 1520 in terms of the culture of devotion. First, new forms of devotion (new prayers, new ways of performing those prayers) developed to concretize a votary's personal involvement in the Passion. To promote new pinnacles of empathy, prayers presented ever more detailed accounts of Christ's suffering and did so with descriptive language to appeal to a reader's emotions. In this vein, prayers began to specify the quantifiable degrees to which Christ suffered. Prayerbooks tell us, for example,

that Jesus bled rivulets of blood as thick as a thumb, and that he cried forty tears on Gethsemane.¹⁴ Rubrics primed the votary to identify with Christ's suffering, as they prescribed not just votaries' outward behaviours but also their mental attitudes. Secondly, increased mechanization infiltrated prayer culture in several ways. Prayers themselves were repeated with hitherto unseen metonymic regularity, especially after the introduction of various manifestations of the Rosary devotion, for which beads marked the recitation of repeated *Pater noster*s and *Ave Marias*. Perhaps the mania of the votary's devotions, short of possibly boring prayers repeated to the point of numbness, would recreate in the votary's body Christ's own seemingly endless tortures and exhaustion. To further promote such devotions, the increased efficiency of production swiftly multiplied the kinds of devotional material in circulation.

If devotion was a machine for the salvation of souls, prayers and images were cogs in that machine, and rubrics provided blueprints for its use. Rubrics, like images, formed part of the trappings of the correct outward appearance of prayer, since images were the essential models or, rather, the forms, onto which *conformatitas* was moulded. Images activated prayer not only in the sense that they provided something on which to rest the eyes, or an object that could help bring a viewer to tears, or provide a palpable form on which to meditate: images activated prayer so that it would take effect and function for the votary's salvation.

Latin, the Vernacular, and Rewards for Proselytizing

Scribes sometimes wrote rubrics in the vernacular, even if they were copying the accompanying prayers in Latin. The vernacular had more immediacy, and also had the power to mediate between the Latin of the church and the individual's own spoken language, or between memorized poems and their immediate use. Readers would have more direct access to rubrics written in their mother tongue than they would to the Latin prayers, which was no one's mother tongue in the late Middle Ages.

Examples of mixed vernacular rubrics and Latin prayers are widespread, especially in the early part of the fifteenth century. An early example of this appears in a predominately Latin manuscript (HKB, Ms. KA 27), which

¹³ Falkenburg 2001 makes a similar point.

¹⁴ Areford 1998, which is superseded by his chapter 'Printing the Side Wound of Christ', in Areford 2010, pp. 226–267. On tears in late medieval devotion and the 'theology of tears', see Apostolos-Cappadona 2005.

bears this rubric in Middle Dutch (here and throughout this study translated into English):

rub: Whoever reads this prayer every day to honour the Holy Passion of our Lord will not die without [receiving] the *corpus Christi*, and our Lord will come to his aid. As frequently and as many times as one speaks this, he will receive forty days' indulgence; he will be protected from his enemies and from deadly sin during the days that he reads this. *inc:* Gratias ego tibi domine Jhesu Christe, qui voluisti pro redemptione mundi...

HKB, Ms. KA 27, fol. 17r

Vernacular rubrics that precede Latin prayers reveal that the reader was able to read Latin with sufficient competence to pronounce the words, silently or aloud, but not sufficiently well enough to grasp their complete meaning. Instructions mandating the mechanics of the prayer's performance are therefore given in the vernacular so that, even if the votary is not quite certain of what prayer she is uttering, she is sure to understand the consequences of her actions. Other evidence of this bilingualism emerges in a manuscript probably made by a nun at a Birgittine convent in the Diocese of Utrecht around 1500 (LBL, Add. Ms. 31001), in which the cloistered scribe expunctuated many of the words in the Latin sections (that is, put little dots under erroneous words, as an alternative to scraping them out with a knife), but wrote the Dutch parts with fluid, error-free competence. As best she could, the scribe muddled through the Latin.

Texts in prayerbooks deal with the related issue of literacy: somewhat counter-intuitively, rubrics often address votaries who could not read. For example, a rubric that prefaces the extremely common prayer to be said in front of the *arma Christi* (discussed later in Chapter 3), declares:

rub: Pope Sixtus IV wrote the fourth and fifth prayer of this group of seven, and he also doubled the indulgence, so that the total comes to 46,000 years and 40 days. Item, anyone who cannot read shall devoutly recite 15 *Pater nosters* and 15 *Ave Marias* while kneeling in front of the *arma Christi* instead, and for doing so, he shall receive the same indulgence. *inc:* O, Lord Jesus Christ, I pray for you on the cross...

AUB, Ms. V J 2, fol. 30r

Although the reader cannot 'read' the prayer, he or she can 'read' *Pater nosters* and *Ave Marias*, which were memorized. Their constant recitation yielded memorization by rote. This manuscript (AUB, Ms. V J 2) came from

the female convent of Franciscan tertiaries dedicated to St Cecilia in Hoorn, a house that may well have included members with various levels of literacy, including those who could not read. In fact, this manuscript was apparently in the possession of someone who could read but not write. The colophon indicates: 'Item, this book belongs to the cloister of St Cecilia in Hoorn, and is in the possession of Gheertruud Gherijtsdochter, my beloved sister' (AUB, Ms. V J 2, fol. 2r). Gheertruud had another sister write the note of ownership in the book, which suggests that she could not write herself. Sisters seem to have helped each other write, and also read. One can imagine a nun instructing an illiterate colleague to recite *Pater nosters* and *Ave Marias* in front of an image of the *arma Christi*. Many rubrics offer extra indulgences for teaching or transmitting the prayer, which often implies helping a sister learn it by heart. Even though prayer culture was thoroughly textual, it included many concessions for the unlettered.

Medieval people memorized the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo* (the Our Father, the Hail Mary, and the Creed) in Latin as a result of reciting them so frequently, although vernacular translations became acceptable at some point and even carried sufficient gravitas to perform the prayer function.¹⁵ Many prayerbooks appeared with these basic prayers translated into Middle Dutch, or *Dietsch*, as its medieval speakers called it. For example, a Middle Dutch prayerbook dated about 1394 (Ghent UB 1353, fols 2v–4r, fig. 5) opens with a text prefaced in red: 'This is the *Pater noster* in *Dietsch*'. This vernacular 'Our Father' provides a preamble to the entire manuscript.¹⁶

An insightful exegesis of the language problem appears in a book of hours written in North Holland in 1467, with tipped-in miniatures attributed to the Masters of the Haarlem Bible (AUB, Ms. VIII D 26).¹⁷ Written in Middle Dutch, the rubric explains the relationship between the two languages.

15 Medieval people learned to read by first memorizing the alphabet and the sound of each letter, then by learning to read the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo*. In books designed for children to learn to read, these three Latin texts often follow the alphabet. See Orme 2001, pp. 238–272; Wieck 2002; Rudy 2006.

16 In contrast, transcriptions of the *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, the *Credo*, and the Ten Commandments in Middle Dutch could be copied at the end of the codex, another position in which they are easily retrievable, as is the case in HKB, Ms. 135 G 22, fols 239v–240v.

17 For the Masters of the Haarlem Bible, see Defoer et al. 1989, no. 75, with further references.

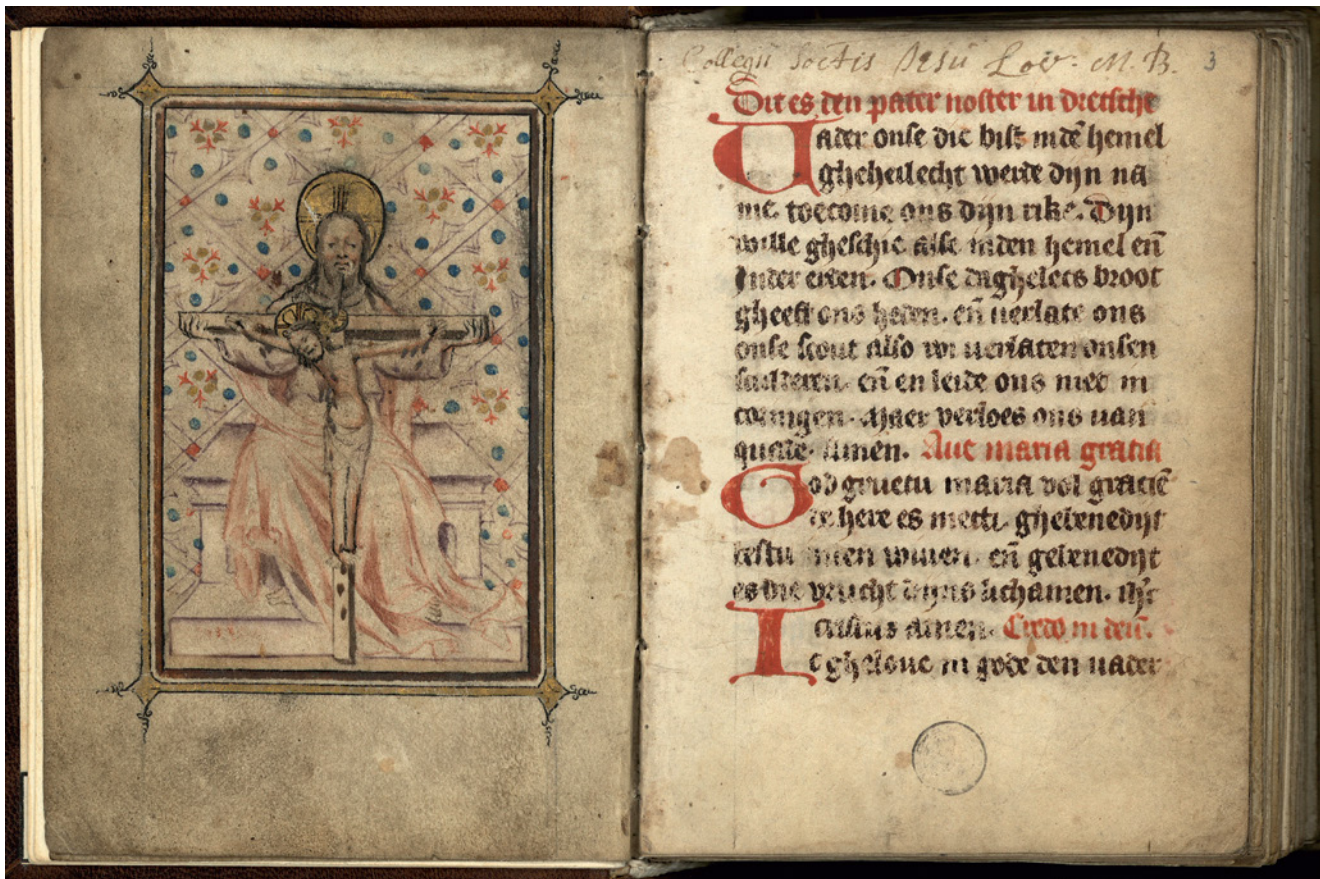


FIGURE 5 Opening in a manuscript prayer book made c. 1394, with parchment painting depicting the Trinity inserted opposite the Pater noster. GHENT, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 1353, FOLS 2V–3R.

rub: The *Pater noster*. The *Pater noster* said in Latin is just as good in the mouth of an unlettered man as it is in the mouth of an articulate priest. But a priest, or a lettered man who understands it, can read it with more devotion than can a layman who does not understand what it is that he is saying. Similarly, a good sharp sword is as good in a child's hand as it is in a gladiator's hand, but it is more useful to someone who knows how to fight. Furthermore, a light shines just as brightly in a blind man's eye as it does in a sighted man's, but it is more useful to the sighted man. For this reason, everyone should also say his prayers so that he understands them so that devotion and piety can come to him. For our Lord Jesus Christ did not write the *Pater noster* in Latin, but in the vernacular, which was the Hebrew that the common people in the land spoke! You should also know that the *Pater noster* stands above all other prayers, because the sons of man made the other prayers, but Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Wisdom of the Father, composed the *Pater noster*. Therefore, you should say your *Pater noster* with

utmost diligence because it is full of the utmost devotion and sweetness.¹⁸

AUB, Ms. VIII D 26, fol. 170v

This rubric justifies the recitation of prayer in the vernacular by opposing two categories: what is good and what is useful. Although a prayer in Latin is good, it is most useful if its reader understands it. The text then provides various common and important prayers in Dutch, including the *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, the Twelve Articles of Faith, the *Credo*, and even lists the Ten Commandments, the Five Senses, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Seven Works

¹⁸ I have found this rubric in only one other manuscript: LBL, Add. Ms. 18162, fol. 269rb. This manuscript, known as the London Passionale, is a 'Southern Netherlands' Middle Dutch copy of the Golden Legend, translated by the Bible Translator of 1360 (recently identified as Petrus Nagel), with 35 more legends appended at the end. The manuscript was copied c. 1465–70, probably in Utrecht, and contains one miniature by the Master of the Feathery Clouds. The justification of the vernacular version of the *Pater noster* is copied at the end of the manuscript, in a section of texts about the utility of this prayer.



FIGURE 6 Opening in a prayer book made with a full-page miniature depicting Jesus teaching the Disciples the Pater noster, painted by the Masters of the Gold Scrolls, facing the Pater noster, Ave Maria, and Credo. Manuscript made a c. 1450 in Ghent or Bruges. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ADD. MS. 39638, FOLS 34V–35R.

of Mercy in Dutch, apparently to corral these concepts into neat, countable, and intelligible units for a vernacular audience. Whether in Latin or the vernacular, the *Pater noster* occupied a more elevated and authentic position than did other prayers, because Jesus himself composed it and, as the rubric says, taught it to his disciples.¹⁹ Some images even depict Jesus as a teacher of the *Pater noster*, for example in a book of hours illuminated by the Masters of the Gold Scrolls in the mid-fifteenth century (fig. 6). Whereas most prayers were written by church fathers and other devout medievals, the *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and a handful of others were purportedly composed by personages from sacred history. These prayers date from the period of the lifetimes of Mary and Jesus and claim a transmundane authorship. Rubrics often vouch for the prayer they accompany in order to stake a claim to its authenticity. Although Latin is usually awarded

a privileged position in the Roman church, this rubric points out that Jesus himself spoke Hebrew: the medievals had not grasped that he spoke Aramaic but they realized that he did not speak Latin. As the rubric suggests, part of what makes the prayer authentic is that Jesus said it in *his* vernacular, and so what will make it authentic for votaries is to say it in their own vernacular.

Nevertheless, Latin occupied a privileged place in medieval Christendom. Even if votaries could effectively utter the *Pater noster* in the vernacular, no one suggested that bread would become the flesh of Jesus if a priest uttered ‘Hoc est enim corpus meum’ in translation. With these supernatural words, as well as with the *Pater noster*, the medium is the message: words emanating from ‘on High’, including foreign or secret words, could mediate supernatural effects, but only if they were pronounced in ritualistic language. Linguistic exotica suggest mystery and superhuman provenance, something more elevated than a common, Earth-born origin. Rubrics accompanying vernacular prayer texts, likewise, frequently assert a heavenly origin, one that circumvents doubt and commands power.

19 For a sermon by Herman Stekin describing the privileged origins of the *Pater noster*, see BKB, Ms. 1654–55, fols 1–163 (unpublished). For the *Pater noster* as a teaching tool for children, see Wieck 2002 and Rudy 2006.

Functions of Rubrics

Most prayerbooks from the fifteenth century bear rubrics, which could continue for several folios. But this definition of ‘rubric’ requires qualification. Some rubrics begin in red ink and continue in black, which is occasionally underlined in red ink. Sometimes these scribes’ decisions must have been simply practical: underlining in red would be an easier solution for the planner of the codex, who otherwise would have to leave carefully measured lines of the foliated text page blank, to be later filled in by the rubricator.²⁰ A very few highly decorated and lavishly expensive manuscripts bear burnished gold rubrics, which make the instructions for prayer gleam and visually leap from the page (fig. 7).²¹

More than colour, what unites the rubrics in this study is their linguistic similarity, which is that they are written in one of various kinds of instructive language. They constitute the instruction manual that is interwoven with the prayer manual. For the period in question—the early fifteenth century to the height of the Protestant Reformation in the middle of the sixteenth century—I have identified six primary functions for rubrics in prayerbooks, detailed below. Rubrics simultaneously do two kinds of work. The first three categories describe metaphorical relationships created by the rubric between the parts of the text, first between the body of the book/text and that of the reader, and second and third between the body of the book/text and that of Christ’s blood and/or flesh. The last three are about quantification and verification. Rubrics quantify rewards, demonstrate the provenance of the prayers, and demonstrate that the prayers do what they claimed to do. They are in a sense about a prayer’s efficacy. Those aspects of rubrics that most interest me are the prevalence of indulgence rewards they announce, and the function of the bloodiness and embodiedness of the text itself.

1 Prefacing, Differentiating, and Emphasizing

Rubrics are among the forms of manuscript decoration—the others being historiated initials, marginal pen

decoration, and miniatures—that indicate major and minor textual subdivisions. Among these forms, rubrics are perhaps the most basic way of dividing areas of text or marking important textual beginnings. Rubrics are unique, however, in providing a buffer between one’s worldly activity and one’s prayer. By putting the mind in the correct and prayerful state, and commanding the body to accompany the mind on that journey, rubrics condition not only the user’s use of the text, but the user him- or herself.²²

For most late medieval prayerbooks, rubrication calls attention to the text, thereby emphasizing it visually. In this regard it fulfils other sundry design roles.²³ For example, in a highly decorated book of hours made by the Master of the Haarlem Bible after 1470 (HKB, Ms. BPH 134, fig. 8), the rubricator’s red lists death notices just before the Office of the Dead:

In the year of Our Lord 1464 on St Lawrence Day, my dear husband, Gelys Gerytsson, died.

In the year of Our Lord 1470 on the Sunday after St Francis’s Day, Gelys Willemssoen, my dear father, died.

In the year of Our Lord 1450 on St Gaucolf’s Day, Katryn, wife of Gelys Willemssoen, my dear mother, died. Pray for all their souls.

Here begins the Office of the Dead.

HKB, Ms. BPH 134, fol. 154v

Filling most of the page with red, the prominence of this necrology, as well as its placement just before the Office, the textual vehicle for remembering the dead, suggest that the entire prayerbook had been constructed in response to the death of the patroness’s father in 1470.²⁴ The rubricator’s red ink transforms these death notices into an apparatus for meditation, since the patroness would read the prayer for the dead that follows to commemorate deceased family members.

A scribe from Leiden, writing in the ‘spikey script’ typical of that city, used three colours to make meaning out of ink (fig. 9). He or she used red ink to present a

²⁰ In light of the paleographical evidence gleaned from the hundreds of Middle Dutch manuscripts I have surveyed for this study, it seems probable that often, although not always, the scribe was also the rubricator of late Medieval Dutch prayerbooks. This fact does not, however, affect the layout/spacing issue.

²¹ HKB, Ms. 135 E 40: Book of Hours in Dutch, c. 1455–60, 135 fols parchment, 189 × 139 mm; 19 lines. Contains 2 miniatures; 26 historiated initials; 53 fols with border decoration. Broekhuijsen 2006, esp. p. 104, notes the unusual feature of the gold headings.

²² In this way, rubrics function like musical passages at the beginning of chants that help establish the singer’s presence and readiness; these are called *hic et nunc* (here and now) passages.

²³ Red script can also differentiate text in other ways: e.g., in the bilingual Psalter of Isabelle, Queen of England (r. 1308–1330), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Gall. 16, every verso is inscribed in Latin in black, with the French translation in red given on the facing folio. See Stanton 2002.

²⁴ Bueren 1999.



FIGURE 7 Opening in a book of hours with gold rubrics. Incipit at the Hours of the Cross, with a historiated initial depicting the Betrayal, made in Utrecht, c. 1455–60.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 135 E 40, FOL. 77R.



FIGURE 8 Opening in a book of hours at the Vigil for the Dead, with an Obituary (list of the dead) prefacing it, made in Haarlem after 1470. THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. BPH 134, FOLS 154V–155R.

poem about the *arma Christi*, in which each instrument is named:

[Red] Christ, your passion cross, nails and death
Spear, whips, tears, red wounds
Sweat, water, blood, and great pain
Will be my consolation in my last moments
As I must die the bitter death. Amen.

HKB, Ms. 133 H 16, fol. 46r

These words take the place of an image of the *arma Christi*. They form an object-poem.²⁵ Then the scribe used blue ink to make a personal appeal: 'O, dear lord Jesus Christ, true God and man, I thank and love you a hundred thousand thousand times for your blessed humanity' (HKB, Ms. 133 H 16, fol. 46r). The scribe then switches to red to indicate the size of the indulgence for the prayer, and then finally inscribes the prayer—the verses of St Gregory—in black. With these colour choices, the scribe inscribes the differences between several types of text: poetry, thanksgiving, instruction, and prayer.

²⁵ The same object-poem appears in HKB, Ms. 74 G 3, fol. 96r as an extension of the Hours of the Cross.

2 Choreographing

The corporeality of the book extends outwards to the reader, who receives instructions about how to use his or her own body during prayer: by kneeling, standing, or thinking about something specific. In a manuscript that a Franciscan sister made in the first decade of the sixteenth century, for example, a rubric choreographs an entire series of actions:

rub: With this following prayer you should think hard and search for ten or twelve of your worst sins of which you are guilty and throw them in front of your heart. And then you should fall on your knees and fold your hands together and beg our dear Lord for complete forgiveness from all of your sins, saying: *inc:* O, merciful God...

BKB, Ms. II 3688, fols 176r–176v

At first the contrition is mental, then it is externalized through a prostration of the body.

Other rubrics direct the reader to say the prayer at a particular time of day, such as the moment when she wakes up, and most prayerbooks include a section of prayers, usually grouped together, to be said during the mass. In one prayer related to eating the body of Christ—that is,

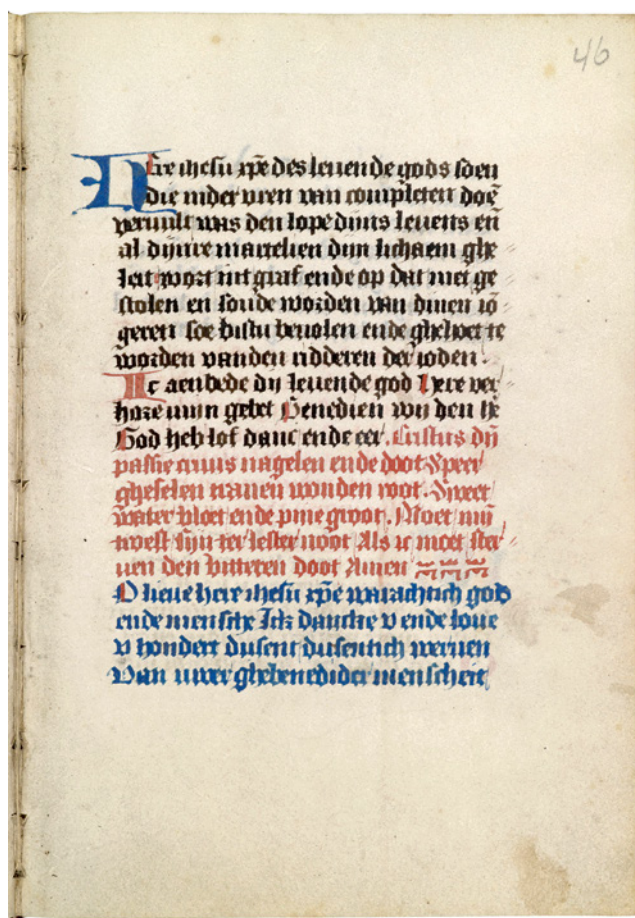


FIGURE 9 Folio in a prayer book with a prayer to the arma Christi in red ink, with an appeal in blue ink. Made c. 1475–1500 in Leiden.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 133 H 16, FOL. 46R.

the rite at the centre of the mass—the rubric warns the reader:

rub: Item, you should not keep the holy sacrament in your mouth too long, because many sorts of dangers could happen. As you take the holy sacrament, [say the following:].

BKB, Ms. II 5443, fol. 217r

The reader should recite ‘the following’ silently, rather than aloud with a full mouth, as the implicit dangers must include accidental chewing and spraying rather than saying. This directive quality of the rubric sheds some light on our understanding of exactly how and when prayer took place. While many rubrics indicate that the reader is to perform a prayer in conjunction with a painted or sculpted image that depicts a specific person or concept, others indicate that specific prayers are to be said before, during, or after orally consuming the sacrament.

Of particular importance to the current study, a rubric can tell the reader to pray in front of an image. Such is the case in a manuscript prayerbook written by Augustinian canonesses at Maaseik in the first decade of the sixteenth century, which contains several unconventional prayers. One tells the reader how to stand in front of an image of Christ:

rub: Whoever reads the following prayer every Sunday to honour the Crown of Thorns of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the pain that he suffered in his blessed head does a good service to God. One thereby earns full grace. But whoever can should read this crown kneeling or standing but not sitting, and do so in front of that image of Our Lord. First read this following prayer. *inc:* Hail, merciful Lord Jesus Christ, full of grace, compassion is with you. Blessed is your pain, your passion, your wounds, and your death, and blessed is the blood of thy holy blessed wounds. Amen. *inc:* O, lord Jesus Christ, the living son of God...*rub:* Now read a *Regina coeli* to the sorrowing mother and then offer the crown with this prayer. *inc:* O, dear lord Jesus Christ, I offer you this lame prayer in honour of the great love in which you loved all the previously mentioned pains that you suffered in your blessed head...

BKB, Ms. II 1332, fols 214v–222r

This extraordinary rubric provides a contingency plan for readers who are too weak or frail to kneel or stand. Although the rubric does not specify what kind of image the reader is to seek, the context of the prayer makes plain that it should depict Jesus with his crown of thorns. An image of Mary with her dead son in her lap would be particularly apt, as the second part of the prayer has the reader addressing her. Noteworthy here is that reciting the prayer ‘makes’ a crown, a thing that the votary can offer as a gift, like a chaplet of roses but reconfigured to be appropriate for this Passion context. This rubric prefaces a contrafact of the *Ave Maria*, that is, the common Marian prayer reworded to fit the crown of thorns. Kneeling before the image of Christ in pain would have ensured that the reader shared some of the pain (for kneeling on a hard surface is painful), but would also have allowed the image to function as the recipient of the address. Kneeling would also have placed the votary in a low position, which mirrors the content of the text when the votary disparages the quality of her own gift.

A request for a specific prayerful stance appears in a tiny prayerbook probably made by a nun in Delft around 1440–60 (AUB, Ms. I G 15, fol. 138ra), in which a common text written by Henry Suso (Heinrich Seuse) called the

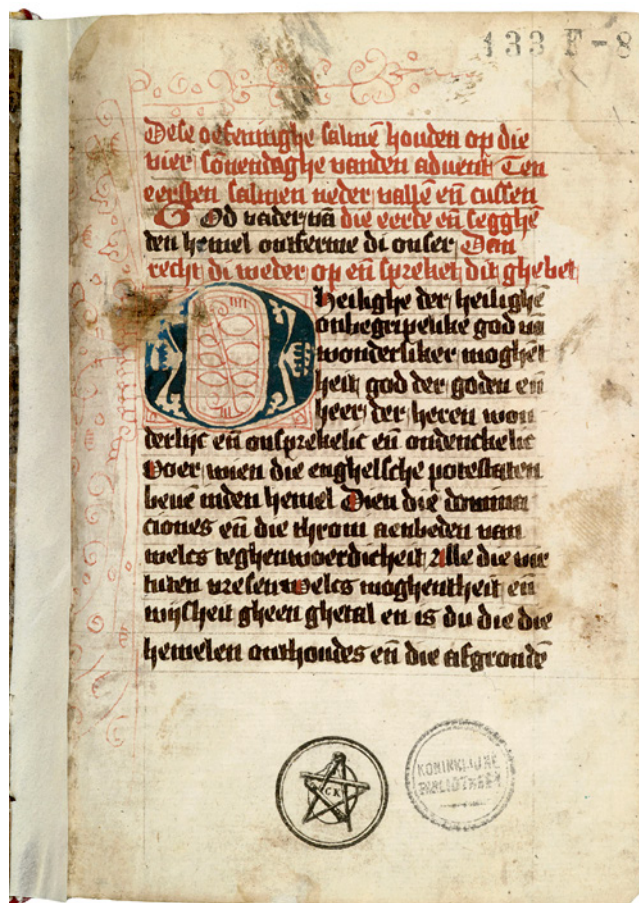


FIGURE 10 Rubric instructing the reader to fall to the ground and kiss it, read a prayer, then stand up and read another prayer, in a manuscript prayer book written in 1528 in the Northern Netherlands.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 133 F 8, FOL. 1R.

'Hundred Articles' appears with rubricated instructions. The Hundred Articles require a seven-day commitment. It comprises seven sections so that its practitioner can say part of it each day for a week. On Fridays, for example, the rubrics demand that the votary read the first part of the prayer 'while lying or stretched out', then 'read the prayer that follows next while lying down'.²⁶

Similarly, a manuscript dated 1528 and containing prayers for the ecclesiastical year begins:

rub: One should perform this exercise on the four Sundays before Advent. First one shall fall down and kiss the ground and say, 'God, father in heaven,

have mercy on us'. Then stand up again and say this prayer:...

HKB, Ms. 133 F 8, fol. 1r; fig. 10

This rubric not only tells the reader what to say and how to say it, but also when to say it. I suspect that many prayers were only said at certain times of the year, as this one is to be said before Advent. Only occasionally are such references to the liturgical calendar spelled out; votaries might simply have read certain Passion prayers in the week before Easter, for example, without explicitly being told to do so.

Sometimes these physical movements copy and subsume those from the other monotheisms: one prayer, for example, is to be said while facing east. The votary is told to 'turn your face eastwards when you read this prayer, and read it with a devout heart. *Oh, lord, by the Holy City, where the sun first rises...*' (BKB, Ms. 18270, fols 58v–59r)

3 Connoting Blood

Late medieval believers, who were soaked in the stories of Christ's Passion, surely drew the relationship between the flesh of Jesus and the skin of parchment, and the correspondence between red ink and red blood.²⁷ At times a scribe would write a prayer to the Passion in red ink, and write the corresponding rubric in black ink, such as in a rhyming prayer to the Passion in HKB, Ms. 133 D 10 (fig. 11):

rub: Anyone who speaks this prayer with a clean conscience may earn 6666 days' indulgence, and he will not die in peril and he will still be forgiven, and he will not be captured by his enemies. Amen.

O, highest cross
O, my most bloody squinted eyes
O, deepest wounds
O, Jesus, anointed brother
Be my keeper and protector

HKB, Ms. 133 D 10, fol. 172r

Here the black and red inks differentiate the rubric from the prayer, but with their usual relationship inverted. The rubric is given in black, so that the red can be reserved for the passionate poem. In a different context—a prayerbook made in Delft in the third quarter of the fifteenth century—the bleeding red instructions overtake the black prayers (fig. 12).

²⁶ The prayer appears in many Dutch prayerbooks but is not always divided the same way. In HKB, Ms. 135 C 9, fols 35r–51r, for example, the section for which the reader should lie on the ground comes on Saturday for the 75th article. For the various versions of the Hundred Articles, see Aelst 2005.

²⁷ For the relationship between rubrics and blood, see Rubin 1991, pp. 302–308; and Hennessy 2013.

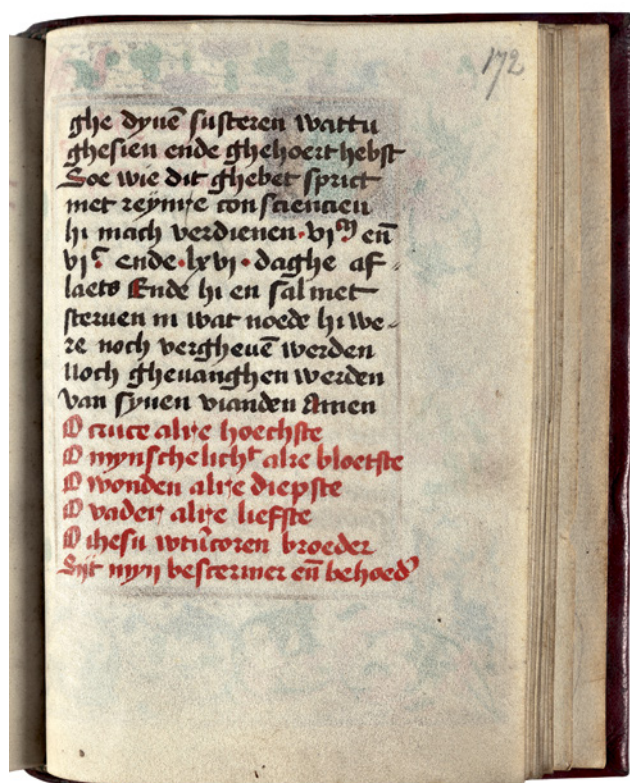


FIGURE 11 Black rubric and red prayer, in a prayer book made c. 1450–1500 in Limburg.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 133 D 10, FOL. 172R.

The interrelationship between the fleshy substances—text, page, Christ—could be played upon in endlessly creative ways. Or, at least, this set of metaphors was something of which rubricators were vividly aware. Within the Hours of the Passion in a book of hours made for the Bishopric of Münster in the second half of the fifteenth century (HKB, Ms. 133 D 7, 195r; fig. 13), the rubricator encountered a small tear in the parchment. Rather than hide it, he has emphasized it by drawing small red dots round the hole to resemble blood, as if the wound in the parchment skin were bleeding. Further reinforcing the bloody meaning, the rubricator has also underlined the words *blot* and *lichaem*—blood and body—with red ink, in the context of a prayer describing the thick nails penetrating Christ's hand and the wooden cross.²⁸ Rubricators, in other words, conjured a devotional object out of a void. By

28 HKB, Ms. 133 D 7: Book of Hours in Middle Dutch, c. 1475–1500, 285 fols parchment, 128 × 88 mm; with calendar for the Bishopric of Münster, made in the eastern Netherlands (Bishopric of Münster). Contains 7 miniatures; 2 painted borders; decorated initials, decorated borders. For literature, see www.kb.nl/manuscripts.



FIGURE 12 Page with more rubric than prayer, book of hours and prayer book made c. 1460–80 in Delft.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 135 E 22, FOL. 168V.

draining Christ's body fluids onto the page, the rubricator was conspiring with Christ's Passion.²⁹

Red words can also connote the Passion. For example, someone has added a prayer to the top of a loose engraving depicting the Mass of St Gregory (fig. 14). The prayer praises Christ's Passion and wounds and brings blood-red colour to an otherwise mute painted image.

4 Announcing Indulgences and Other Benefits of Prayer

Rubrics often announce the indulgence (Middle Dutch: *aflaat*, pl. *aflaten*) for performing the prayer. Indulgences were a form of reward, often earned through prayer, that would reduce a person's sentence in Purgatory, the middle realm between Heaven and Hell, where souls were kept to be 'cleaned' or purified by fire. This function

29 Nancy Vine Durling, working on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century devotional manuscripts in French, has found extensive evidence suggesting that book planners often worked flaws in the parchment into the book's programme, and used holes above all as signifiers of meaning as they copied texts onto the page. See Durling 2004. I thank Jennifer Borland for this reference.

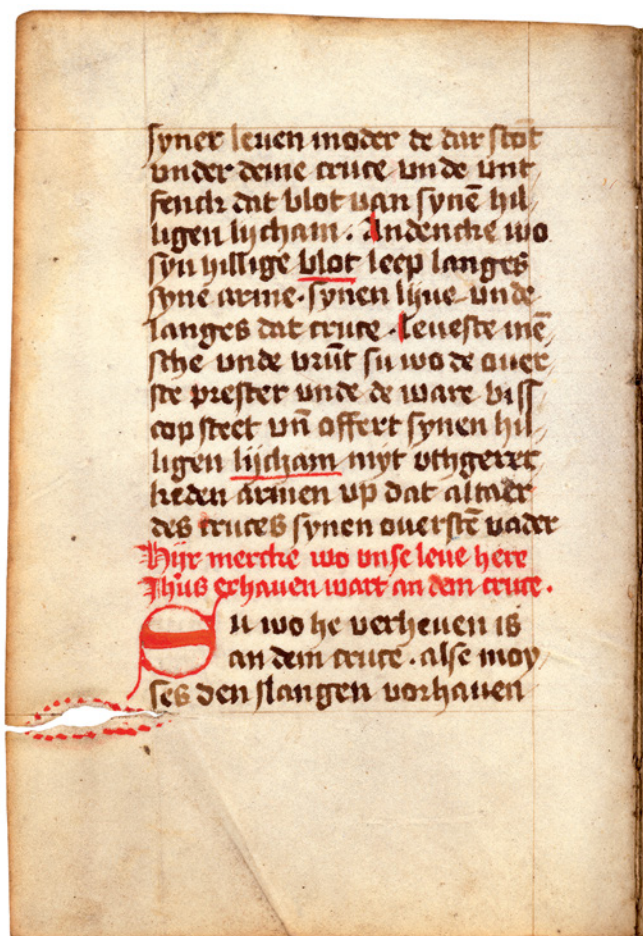


FIGURE 13 Image of a wound built round a hole in the parchment, in a prayer book made c. 1450–1500 in the eastern Netherlands. THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 133 D 7, FOL. 195V.

of rubrics became complicated, especially at the end of the fifteenth century and just before the Reformation, and warrants a fuller discussion (see below). Indulgences are often entangled in rubrics' other functions—especially, directing the reader to say a prayer in front of a specific image—which has distinct repercussions for an understanding of the function of images both inside prayerbooks (miniatures) and outside them (paintings, sculptures, and other objects). Indulgences inspired votaries' interactions with images, which were necessary for winning the indulgences.

Some miniatures depict souls being freed from Purgatory as a result of the prayers said for them by others. In a book of hours from South Holland, for example, a full-page miniature depicts the release of a soul, as if the release were the result of a monk's prayer (HKB, Ms. BPH 145, fol. 167v, fig. 15). The souls huddle in a flaming pen. One implores an angel bearing a ewer with quenching water, while another angel cradles a recently saved soul, who is upward bound and close to Jesus. I take up the topic



FIGURE 14 Mass of St Gregory, hand-painted engraving with added prayer in handwritten red letters, c. 1500. AMSTERDAM, RIJKSPRENTENKABINET, 1955–502.

of images of purgatorial remission further in Chapter 8. A lengthy rubric on the facing page, bound to the miniature by a common marginal motif, reads:

rub: A holy man said: Whoever speaks this prayer with true reverence and with a loving heart for 20 days for a soul can hope that that soul will be freed. First, speak one *Pater noster* and one *Ave Maria* with a *Requiem* and a *Miserere Mei Deus* on your bare knees, with great desire, with wrung hands, and addressed to Our Lord. O, Lord, give him everlasting peace, and may light perpetual shine upon him.

HKB, Ms. BPH 145, fol. 168r

This rubric directs the reader in the imperative and speaks about the reader in the third person, as if the authoritative text of the rubric were the intercessor between the reading subject and the Lord. From this high vantage point, the rubric demands a set of actions, involving kneeling on



FIGURE 15 Opening in a prayer book, with a full-page miniature depicting a monk's prayers releasing a soul from Purgatory, and a rubric and prayer for releasing a soul, made c. 1475–1500 in South Holland.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. BPH 145, FOLS 167V–168R.

bare knees, reciting four prayers—which the manuscript itself does not provide and which the reader is assumed to either know by heart or to have readily available—and finally, adopting the appropriate loving inward emotional state. All this, performed for twenty days, is necessary to free a soul. The rubric suggests that this act of prayer is a ritual—to be followed as scrupulously as a legal deposition—and therefore must be accomplished with the strictest attention to prescribed lines, choreography, and solemnity.

Occasionally, rubrics offer an emotional component alongside a mechanistic one. Images played several roles in this system. They marked text passages, provided prototypes of images involved in miracles, and connected votaries to the origin myths of the prayers they were reciting. They also present a speaking subject for some of the texts, which the votary reads like a ventriloquist. These roles coalesce in an image–rubric–prayer combination, which presents a version of the fifteen *Pater noster*s, and is also related to the *Adoro te*, whose indulgence it also seems to borrow. Accompanying this is a historiated initial that shows Jesus as the Man of Sorrows, surrounded by the *arma*

Christi.³⁰ The rubric is clearly related to one found in a book of hours in Latin and Dutch, made around 1510 for a canoness (BKB, Ms. 15078). It consists mostly of directions that Christ provides:

rub: Our Saviour Jesus Christ taught one of his friends fifteen *Pater noster*s and fifteen *Ave Marias*. Whoever speaks them every day with a good heart may receive great happiness by doing so. [Christ said,] ‘Whoever speaks them every day in honour and reverence of all of my suffering and my pain, I would release fifteen souls from Purgatory for him, and I would have fifteen good people remain in a good life, and I would [release for] him fifteen sinners, and I myself would give him bitter sorrow and understanding of all his sins, and seven days before his death I would give him my holy body to eat before the eyes of God, and I would quench his everlasting thirst with my holy blood, and I would set my cross against all his enemies, and I myself would come, in order to lead him as a bridegroom

30 The prayer is in Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, G 78B.

leads his bride, bringing him from down here up to heaven. When I have brought him there, I would pour a special drink from the fountain of my divinity, which is something that I would not do for those who have not gone around with these prayers. Now hear which are these fifteen *Pater nosters* with which one may earn the benefit described above'. *inc*: You shall speak one *Pater noster* and one *Ave Maria*, in honour of the fact that my limbs were all wrenched asunder so that not a single one remained in its place. Speak the second *Pater noster* in honour of the three plump nails that went through my hands and feet...*rub*: There were 6000 and 600 and 65 wounds, not counting the five Holy Wounds. Whoever reads this will earn 6600 days' indulgence as often as he reads it.

BKB, Ms. 15078, fols 162r–164v

This rubric emphasizes the happiness that Christ enjoyed, which he promises to transfer to the reader if she dutifully reads the prayer as directed. The prayer has both a rubricated preface and a postscript; the former provides a narrative describing the origin myth of the prayer, while the latter summarily describes the indulgences that the reader shall earn. Here the arithmetic is troubled, since the final sum should equal 6665 days' indulgence if it is to follow from the number of wounds described; one can see that votaries questioned whether the five major wounds of Christ, which were often represented as free-floating objects for devotion, should be counted among the thousands of smaller wounds with which Jesus is often represented. An illuminated incipit letter *G* contains a sensitive image of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, surrounded by the *arma Christi*. It provides an image through which the reader can visualize Christ's suffering (fig. 16). Also noteworthy, this rubric urges the reader to carry the prayer on his person, and the grace is not available to anyone who has 'not gone around with these prayers'. This suggests two possibilities: either the rubric urges the votary to carry the prayer around in order to disseminate and proselytize it (in this way, a prayer carries with it its own code for replication, as if it were an organism), or the prayer itself functions as a shield to protect its bearer from all the perils mentioned.

5 Authenticating Prayer

To authenticate prayer was often to say something about its author or its authority. Rubrics provide the story behind the inclusion of the prayers and therefore reassure the votary that he or she is, in fact, using prayers that have some reputable origin. A colourful story accompanies a



FIGURE 16 Folio in a prayer book, with a prayer to the Wounds, with a historiated initial depicting Christ as Man of Sorrows with the arma Christi, made c. 1510 in the Southern Netherlands. BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. 15078, FOL. 163R.

widely popular prayer, a group of psalms that St Bernard was said to have read, beginning *Illumina oculos meos* (A light unto my eyes), and translated into Middle Dutch in numerous prayerbooks for lay and religious alike.³¹ The eight psalms are usually prefaced by a rubric that explains the selection of these eight, based on a legend of Bernard's repartee with the devil:

rub: The abbot St Bernard once spoke to the devil. The devil said that he knew eight verses in the Psalter that would protect anyone who said them daily. St Bernard asked him which ones they were, but the devil did not want to reveal them. So St Bernard read

³¹ The rubric was translated into other vernaculars, as well, including an English version, in which the incipits of the eight psalms are given in Latin, followed by versions written in condensed, eight-line English verse; Revell and British Library 1975, p. 69, no. 206.

the entire Psalter every day for an entire year. After the end of the year the devil came back to him and said that he had been beaten for an entire year with burning hot chains because he had not revealed them to Bernard, and he finally revealed them to him. And here they are: *inc....*³²

BKB, Ms. 21893, fol. 199v

Bernard's recitation of the entire psalter with such vigour and constancy needles the devil. For withholding information, the devil is tortured daily with hot chains. The rubric's use of the passive suggests that the beating lacks agency. Just who has been beating the devil with hot chains? What is clear is that it is all authorized by God. Because the devil shrivels up at the thought of hearing the entire Psalter, he capitulates and tells Bernard the eight psalms that will save his soul but, it seems, will not make the devil shriek with terror. Ultimately the protagonist outwits the devil by outpraying him. As the rubric suggests, prayer can function as a weapon to defeat the enemy and to create a spiritual alliance with St Bernard.

Stories such as St Bernard's provide extensive, anecdotal meta-stories about prayer which medieval worshippers sought in numerous forms. These stories gave prayer a provenance and an authority, especially if the given prayer originated from a miracle (which certified that God had approved it), or from the *vita* of a saint, who may have used the given prayer to enter among the elect. Occasionally, an image takes over the role of authenticating prayer, as is the case of a full-page miniature in LBL, Harley Ms. 2850 (fig. 17). The image depicts St Bridget, who wears the unusual headgear of her order, which helps to identify her. She is writing with her feather quill at a desk, but she is not inscribing words of her own creation. Rather, an angel is whispering the text into her ear, while she merely takes divine dictation. This indicates the divine provenance of the prayer to which the image is attached. In other words, the prayer is not just made up: nothing authenticates the origins of a prayer like an angel's whisper.

6 Providing Testimonials

Rubrics provided testimonials assuring the reader of the power of prayer in the form of *exempla*, brief stories about miracles that demonstrated the power of prayer and the

mercifulness of God. Books of miracles record *exempla* which account for the efficacy of prayer, proving that souls were really freed, that praying in front of images would have its desired effects, and that one's guardian angel really was vigilantly on the job. Thus, this role subsumes the other four. In *exempla*, the faithful receive divine gifts, doubters are humiliated, those who are staunch of character and sincere in their prayers vanquish those who defile the host, cheat, or harm the image of the Virgin, who herself miraculously speaks to her obeisant devotees.³³ Such miracles occasionally provided the material for rubrics, especially the variety in which the rubric provides a testimonial for its efficacy, based on past performance.³⁴ For example:

rub: A good man prostrated himself before the altar of his creator with great devotion and with crying eyes and asked our Lord about the suffering he had undergone on the earthly realm. Then our Lord spoke: 'You are now reminding me of the Passion I suffered, but not of the joy that I had when I hung on the cross'.

Then the devout man spoke: 'Lord, I did not know that you had enjoyed a single joy on the cross'.

Our Lord replied: 'I had many joys on the cross when I had overcome all my distress and had saved mankind. Every person who reflects on this joy with fifteen Pater nosters and Ave Marias will receive a greater reward than if he trudged over the sea with his own power and lived in the Holy Sepulchre and built an edifice in the middle of the Christian kingdom. He will earn more than if he went to Santiago [de Compostela] and read a Pater noster and an Ave Maria with every footstep. He will even earn more than if he were to go to St Thomas' in India. And if all the mountains were paper and all the seas ink and all the people were the fastest writers in the world, they could not describe the great reward'.

³² The rubric and story of St Bernard and the devil appear in many manuscripts (see Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, G 66); this example appears in a manuscript that a beghard from Sint-Truiden copied in 1482; see Leroquais 1927–1929, vol. I, p. xxx.

³³ For a discussion of *exempla* that portray 'Spiritual Doubt', see the chapter with that title in Flanagan 2008.

³⁴ Middle Dutch *exempla* treating the Virgin are the topic of a monumental study and edition by de Vooy 1903–1904. In his two volumes, de Vooy edits the Marian miracles and legends from nearly every surviving Middle Dutch manuscript. He builds upon this repertory and discusses *exempla* with other protagonists in de Vooy 1926. For a broader discussion of Marian miracles, see Rubin 2009, pp. 182–188.



FIGURE 17 Opening in a prayer book, with a full-page miniature depicting an angel whispering a prayer into St Bridget's ear while she acts as scribe, facing the 'Fifteen Pater Nosters of St Bridget'. Made c. 1450–75 in the Southern Netherlands. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, HARLEY MS. 2850, FOL. 47V–48R.

Then the man spoke: 'O Lord, will you please teach this and thereby reveal how you will grant such a lavish reward?' Then the Lord spoke: *inc...*³⁵

BKB, Ms. II 3688, fols 173r–174v

By including words spoken by the Lord, this prayer differs from the structure of most prayers, which usually provide a monologue for the votary, not for God. The metaphoric language of the rubric poetically describes the value of the indulgence. This rubric appears in a prayerbook written by a tertiary sister near Luik in the

early sixteenth century. She seems to have copied the manuscript herself and included tens of similarly long, complicated flavourful rubrics to accompany a unique set of prayers. In the act of describing the largest indulgence reward she could muster, she refers to her own act of copying, turning her mountain of paper and sea of ink into a stack of written prayers. This unique rubric describes the merits of pilgrimage to the outer reaches of the known world: the prayer is better than taking up residence in the Holy Sepulchre. It does so in the context of God's great revelation to a man who displayed the appropriate compassion for the Lord's suffering. Strangely, compassion turns out to be the wrong emotion, for the Lord only speaks of his joy on the cross. Although Christ's joy is never mentioned biblically, people must have attributed joy to him in order to make him easier to relate to—a man who both suffered pain and experienced joy.

* * * * *

35 While the rubric is, as far as I can tell, unique among surviving Middle Dutch prayerbooks, the metaphoric mountains of paper and seas of ink also appear in the form of an *exemplum* and is included in various Middle Dutch compilations; see de Vooy's 1903–1904, vol. II, CCXXXVIII, pp. 45–46, 317. In addition to de Vooy's study and edition of legends of the Virgin (de Vooy's 1926), see Crant's edition of Jacques de Vitry's *exempla* published in 1890, repr. 1967; Bremond et al. 1982, esp. pp. 17–26, with further bibliography.

In addition to marking, introducing, emphasizing, choreographing, advertising indulgences, and providing testimonials, rubrics also fulfil a number of minor functions. Sometimes tables of contents, foliation, running titles and other finding aids are written in red to help set them off from the regular text. And of course, important feast days—red-letter days—appear rubricated or even gilded in the calendars of most prayerbooks. For the purposes of this study a ‘rubric’ will be tightly circumscribed. This study treats texts in prayerbooks written in Middle Dutch, which are usually written (or at least begun or underlined) in red ink, and which provide instruction for prayer. The functional definition of a rubric (that is, a text that performs a certain job within a prayerbook, as outlined above) trumps the mechanical definition (a text written in red).

Performing Prayer in a Church

Rubrics therefore help to structure the performance of prayer. Where is this performance to take place? Absorbed reading structures a fantasy place that can be far removed in time and space from the reader’s immediate location, and many rubrics give no indication of where they are to be read. Other prayers imply a location. For example, those to read upon waking or just before going to sleep might logically be read near bed. Other prayers are more explicit about where they should be read and imply that the reader takes the book to church.

Rubrics can choreograph a reader’s relationship with architecture, specifically the church. A book of hours from the eastern part of the Netherlands (BKB, Ms. 11059) contains prayers for approaching, entering, and sitting in church. This cycle provides prayers to recite at every stage of the journey to church:

rub: You should read this when you want to go to church, especially to mass, so read this with devotion. *inc:* Hail, city of God...

rub: You should read this when you first see the above-mentioned church. *inc:* O, Lord, I enter your house...

rub: You should read this when you take holy water. *inc:* This is the blessed water of our Lord’s five wounds, with which he completely forgives me of my sins...

rub: You should read this when you sit in the church and greet our dear Lord with it. *inc:* God greet you, dear Lord Jesus Christ...

BKB, Ms. 11059, fols 143v–144r

These little prayers therefore shape readers’ expectations as they make their way into the church. They prepare the mind by raising the ritual quality of crossing the threshold.

Later in the same manuscript, further prayers choreograph the reader’s actions as he or she leaves the church. Specifically, they are designed to be read in the churchyard where the bodies are buried. Reading the prayers in this space would therefore cause the votary to linger here, with the church’s exterior in his or her peripheral vision and the bodies of the dead close at hand. The rubric states:

rub: You should read this following prayer in the presence of the dead in the churchyard. Pope Innocent has given to each recitation of this prayer three years of indulgence in remission of set penance. *inc:* Hail, all the believing souls whose bodies lie here...

BKB, Ms. 11059, fol. 217v

This short prayer appears in many Middle Dutch prayerbooks.³⁶ Not only do the prayers in BKB, Ms. 11059 determine the reader’s progress while slowly moving through the interior and exterior spaces, but the presence of these prayers themselves implies that the reader is taking the book to church. This is a tacit assumption in many rubrics discussed in this study, and I therefore conclude that many late medieval lay votaries took their books to church and used them there, sometimes in conjunction with ‘public’ images in church.

Other manuscripts also imply that their owners took them to church. For example, a manuscript copied by several sisters who were probably canonesses regular of the Convent of Jerusalem in Venray, contains a prayer to the relics in a church:

rub: A prayer for all the holy relics in this church. The holy pope Honorius gave 100 days’ indulgence to those who read this prayer. *inc:* Hail, all the saints of God, whose relics are preserved here in this most holy city, in whose honour and in whose memory this holy church was built, and to whom this altar has been dedicated. I beseech you that you have mercy on us, who flee to you and call you for help...

AUB, Ms. I G 35, fols 29r–29v

Indexical markers such as ‘this holy church’ only make sense if the book owner takes the book into the church where the relics are. A rubric for a different prayer to relics similarly specifies that it should be directed ‘to

36 The prayer is a translation of *Avete, omnes anime fideles*.

the holy relics in this present church' (Ghent, UB, Ms. 209, fol. 248r). These markers either imply that believers are going to a social space, the church, in order to perform a rather anti-social act, reading. Or else they imply that the act of reading such prayers was not the absorbed, sustained kind of reading that one might do when following a narrative, but the kind that could sustain interruptions, that was fundamentally social, and whose purpose might be to mould social behaviour in churches, in front of relics, at altars.

This manuscript is a composite (that is, a binding containing several non-co-originating manuscript modules³⁷), but included in the same module is a prayer 'to be read in front of a Crucifix', which begins 'I bend down before the feet of my lord' (AUB, Ms. I G 35, fols 31v–32v). It is followed by the prayer 'O, naked humanity', which is yet another prayer to be said 'in front of a Crucifix' (AUB, Ms. I G 35, fols 34v–35r), and a prayer to be read 'before the weapons of our Lord', which addresses Jesus 'as you were hanging' (AUB, Ms. I G 35, fols 35r–35v). As the manuscript is not illustrated, one can imagine that the votary would therefore read this whole group of prayers in a church while in the presence of an image of Christ crucified. This module continues with Marian prayers, one of which indicates to the votary to 'read this in front of an image of Our Lady' (AUB, Ms. I G 35, fols 36r–37r). Would the votary therefore change her location in the church, and position herself before an image of Mary? After continuing with 'a greeting to the face of Christ' (AUB, Ms. I G 35, fol. 37r), the module finishes with a prayer that once again assumes that the reader is in a church. It is 'to be read before the relics [heilichdom]'. While in their presence, the votary is to address them with these words: 'The bodies of the saints are buried in peace; their names shall live for eternity' (AUB, Ms. I G 35, fol. 37v). These prayers would therefore structure her interaction with a series of images and relics that the reader would find as she moved through the church.

A fascinating enhanced book of hours, which was probably made for a Dutch-speaking woman near Théroutan (LBL, Add. Ms. 17467) contains a long sequence of prayers to be said in church, anticipating that the book's user would spend quite a long time there. These prayers define her entire visit to the church. A script shapes her posture and thoughts from the moment she crosses the threshold of the church, and as she stands before the cross, as she stands before the Virgin, as she sits humbly and examines her conscience before confession, as she hears mass (LBL,

Ms. 17467, fols 208r–211v). This sequence therefore brings the female reader step by step into a complicated set of words and actions and interactions with other people. The ritual language signals that this experience marks a departure from the votary's normal routine. Her path through the church is established in advance by the text. This text assumes that the church contains a 'holy cross' and an image of Mary, and it is fair to assume that any church would have these items. Of note is the way in which the votary interacts with her book while the priest is performing his ritual at the altar. It is unclear just how much access lay votaries would have had to the altar, but the text implies two things. First, that the altar is sufficiently visible for the votary to know which prayers to read in her book, as they are keyed to events taking place there. Second, that the mass is remote, to the extent that the votary would need the additional element of her prayerbook to keep her occupied and involved. Perhaps then, as now, one only took a book to a public event if one anticipated being disengaged otherwise.

Additionally, two sequences to the Virgin that are to be read during or after mass appear early in the manuscript (LBL, Add. Ms. 17467, fols 22v–27r), while another to be read during mass is copied near the end:

rub: Anyone who reads this prayer when our lord is lifted during the Mass before agnus dei is said, will receive 2000 years' indulgence from Pope Innocent at the request of Philip, King of France. inc: Lord Jesus Christ, all powerful eternal God...

LBL, Add. Ms. 17467, 213r–214r

That these prayers to be said during mass are copied in different places suggests that the purpose of the entire book was to be read during mass. At any rate, the votary's vernacular manuscript helps to mediate her experience of the Latin mass.

Miniatures in LBL, Add. Ms. 17467 reiterate that prayer mediates between the votary and the devotional image (fig. 18). A golden prayer on a red background literally frames the image. It is by stepping through the frame of prayer that the medieval votary will come to occupy the same space as the Virgin and Child. The votary has gained the audience of the Virgin by penetrating the boundary around her, a boundary comprising golden words. These words present the opening of the prayer *Salve Regina*, one of the most powerful miracle-working prayers (to be discussed more fully below in Chapter 6). Whereas illuminated manuscripts, which combine prayers and devotional images, forge contexts for both elements and sometimes result in literal 'framing with prayer', other images outside

37 Gumbert 2004 (in both English and Dutch versions) explains this and other codicological terms.



FIGURE 18 Folio in a prayer book, with a full-page miniature depicting a female donor kneeling in devotion to the Virgin and Child, and framed by a prayer written in gold letters. Made c. 1450 in the Southern Netherlands.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ADD. MS. 17467, FOL. 236V.

the prayerbook were often contextualized by prayer, as well. Votaries approached devotional images with their prayerbooks in hand, sometimes taking their books to church with them. Prayers provided scripts for votaries to have conversations with pictures.

Perhaps it was obvious to late medieval readers of prayerbooks that, in order to comply with rubrics that required them to read in front of images, they should take their books to church. In some cases this is spelled out, as in a post-1500 prayerbook from a female monastery in



FIGURE 19 Folio in the *Trivulzio Hours*, with a full-page miniature depicting a male patron kneeling in a Gothic church at a *prie-dieu*. Manuscript written and assembled c. 1469 in Ghent. THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. SMC 1, FOL. 120V.

Leuven, where Mary herself requires that the votary go to a church to pray in front of her image:

rub: These are the 72 names of the sweet Virgin Mary that were named by the holy spirit, and she gave them to a bishop from the city called Salvonia in Latin and told him that anyone who read on Saturdays in the church before her image with seven Ave Marias, that person would see her bodily three days before his death and would become part of the kingdom of her son.

Paris, BnF, Ms. néerl. 40, fols 178r–179v

One can imagine that on Saturdays several sisters might cluster round the sculpture of Mary and utter this prayer together, although I do not have direct evidence that such a communal practice occurred.

A book of hours made for a courtier in the circle of Philip the Bold around 1460, the *Trivulzio Hours*, contains a series of full-page miniatures showing the male patron using his book at a *prie-dieu* that has been positioned at various locations in a church (fig. 19).³⁸ This series of images accompanies an analogous series of masses for the days of the week. According to the weekly cycle, each day is given to devotion to a particular person or idea. Saturday, for example, has the Mass for the Virgin. Images in his book of hours imply that he attends these daily masses in the church, at least in his ideal represented form.

While not every prayerbook was designed to be taken to church, many of them contain rubrics implying their use there, either implicitly or explicitly. Of the many kinds of religious literature written and copied in the late Middle Ages, including Biblical commentaries, exegesis, writings of the church fathers, and so forth, the current study primarily treats prayerbooks, which formed just one genre of devotional literature. Although such prayerbooks have often been called ‘private devotional books’, I question the degree to which they were private. It seems, in fact, that there was a strong social component to this kind of prayer, and that churches provided stages on which votary-actors could perform their devotions publicly.

Linguistic Structure of Prayers

Since prayers and rubrics are the two principal textual genres contained within prayerbooks, it is helpful to define the linguistic structure of prayer, which differs considerably from that of rubrics, in order to think about how the prayerbook—and along with it, prayer—functioned. The examples cited earlier present rubrics written in directive or explanatory language; prayers, in contrast, use a different tone. In the course of compiling the rubrics and prayers for this study, I have identified three main kinds of prayers that appear repeatedly (although these categories overlap). The question I have asked in forming these categories is: where does the authority of the words come from?

First, there are prayers of *nomina sacra*, sacred names or titles: prayers such as the ‘72 Names of Jesus’ and the ‘72 Names of Mary’, as well as prayers listing the singular names of saints, the names of the personages of the Trinity, and the Greek words that name the various aspects of God (*Agios o Theos*, *Agios ischyros*, *Agios*

38 These ideas first appeared in Rudy 2009. See also Korteweg 2002.

athanatos) all ask the votary to recite lists of names.³⁹ Other examples include prayers to the names of Mary and Jesus, to the IHS monogram, and to the INRI titulus, the board inscribed with the 'titles' of Jesus, which Pilate was said to have nailed to the top of the Cross (which I discuss more fully later). These summon the referent by naming him or her. They are designed to tap into supernatural power.

Second, prayers present historical monologues. Some of the most common prayers fall into this category, including the *Ave Maria*, the *Pater noster*, and the *Credo*. Many rubrics purport to present words that were first uttered at an identifiable moment of sacred history, which also lends the words authority. Eamon Duffy describes such prayers as ventriloquial.⁴⁰ (The current study does not treat in detail prayers directed to saints, but prayers purporting to record words uttered by saints undergoing martyrdom would fall into this category.⁴¹) Some texts that take the form of monologues, such as the *Seven Verses of St Bernard*, and many other prayers attributed to saints, fall into this category. These prayers were thought to have efficacy because they were composed, spoken, or delivered by a being of divine authority. Sometimes the framing narrative emphasizes the heavenly origins of a rubric and its accompanying prayer. For example, a prayerbook partly written in North Holland shows an angel presenting a rubric (fig. 20). Red words seem to unfurl from the ethereal being.

Third, there are prayers of entreaty. The Seven Penitential Psalms provide a linguistic model for these prayers, which are written in a pleading or praising language. A first-person 'I' addresses a divine or beatified second-person 'you'. Such prayers underscore the power differential between the suppliant and the putative listener. Implicit in a prayer is the possibility that the busy saint will not hear the persistent but small-voiced sinner, or that the saint may ignore pleas whose outcome would harm, rather than benefit, the petitioner.⁴² Prayers in this category emphasize the hierarchical relationship between the votary and the divine figure. Efficacy of these

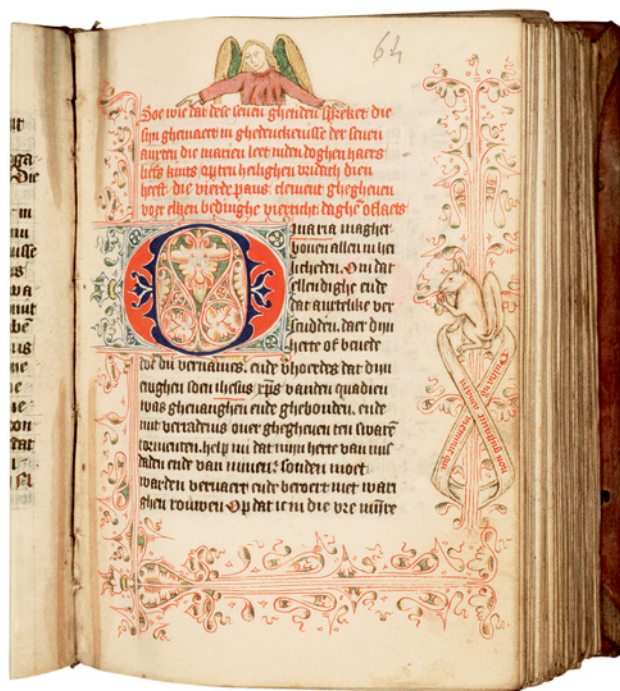


FIGURE 20 Folio in a prayer book with an angel presenting a rubric proclaiming an indulgence. Written and decorated c. 1450–1500 in North Holland.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 71 H 56, FOL. 64R.

prayers relies on the omnipotence of the petitioned and the humble meekness of the petitioner.

Each of these three kinds of prayer can be mapped onto image types. Images of the names of Jesus and Mary, for example, tap the supernatural power of names. Images depicting the votary as one of the three Magi, or showing the votary as first-hand witness to events and conversations from sacred history, form a corollary to the second prayer type. Images of small votaries kneeling next to immense divine figures visually reiterate the third category.

Antti Alhonsaari, who analyses the structure of prayer, takes up the question of whether prayer constitutes a monologue or a dialogue.⁴³ The minimum events required to fulfil the definition of dialogue are that the speaker speaks, is heard, and then receives a reply, which 'closes the circle'. But, as pointed out by Kant, there is an epistemological problem, which is that there is no way of knowing whether a supernatural being has communicated with the speaker. Images during prayer must have helped the votary deal with this problem by functioning

39 See Izmirlijeva 2008.

40 As Duffy writes, 'By and large, medieval people did not speak for themselves when they prayed. They articulated their hopes and fears, however deeply felt, in the borrowed words of others, which they made their own in the act of recitation'. Duffy 2006, p. 104.

41 See e.g. Rudy 2015b.

42 I discuss the linguistic structure of rubrics and prayers in terms of J.A.L. Austin's speech act theory in Rudy 2012. That study relies on Austin 1962.

43 Alhonsaari 1973.

to make prayer feel more like a dialogue and less like a monologue: in other words, they fostered belief. Physical interaction of the votary with an image could also close the circle of dialogue by constructing a conversational partner. Implicit in this arrangement are two requirements: that speakers believe they are engaging in a dialogue (and not a monologue), and that they elide the representation with its referent. Believers imagine themselves in a conversation with Jesus as they recite the scripted prayers before an image, with whom they converse (whereas non-believers, were they in the bizarre situation of reciting prayers in front of a sculpture, would not anticipate or supply a reply).

Some rubrics detail another way in which rubrics mediate between images and the imagination. Images, in the form of visions, were often promised to those who

prayed; rubrics promise them as 'proof' that a prayer has been heard and answered, and thereby confirm that the votary has been engaging in dialogue, not a lonely monologue. This proof, according to many rubrics, is to come shortly before death. It was a prize that made death more palatable.

The image and the indulgence, which converge in the rubric, played an ever greater role in devotional culture in the century prior to the Protestant Reformation. Those two intertwined categories boiled over, and Reformers cited both images and indulgences as objects of ridicule, in need of cultural overhaul or even expunging. Chapter 2 examines the nature of indulgences in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century, and the subsequent chapters each treat one category of devotional image, which were strongly connected to indulgences.

Indulgences

The word ‘indulgence’ has several meanings, some conceptual and others more tangible. An example of the most tangible sort survives in Zutphen (Archief Rondeel, inv. no. 4; fig. 21).¹ Made in Avignon in 1336 during the Anti-Papacy, this letter was written for the Sisters of the Common Life of Het Rondeel; the court at Avignon produced such documents serially.² Like the objects sold by Chaucer’s Pardoner, this indulgence was a piece of parchment (later, paper was used) indicating a remission from Purgatory for Christians who contributed money, labour, or favours to a particular building project or, as in this case, to a particular monastic house. An indulgence of this kind simply sanctions an exchange of spiritual rewards for earthly—sometimes pecuniary—ones. In order to be effective, such a document would have to be ratified by the pope and several bishops, who would each seal the document with a wax seal, as in the case of the Zutphen example. The final seal consists of a piece of parchment added by the local bishop, who sews his approval to the bottom of the sheet. Such documents were, therefore, quite large, both to accommodate the many wax seals from the various officials who presided over the numerous transactions and to make them easily visible. In fact, these documents were often hung up in public, so that they could encourage the faithful to contribute to new architectural ventures. But such a system was ripe for exploitation, and in the later Middle Ages letters of indulgence were sold, and the money sent directly to the coffers of the pope in Roman, without any of it necessarily going to local projects.³

Less tangibly, an indulgence came to mean the reduction of time in Purgatory, earned as a result of good works; but what constituted a ‘good work’ varied widely. On the one hand, local ecclesiastical authorities often obtained certified statements of papal indulgence to back large-scale building projects of churches, roads, and bridges.⁴

On the other hand, votaries could earn indulgences without spending a penny. Prayer was the chief non-pecuniary activity that could be rewarded with an indulgence. While many studies have treated door-to-door indulgence salesmen (such as Chaucer’s Pardoner) and have functioned as apologia for the system (after all, many fine bridges, roads, and churches were built as a result of indulgence incentives), this book primarily treats indulgences that were earned by prayer, specifically prayer in the presence of images. My focus is much more on the individual uses of indulgences, and their interaction with an individual—rather than the corporate bodies represented by roads and bridges. That this kind of book has not been attempted before might be attributed to the fact that, while individual prayer indulgences are among the only records of personal bodily experience, they are recorded in privately owned books. This means that individual indulgences are scattered among thousands of different manuscripts, whereas the records of bridges and churches are collected in single archives. This research problem has distorted the record of indulgences, and downplayed the degree to which they controlled individual action as much as public infrastructure.

The origins of indulgences were always concerned with individual action, though more with discouraging rather than encouraging behaviour. At its inception in the early Christian church, the term *indulgentia* designated the period of time during which a Christian who had fallen into apostasy—one who had, for example, lapsed and offered a sacrifice to Apollo or Venus—would be subject to enforced penitence before being invited to rejoin the Christian community. Early Christian communities recognized such behaviour as idolatrous and needed to discourage it, which they did by mandating temporary, enforced exile as both a punishment and a cleansing. These discouragements were institutionalized and eventually emerged in confessional manuals, promulgated, for example, by early

1 Oliver 1995, p. 199, no. 7.

2 Homburger 1957; Oliver 1995, with further bibliography. Pope Urban v banned the production of these indulgences in 1364.

3 For the history of indulgences, see Paulus 1922–1923; Lea 1896, vol. III, also treats the history of indulgences but does so from a Protestant standpoint and overemphasizes financial connections.

4 Paul Fredericq published a number of documents concerning the construction of public works, including Fredericq 1899a and Fredericq 1899b. He compiled all the sources and organized them with an index in Fredericq 1909. Nikolaus Paulus, like Fredericq, frames

his study as an apologia for indulgences because they helped to build the great hospitals and accomplish other cultural feats, in *Der Ablass im Mittelalter als Kulturfaktor* (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1920), translated as *Indulgences as a Social Factor in the Middle Ages* (New York: Devin-Adair Company, 1922). The best source for English indulgences is Cameron 1965, which consists of photostatic reproductions of indulgences, mostly of the sort whereby a votary earns a forty-day indulgence for contributing financially to a hospital or worthy cause.



FIGURE 21 Letter of indulgence for the Sisters of the Common Life of Het Rondeel in Zutphen, issued with seals in Avignon in 1336. ZUTPHEN, REGIONAAL ARCHIEF, INV. 4.

Irish missionaries, who covered the largely pagan tracts of Northern Europe after the sixth century.⁵ From its origins, 'indulgence' referred to a release from ideal Christian behaviour, although its specific meaning would change over the centuries.

After Christianity became widespread in Western Europe, the meaning of 'indulgence' drifted to describe the length of time that one was excused from worldly penance. This penance, when it was not expunged through

indulgence, was often 'paid' during Lent, the forty-day period preceding Easter traditionally reserved for soul-searching, or at least self-denial. The dearth that cycled into the calendar at the end of every winter imposed a layer of discomfort on everyone; in Northern Europe, the cold damp conditions and insufficient food supplies could be, and were, institutionalized. The church there harnessed discomfort for its annual spiritual cleansing. Many indulgences in the late Middle Ages are recorded in terms of *quadrages*, or forty-day Lenten periods, from which the (partially) forgiven sinner would be excused.

5 McNeill and Gamer 1938, repr. 1990, pp. 23–50.

When the concept of Purgatory was introduced in the twelfth century, and finally authorized in a papal bull of 1336, the meaning of indulgence shifted again.⁶ No longer did it refer to penitential earthly time but to post-mortem purgatorial time. The invention of Purgatory changed the imaginary landscape and caused a rupture in the ways in which Christians would understand their current rituals and their future fate. Purgatory was based on antique models of the underworld, including Hades, which introduced a spatial dimension to an abstract concept of the afterlife that had previously existed outside space and time.⁷ The late medieval manifestation of indulgences was a correlative to Purgatory, which was configured to house souls who were not yet perfect enough to enter Heaven. To achieve sufficient spiritual purity to enter Heaven, they first had to serve a sentence ranging from a few days or years to centuries or even millennia in the cleansing fires of Purgatory. Just as sin resulted in incarceration in the jail of Purgatory, indulgences reduced the term of the sentence. Indulgences were transformed into those rewards, or more accurately, coupons against punishments in the post-mortem time and space that preceded the Last Judgement. In their shift in meaning from temporal to eternal punishment, indulgences were inflated to mind-boggling proportions.

Various parts of Europe were developing regional literature in the vernacular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and written language was therefore changing quickly. Both the terms around indulgences and the concepts behind them shifted in the later Middle Ages. In the late Middle Ages the idea of 'paying' for sins during the forty-day period of Lent continued, but the terms and the meanings drifted. Namely, the Latin *quadrages* was bastardized in Middle Dutch to *careen*. This term generated a large number of meanings, which suggest that no one really understood what it meant. *Careen* appears in many rubrics with reference to indulgences, but it seems to mean something different every time. In an effort to try to explain it, scribes (or, rather, the confessors and priests who were pulling the strings) came up with various metaphors. Audiences inevitably understood these metaphors too literally. (I return to the shifting definition of *quadrage/careen* shortly.)

Just as manuscripts and devotional texts proliferated in the environment afforded by the vernacular, indulgences also took root across social classes, fed by the early modern culture of devotion—and devotional objects.

Indulgences were conceptual, institutionalized, inflated, collected, and the subject of much speculation. They cut across class, gender, and other social boundaries. Indulged prayers appear in cheap undecorated manuscripts on paper as well as in highly illuminated and gilded manuscripts gleaming with their owners' portraits and coats of arms. Indulgence collectors could be found among humble rosary brotherhoods, some of the earliest institutions that barred no one on the basis of social rank but brought people together solely for the purpose of expressing devotion to the Virgin of the Rosary and collecting indulgences for doing so.⁸

On the other end of the social scale, Friedrich III the Wise, the Elector of Saxony (1463–1525), collected relics with maniacal abandon, and these relics even generated indulgences for their worshippers, as the relics were themselves 'indulged'.⁹ Friedrich's cupidity for indulgences was matched only by his hoarding of relics, and his two collections were closely related. His relics included a piece of Christ's crib (with the straw) from Bethlehem, some of the gold and myrrh brought by the three Magi, earth relics from the place where Jesus mounted the donkey on Palm Sunday, where he sweated blood in Gethsemane, and where he sat and cried during the Passion, a piece of the Holy Sepulchre, a piece of the stone from which Christ ascended into Heaven, a piece of the table and the bread from the Last Supper, pieces of Christ's beard and clothes, the towel he used to dry the Apostles' feet, part of his white garment covered with blood stains from the Flagellation, part of the sponge from which Christ drank on the Cross, part of the wood from the True Cross, part of a nail, and eight whole thorns from the Crown of Thorns, just to name some of the items in the collection.¹⁰ The *Heiltumsbuch*, printed in Wittenberg in 1509, contains 117 woodcuts and one copper engraving by Lucas Cranach depicting the duke's collection of relics and the reliquaries he commissioned to house them. This book circulated in paper and parchment copies and drew readers to Wittenberg to see the relics and earn the indulgences they promised.¹¹ Differences between 'high' and 'low' culture appear in the relative opulence of the guides to indulgences, but not in the fundamental practices and goals. There was a close

6 For the establishment of Purgatory, see Bueren 1999, p. 22, following Jezler and Altendorf 1994, p. 18.

7 Le Goff 1984.

8 Winston-Allen 1997. Members of the Third Order of St Francis, another organization with an open-door policy, also collected indulgences avidly.

9 See Aign 1961; Bordfeld 1993; Schuttwolf 1994, no. 125. On the cult of relics, see Geary 1978.

10 Röhrich and Meisner 1883, Bruck 1903. For Friedrich's travel account, see Röhrich 1890, p. 144.

11 Jahn 1980, pp. 456–544, reproduces all the images; see also Zimmermann 1929; Friedenthal 1967, pp. 456–457; Wood 2008.

relationship, not merely between the different guides to the indulgences, but between Friedrich's collection and the public consumption of the indulgences associated with it. The fervour for both indulgences and relics reached a climax in the years just before the Protestant Reformation. There was a thin line between mania for indulgences and feeling threatened by their power. Frederick the Wise, in a dramatic twist of history and conversion, became a defender of Martin Luther and a protector of Protestantism.

Many of the indulgences integral to late medieval spirituality were connected to images, and others to relics, but some of the most important indulgence-earners were simultaneously connected to both. Most famously, the Vera Icon, the True Image of Christ, was the earliest image to be securely fastened to an indulgence. Both an image and a relic, the True Image was transferred onto a towel (the Sudarium) with which a woman named Veronica was said to have wiped Christ's face during his laborious walk to Calvary. This relic was later transported to St Peter's in Rome, and Innocent III (1198–1216) mandated that anyone who recited a particular prayer while in the presence of the image, including its copies, would earn an indulgence.¹² This indulgence opened the floodgates to a new kind of prayer, which depended on images for validation. Indulgences were common in the fourteenth century, but the late fifteenth century saw an explosion in their use and distribution. This is, of course, the topic of this study.

In the present study, I limit the term 'indulgence' to mean the reduction of a purgatorial sentence as a reward for prayer.¹³ As such, indulgences came to dictate much of devotional culture in the century before the Reformation. Late medieval believers obtained indulgences in myriad manners that did not cost anything but time, contrition, and prayer, although the quantification of those devotional goods began to resemble a mechanistic, even worldly, economy. At their most basic level, indulgences eased the anxiety of facing the judgement of a wrathful god, since they could 'buy' clemency and forgiveness. In offering individuals such potent purchasing power, even the money-free indulgences raised many a moralist's eyebrow. Consequently, the anxiety surrounding indulgences grew steadily over the course of the fifteenth century. The history and subsequent transformations of indulgences reveals the anxiety concomitant with their mechanization.

Arithmetic of Eternity

Time in Hell was, according to medieval understanding, tortuously repetitive. Nowhere is this concept more palpable than in the *Visions of Tondal*, a twelfth-century Irish text that was copied in the mid-fifteenth century for Margaret of York with spectacular illuminations by Simon Marmion.¹⁴ After he nearly dies, Tondal is conveyed by his psychopomp on a tour of Hell, where he witnesses firsthand the seething, putrefying, tarnished underworld. He encounters, for example, the Beast that eats Unchaste Priests and Nuns, only to shit them out into a nearly frozen lake and then gobble them up again, so they make a continuous circuit through the beast's innards, *ad nauseam* and *ad infinitum* (fig. 22). The beast recycles the unchaste in a perpetual cycle, like a piece of music sung in rounds that could go on infinitely. Time in Hell is actually a gruelling timelessness of perpetual repetition.

In Paradise time was also eternal, but it was enchanted and passed pleasantly.¹⁵ This idea is captured by 'enclosed gardens' (*besloten hofjes*), devotional objects used, and possibly constructed, by hospital sisters in Mechelen (with professional, presumably male collaborators who produced some of the components, such as the painted sculptures and metalwork). *Besloten hofjes* are paradisiacal dioramas structured round grid-like arrangements of saints' bones, pilgrims' badges, small polychromed sculptures representing saints in Paradise, and innumerable flowers made by wrapping many metres of silk thread round wire armatures.¹⁶ Several of them are still in use in the religious institutions for which they were made, while some have exited the world of use and entered museums. One is now housed in the Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp (fig. 23).¹⁷ More Spartan than most but still overgrown with an anxiously overcrowded aesthetic, this depicts Adam and Eve in a Paradise populated by flowers and naïvely produced, delicate lambs. A wattle fence across the front of the diorama separates the secular space of the viewer from the holy space within. In the foreground, stretching across the physical barrier between the viewer's world and the Paradise in the box, a rhyming

¹² Ringbom 1965, esp. p. 24; Kessler and Wolf 1998.

¹³ I therefore do not treat the door-to-door or village-to-village selling of indulgences, for which see Eekhof 1909.

¹⁴ Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 30; 87.MN.141. The *Visions of Tondal* is one of several twelfth-century texts that describe an 'ecstatic otherworld voyage', as described by Dinzelbacher 1992, pp. 111–118.

¹⁵ As Truus van Bueren points out in her groundbreaking study of 'Life after Death', time in Paradise is often represented as enchanted but slightly boring; Bueren 1999, p. 11.

¹⁶ For images, see Rudy 2011, pp. 24–29; Baert 2015.

¹⁷ See Vandamme 1981. I thank Dr. Vandamme for providing me with a copy of this text.



FIGURE 22 Folio from the Visions of Tondal with a miniature depicting 'The Beast that eats Unchaste Priests', painted by Simon Marmion c. 1475. LOS ANGELES, J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM, MS. 30; 87.MN.141, FOL. 24V.



FIGURE 23 *Besloten hofje*, with the *Virgin of the Sun* standing on the *Moon*, and *Adam and Eve* being driven from *Paradise*, assembled c. 1500 in the Southern Netherlands (Mechelen?).

ANTWERP, MUSEUM VOOR SCHONEN KUNSTEN, INV. 5094.

scroll reads: *Die tijt is cort/ die doot is snel./ Wacht u van sonden/ so doet ghi wel./ Och wat vroechden daer wesen mach/ Daer dusent jaer is enen dach* (Time is short; death is quick; if you watch out for your sins you will die well. And what joys you'll experience! There a thousand years feels like a day).¹⁸ The text scroll makes manifest the atemporal nature of Paradise, in which aeons pass unnoticed

for the souls, who lounge amicably to the tunes of music-making angels.¹⁹

In Purgatory alone did time pass. It is therefore the only version of salvific time that mirrors earthly time. Purgatory was often described as bleak, fiery, tortuous, hideous, and painful. In other words, it was like Hell but had a temporal terminus. Purgatory was the destination for the tainted soul, neither pure enough to enter Heaven straight away nor in a state of mortal sin. Its fires would cleanse the soul of impurities and ready it for an eternity in Heaven. The duration of the cleansing process ranged from less than a week to tens, hundreds, or thousands of years.

Already in the sixth century, the purification and transmutation of metals had become a metaphor for

¹⁸ This rhyming aphorism appears in various contexts, e.g. added to the final folio of a book of sermons and miracles, owned by the Roocloster (BKB, Ms. 1654–55, fol. 181v). The Biblical passage is 2 Peter 3:8: 'But of this one thing be not ignorant, my beloved, that one day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day'. Mulder 2004 finds eight early examples of this rhyme, including one painted on floor tiles.

¹⁹ Bueren 1999.

the resurrection of bodies, as the theologian Aeneas of Gaza noted.²⁰ Substance returned from the furnace in an improved form. After the twelfth century, Purgatory also partook of a metallurgical metaphor. The soul was like a lump of iron ore, that is, dirty and impure iron-rich rock extracted from deep in the earth. Separating the metal from the junk around it would be difficult but, with extensive exposure to high heat, the impurities would melt away, leaving a piece of iron pocked with holes, something resembling an iron sponge. Such a material was pure and bore the signs of its purification process. It was ready to be worked into shape. It was ready to take its final form, to achieve its heavenly state.

Prayer, which only the living could perform, reduced one's liability in Purgatory. Indulgences thereby bound earthly time to eternal time. Voluntary submission now resulted in a reduced sentence later. Because all the sufferings and merits were measurable, indulgences became the bureaucratic tools by which the labour of prayer could be assessed. Indulgences melded prayer into a more goal-oriented and mechanical activity. This was true even for followers of the Modern Devotion, whose stated objective was to make prayer more personally worthwhile, somatically felt, and kinaesthetically practised, and to make it elicit empathic responses. Books of Sisters, spiritual biographies written by and for women Devotionalists, recorded some of the devotional exercises that the women practised. They reveal that, even in the absence of a 'point system' afforded by indulgences, the quest for spirituality was still fiercely competitive.²¹ For example, Sister Lijsebet van Henevliet regularly ate moss porridge and similarly sober victuals whose aesthetics so offended the other sisters that they found it 'thickly painful to sit next to her'. When other, less offensive foods appeared on her plate, she complained of injustice.²² Indeed, her particular brand of humility, with its melodramatic appeal to disgust others, was calculated to impress the other sisters.

Despite the fact that indulgences could be applied to any soul trapped in Purgatory, lay votaries were quick to leap at the opportunity they offered for self-preservation. In short, people prayed for themselves. Most books of hours conclude with the Office of the Dead, which gives texts for Vespers the evening before the funeral, and Matins and Lauds early the next morning and is often the longest text in the codex, but this was often the least used part of the manuscript. As discussed earlier, the wife of Gelys Gerytsson included a list of her deceased family members

before the Office of the Dead so that she could remember them when she read this text (see fig. 8), but there is no evidence that she read this section much. Chiefly read for the benefit of others, this text often looks to be the most pristine, untouched text in not just this case but in many books of hours.²³

In fact, the laity was encouraged to use the text not only at the funeral of the deceased but as often as possible.²⁴ Some copies of the Office of the Dead in Middle Dutch include a prologue—which is an extended rubric—indicating its benefits. One such prologue appears in a book of hours copied in the eastern part of the Northern Netherlands.²⁵

Here begins the Office of the Dead in Dutch, which is arranged to help those who have departed to Purgatory in the company of God, but especially to help the living who read it as well, so that it might be impressed upon them that they know of things to come. Because they believe, hope and love the things in glory, and prepare themselves and endure all their days, and because they suffer from tremendous fears and shake before the manifold pain, anxiety, and damnation that the devils have in store, they therefore have to work all their lives in order to shorten the [pains] they have to undertake. A person who prays for these things can see, know, and think that they are both beneficial to love and anathema to pain, and he will receive more benefit and love for those who are in Purgatory in order to shorten their release, and especially to revere the honour of God and to fulfil the coming kingdom where [God] shall reign and be there for eternity. Therefore the prayers of the living help the dead, and praying for the dead helps the living prepare for death, because miracles and revelations have also occurred when a person has died. But it is more for the benefit of the living than of the dead, whether it was a good death or a bad one.

HKB, Ms. 133 E 21, fols 158r–159r

Although the prologue does not reveal how many years' indulgence the reader would accumulate by reading the

20 Roberts 1994, pp. 16, 78–82.

21 Scheepsma 1995, 1997, Eng. trans. as Scheepsma 2004.

22 The Middle Dutch text is edited by Brinkerink 1903.

23 The darkness of fingerprints on any given folio provides an indication of how heavily handled and read that folio was. Although I have not treated this manuscript with the densitometer, I can see with my naked eye that the Office of the Dead has not been heavily handled. For the technique, see Rudy 2010.

24 Wieck 1999, p. 432.

25 For an edition of this manuscript, see Wijk 1940.

lengthy Office of the Dead, it makes an emotional appeal: reading it helps shorten the purgatorial sentence of those who are already dead, and it functions as a *memento mori* to the living. I have little evidence that such soft appeals moved the late medieval votaries of the Low Countries. Patterns of use of their manuscripts suggest that they were much more interested in prayers through which they could win large indulgences for themselves. Perhaps the Office of the Dead was infrequently read because it was so long, or perhaps because its benefits were not signposted: few copies of the Middle Dutch translation of the Office of the Dead include the prologue cited here. Votaries often paid more attention to texts for which the benefits were clearly enumerated, especially those for which a large indulgence was promised.

Immeasurability of Nature

The size of the indulgence was not always given as an integer, but could also take the form of a metaphor. Nature metaphors, for example, provided an alternative to arithmetical calculation, the limits of maths in spiritual calculations. When the periods of remission from Purgatory became too mind-bogglingly long, confusing, or arcane, or when the indulgence value became separated from the legend that provided it with meaning, votaries turned to various other measurements—often based on natural phenomena—that could determine the length of the indulgence.

rub: Anyone who reads this prayer every day will earn as many years' indulgence as there are drops of water on a rainy day. *inc:* O, dear Lord Jesus Christ, I bid you through your last ordeal and the holy prayer that you prayed on the Mount of Olives when your sweat turned to drops of blood running into the earth...

AUB, Ms. I G 35, fol. 39v

Here the exact quantity of the indulgence has leaked out of the description. The rubric itself reflects the content of the prayer it accompanies, since the one refers to the drops of water, while the other refers to beads of sweat-turned-blood.

Metaphors from nature that indicate the abundant supply of indulgences appear in other contexts. According to a manuscript copied by a female scribe around 1500, the surfeit of nature rivals the grace of popes:

rub: Anyone who is without mortal sin and who reads this following prayer with devotion in his heart will earn as many years' indulgence as the

number of blades of grass that grow between Easter and Pentecost, as described to us by Pope Urban [probably Urban VI (1378–89)], Pope Sylvester, Pope Gregory [Gregory the Great (590–604)], Pope Boniface, the pope [...], the pope [...], which are written with golden letters in the churches of St Peter and St Paul in Rome.

Leiden, UB, Ms. Ltk 317, 171r–171v

Even though the rubric does not specify what geographical area the rubric is to cover, it implies that blades of grass were infinite. Should one count all the grass in the Southern Netherlands? In the cloister? In Jerusalem? In the world? Of course, the answer to this question is moot; there was tension between the specificity of objective and countable units, on the one hand, and a poetic culture of spiritual hyperbole, on the other. There also seems to be a certain coyness to these rubrics—that the number is both concrete and great, and yet unknown to the supplicant. What is important in this rubric is that verdant spring and summer are situated within the liturgical calendar. One can see evidence, however, of the rivalry between the natural flourishing of indulgences and the hierarchical structure of legitimization, as the rubricator has gone to great lengths to justify this rubric, but the pile-up of popes has vexed her, and she has failed to list the names of the last two in the line-up. The rubric refers to a 'master indulgence list' in Rome, written in the mysterious golden letters that typify 'heaven-sent'—and therefore, unquestionable—documents. A book written in gold connotes not only great sumptuousness but also an ultramundane provenance, an object not created by human hands. Readers may have confused the antiquity and opulence of such manuscripts for sanctity, as they conflated natural abundance with divine abundance.²⁶

A variation of this rubric prefaces a prayerbook written on paper, possibly as late as 1530 (Leiden, UB, Ms. Ltk 303). It contains a calendar for Tongeren (in the eastern part of the Netherlands), as well as several heavily indulgenced prayers, such as:

rub: Anyone who speaks this prayer will earn as many indulgences as sheaves of grain that spring from the ground between Easter and Pentecost. *inc:* O, dear, loving Lord Jesus Christ, I sink myself into the depths of your wounds. O, dear loving Lord Jesus Christ, I wash myself in your precious blood...

Leiden, UB, Ms. Ltk 303, fol. 222r

²⁶ Golden letters sometimes replaced red ink in calendars: 'gold-letter days' suggest that saints' dates of martyrdom were heaven-sent.



FIGURE 24 Folio inserted into the front of a prayer book, with an image depicting a Franciscan sister at the gates of the garden of prayer, painted c. 1460–80 in Delft.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 135 G 9, FOL. IV.

That the copyist has omitted the term ‘years’ indulgence’ for the simplified ‘indulgence’ indicates that, at this late date around 1530, the concept of indulgences had grown so hazy that they were perceived as more like gifts and less like years’ remission. ‘Sheaves of wheat’ recall the ‘blades of grass’ from earlier rubrics, yet mix the motif of abundant nature with the reference to the wheat of the Eucharist and therefore the *Corpus Christi*, a theme consistent with the substance of the prayer that follows, which constitutes a meditation on Christ’s wounds and blood. The metaphor recalls an image from a prayerbook depicting a nun entering a garden and gathering bundles of wheat (HKB, Ms. 135 G 9, fol. iv; fig. 24). The seven sheaves represent canonical hours, and the bundles represent days of the week, in order to show that gathering—and subsequently counting—the land’s bountiful production was tantamount to prayer, notwithstanding the added symbolic benefit of the wheat as Eucharist.²⁷

Nature metaphors in rubrics are limited, however, to cultivated, not wild, nature. Grass and wheat are docile. The votary is a gardener who plants, tends, trims, waters, and eventually harvests prayer. Rubrics could harness these metaphors to tie prayer to gardening, whose water and light from the heavens would determine an uncertain abundance. In this way, rubrics offering as many indulgences as blades of grass tap the same metaphors of spirituality as do the *besloten hofjes*, which are horticulturally lush and too vast to count. These nature motifs provided recourse when arithmetic failed, since God was generous but not always specific.

Praying and Paying

Indulgences were available to (nearly) everyone. Technically, they were only accessible to Christians in the state of grace, but some prayers’ stated purpose is to initiate their readers into that state, to move them towards baptismal purity so that they were eligible to attain indulgences. Nor were birth rank, gender, or even literacy a barrier. Many late medieval text-based devotional exercises have flexible forms that allow each votary to participate according to his or her ability. As a result, many heavily indulgenced and complicated prayers had alternative, easier forms. Some rubrics specify that those who could not read, out of sickness or illiteracy, may have a friend read them the prayer, or may repeat *Pater nosters* and *Ave Marias*, the prayers learnt and memorized as children. Other prayers afforded protection to those who merely carried copies of the prayer and kept them close to their bodies.

Indulgences functioned in a spiritual economy, one that reflected the proto-capitalist monetary economy. Not coincidentally, they came into use at the same time as double-entry book-keeping, where debits are entered in one column and credits in another, and a third column tracks the running total. Double-entry book-keeping, whose principles were disseminated round Europe by means of the Medici bank and its far-flung branches, imposed an abstract tabulation system on diverse diversity of goods and services.²⁸ The commodification of merit shared a vocabulary with the newly theorized labour economy. In the latter, time was a commodity that could be bought, sold, and traded. Both systems relied upon and provided a practical application for arithmetic. Words describing economic ideas entered the vocabulary of spirituality, including *loen* (salary, or what one receives from labour) and *betalen* (to pay—either for a barrel of wine or

27 I thank James H. Marrow for sharing his unpublished notes about this manuscript with me.

28 Dohrn-van Rossum and Dunlap 1996, p. 10; Sombart 1902, vol. 1, p. 505, vol. II, p. 126.

for one's sins). Rubrics sometimes equate spiritual benefit with payment:

rub: Below are a hundred commemorations of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, which a devout spiritual disciple of Christ may strive daily to *pay for* with reverence, longing for divine love, so as to liken himself spiritually to the Lord (who was crucified for him), as humbly as he can.

emphasis mine; Ghent, UB, Ms. 209, fol. 12r

This rubric presents prayer as paying, where the currency is pain and suffering in order to achieve *conformitas*, or *imitatio Dei*.²⁹

But the analogy of double-entry book-keeping disintegrates at the other end, for gleaners of indulgences probably counted only the units of grace they were taking in, not the ones they were spending, which were much more difficult to calculate. Likewise, medieval people measured and accumulated grace, and knew how many years they would be excused from Purgatory, but remained ignorant about how much time they had to spend there in the first place. Although books of penance were circulated in the early Middle Ages, especially in Ireland and then by Irish missionaries, these documents outline worldly punishment for the living sinner: no surviving medieval documents inform sinners how much time they would spend in Purgatory for stealing someone's wallet in a church, causing someone a 'running wound', masturbating, having bad thoughts, or polluting rivers, although these behaviours were punishable, according to court records, at a time when civil and religious law were largely interchangeable.³⁰ Rule-breakers, petty criminals, and the morally suspect would be charged with religious pilgrimages to various places, with longer distances assigned to more serious crimes. Distinctions between civic and ecclesiastical crime and punishment were by no means clear. It was an economic system with a vigorous savings plan but uncharted spending, much panic, mania, and anxiety.

Middle Dutch texts themselves sometimes comment on indulgences in ways that reveal how late medieval people understood the spiritual economy. Franciscans had by far the most nuanced descriptions and emphatic regulations surrounding indulgences. Several manuscripts produced in a female Franciscan milieu contain extensive tracts about the nature of indulgences and how to earn them. HKB, Ms. 73 H 34 is an octavo-sized manuscript on

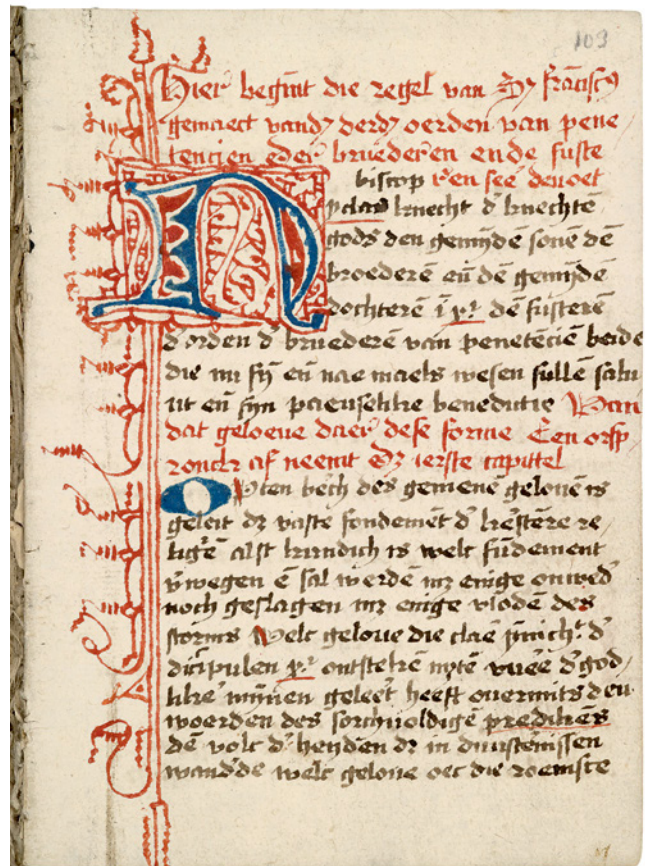


FIGURE 25 Folio in a composite manuscript made in a Franciscan community with the Rule for members of the Third Order of St Francis. Written after 1471 in the eastern Netherlands. THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 73 H 34, FOL. 103R.

paper, constructed out of a series of packets, or modules, written by different people, which preserves its original limp parchment binding with a clasp.³¹ One of the scribes is called Lijsbet, one of the texts is the Rule for members of the Third Order of St Francis (fig. 25), and it is likely that the manuscript originated in a female Franciscan convent, where different sisters each supplied one or more of the modules. Texts that filled the end of the last module address indulgences:

rub: Here begin seven points that are necessary for all Christians to know who want to earn indulgences or receive indulgences. *inc:* The first point is essential: you are required to believe in indulgences, and that the popes and bishops have the power to give indulgences. He who may receive them must also believe he is receiving them, because good works that do not arise out of the understanding that one

29 Sumption 1975, pp. 290ff, describes the commodification of merit in terms of pilgrimages.

30 For enforced pilgrimage, see Endhoven 1978; Herwaarden 1978.

31 For the modular method of manuscript production, see Rudy 2016a.

is earning indulgences will not result in earning indulgences. Secondly, it necessary that a person has devotion or faith towards indulgences, and inward commitment towards the Passion and bitter suffering of our Lord from which all indulgences originate, and also towards the reasons that indulgences are given, because Pope Innocent says: 'The more devotion and love a person has towards indulgences, the more relief he receives from the pain [of Purgatory]'. Thirdly, the person must have contrition for his sins, because St Bernard says: 'No one may earn indulgences whose conscience is imprisoned by the divine sentence'. Fourthly, confession is a requisite for earning indulgences, and spoken orally or with good intentions to do so in due time, as the papal bulls indicate. Fifthly, there must also be a completion of the requirements for which the indulgence was given.

HKB, Ms. 73 H 34, fols 123r–123v

(The scribe has omitted the sixth and seventh points.) Belief in the efficacy of indulgences, and in popes' and bishops' authority to grant them, was a prerequisite to earning them. It was not enough to believe in, say, Jesus' suffering and resurrection; earning indulgences required that the recipient believe in—not just respect, but believe in—the hierarchy of the church, its rules, bureaucracy, and authority.

The Franciscans' exposition on indulgences continues in the same manuscript with another enumeration of their value:

rub: On the virtues of indulgences and what indulgence signifies or means. inc: Indulgentia in Latin, which is to say *aflaat* in [Middle] Dutch, has seven virtues. First, it annuls forgotten sin. Second, it purges daily [venial] sin. Third, it fulfils forgotten penance. Fourth, it reduces and shortens Purgatory. Fifth, it increases the joy of everlasting life. Sixth, it lightens penance in this current life. Seventh, it causes a wish in the sinner to stand up and turn away from sin. We may earn these seven virtues by winning indulgences.

HKB, Ms. 73 H 34, fols 123v–124r

These texts circulated in Franciscan convents. Franciscans in particular generated a mindset based on an exchange economy with indulgences. It was a Franciscan pope, Sixtus IV, who reigned from 1471 to 1484, who promoted such a culture, which had a wide impact during and after his papacy, especially among Franciscan houses, as

manuscripts such as HKB, Ms. 73 H 34 attest. Franciscans used a currency of indulgences not just to regulate behaviour but to mould mental habits and character.

Related sentiments appear in an array of manuscripts originating from Franciscan convents. Another copy of 'On the virtues of indulgences' appears, for example, in a manuscript made by and for several Franciscan sisters (HKB, Ms. 135 C 9, fol. 26r; see Appendix), a manuscript that dedicates twenty-six full folios to the subject of indulgences, their functions, and how to earn them, along with transcriptions of papal bulls proving their legitimacy. According to this text, amassing indulgences is not just a benefit: it is also a virtue.

Franciscans had a technically elaborate system for calculating and winning indulgences, and it is often in manuscripts with a Franciscan provenance that one finds rubrics with the most complicated schemes. For example, a list commoditizing various ways to win indulgences appears in a manuscript copied by Jan van Emmerick, a scribe and corrector who lived in the community of the Franciscan male tertiaries (*begaarden*) of St Michael and St Bartholomeus in Maastricht, where the manuscript was also bound (LBL, Add. Ms. 24332).³² The manuscript was made in 1500 according to a computational table in the calendar, and the list demonstrates the degree to which prayers and personal acts of piety were increasingly tied to an inflating spiritual economy, to the point where nearly every prayer and religious activity had an indulgence tied to it:

In the first place he gave an indulgence of 20 days to anyone who bows his head when the sweet name *Jesus* or *Maria* is named.³³

Item, 20 days to those who revere or honour the *holy sacrament*.

Item, 20 days to those who pray for the dead.

Item, 20 days to anyone who speaks a prayer for the *holy Trinity*.

Item, 30 days to anyone who kneels down when during the mass in the credo the words *Et homo factus est* are read, that is, 'He was made man'.

Item, 30 days' indulgence when one reads in the *Gospel of St John* after the mass *Et verbum caro factum est*, that is, 'That word was made flesh', and then kneels down.

³² AUB, Ms. I G 12, which was made by the tertiaries of St Andreas and St Barbara at Maagdendriesch, was bound by the same beguards in Maastricht.

³³ It is not clear who 'he' is.

Item, 30 days' indulgence when during the *Te deum laudamus*, the *Te ergo* etc, is read, that is to say, 'We bid that you etc', and then nods or kneels.

Item, 30 days' indulgence as often as one says *Gloria patri* and then bows down.

Item, 40 days' indulgence whenever one bows down when speaking that last verse in any hymn.

Item, 40 days' [indulgence] to anyone who stands straight up when reading the *Magnificat* or the *Nunc dimittis* or the *Benedictus dominus* during matins.

Item, whoever then reads the Hours of Our Lady from any book of hours, an indulgence of 40 days.

Item, 40 days' [indulgence] when one when one hears the *Ave Maria* [clock] in the evening then speaks three *Ave Marias*.

Item, an indulgence of 40 days to those who call upon and visit the sick.

Item, 40 days' [indulgence] to those who give alms to poor people.

Item, 40 days' [indulgence] to those who read that prayer about the Seven Joys or Exultations of our Dear Lady.

Item, 40 days' [indulgence] to those who read the *Salve regina*.

Item, those who thank the Lord for the gifts [*weldaden*] that he has given him, he earns 50 days' indulgence.

Item, 50 days to those who forgive those who have committed an injustice to him.

Item, to those who perform confession, an indulgence of 80 days.

Item, those who hear confession, 80 days.

Item, those who speak a general confession, 40 days.

Item, those who hear mass with good devotion, an indulgence of 40 days.

Item, 80 days to those who receive the holy sacrament with devotion, or to those who fast of their own free will.

Item, 80 days to those who pray the *Miserere mei deus*.

Item, 80 days to those who read the vigil with three readings and lauds for the dead.

Item, 100 days' indulgence to those who preach the word of God.

Item, 100 days to those who hear the word of God with devotion in their hearts.

Item, to those who say *Jhesus Christus* at the end of the *Ave Maria*, an indulgence of 30 days from Pope John XXII, and 30 days from Pope Urban.

Item, anyone who says *Deo gracias* after eating earns an indulgence of 40 days.

Item, anyone who daily reads the psalm *Magnificat* earns every day an indulgence of 23 years and 33 weeks and 3 days.

Item, anyone who says after any good work has been accomplished, 'Blessed and honoured be the holy glorious sweet name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the name of the glorious Virgin Mary his dear mother, now and for all eternity. Amen', will have an indulgence of 2 years.

Item, whoever reads three *Ave Marias* in the evening with three prostrations [*venien*] will receive an indulgence of 20 days.

Item, anyone who stands up against a priest, an indulgence of 5 days.³⁴

Item, anyone who reads the psalm *Laetatus*, or 'I was glad when...', for the peace of the holy church, an indulgence of 10 days.

Item, whoever says after eating, 'Our dear Jesus Christ, through your mercy, give grace to the living and rest to the dead', 20 days.

LBL, Add. Ms. 24332, fols 234r–237r; original foliation cclxiii–cclxvi

The numeric values of the indulgences—rather than the nature of the action or the divine hierarchy—provide the organizing framework for the list. Except for the last few items, each indulgence is listed in order of relative value, with the lowest value (20 days) first, for merely bowing one's head when the names 'Jesus' and 'Mary' are uttered, to a reward of 100 days for 'hearing the word of God' with devotion. Moreover, the values are quite low, especially for indulgences of such a late date, less than two decades before the Reformation. Therefore the list seems to record an attempt to curb the outlandishly large indulgence proffered by the Franciscans, and thus inadvertently testifies to the more general inflation in indulgences. The entire compilation process for this list was the result of someone with an organized mind, who liked to order, number, and rationalize systems. One of the systems that he tried to rationalize was the value of various indulgences, which are themselves an attempt to impose numeric order on spiritual activities. So, while the Franciscans were an order at least theoretically dedicated to poverty, they, and Dominicans, were mendicants, who built their monasteries in cities rather than on the rural land, and saw their role as preaching to the urban dwellers who were often involved in trade, numbers, credit, and debit. 'Paying' for sins, by

34 The meaning of this item remains mysterious.

performing various devotional activities to which different values were ascribed, would therefore fit well into the vocabulary of the Franciscans and the townspeople to whom they ministered.

Commoditizing spiritual grace meant laying out rules for its mechanical functioning, often in the form of compact lists. For example, a prayerbook with illuminations from Delft has a unique list describing 'How venial sin can be forgiven'. This list comes at the end of the Penitential Psalms and Litany of the saints, and seems to be an extension of the mechanics of penance.

Venial sin can be forgiven in seven ways. First, that a person takes the true Holy Sacrament. Second, that a person takes holy water. Third, that a person stretches his hands out to give alms. Fourth, that a person speaks his *Pater noster* with devotion. Fifth, that a person speaks his *Credo* after the sermon, for which he will be forgiven not only from venial sin, but also from mortal sins that the person no longer has in his memory, but has forgotten. Sixth, that a person receives benediction from the Mass. Seventh, that a person beats his chest out of contrition for his sins. Venial sin is also forgiven when a person receives holy oil.

HKB, Ms. 135 E 18, fol. 18v

Sin that one has forgotten and therefore cannot atone for specifically and in detail is a topic that appears frequently in such lists. It must have either been a source of anxiety among the medieval faithful or, more likely, functioned as a tool to keep even those with an unadulterated conscience attached to a daily regimen of prayer and subordination.

Complexities of both the sins (which one might easily have forgotten) and the loopholes and manifold possibilities of remission, meant that the people promoting indulgences might also want to provide instruction in their use. A group of female tertiaries in Delft may have built a reputation for producing manuscripts with large numbers of indulgenced prayers, which carry instructions in the form of rubrics. Some of these do not appear elsewhere. HKB, Ms. 135 E 18 may be such a manuscript. It was probably written in the convent of St Ursula in Delft, for it bears penwork and decoration typical of Delft, lists Ursula as the first virgin in the litany, and contains certain codicological features associated with manuscripts written at this convent. However, the manuscript may have been made for the woman who is depicted in the margin of folio 101r, at the foot of a prayer 'to your personal angel' (fig. 26). She appears to be a laywoman. If so, then perhaps the tertiary convent had a teaching role, showing lay clients how they could earn indulgences.

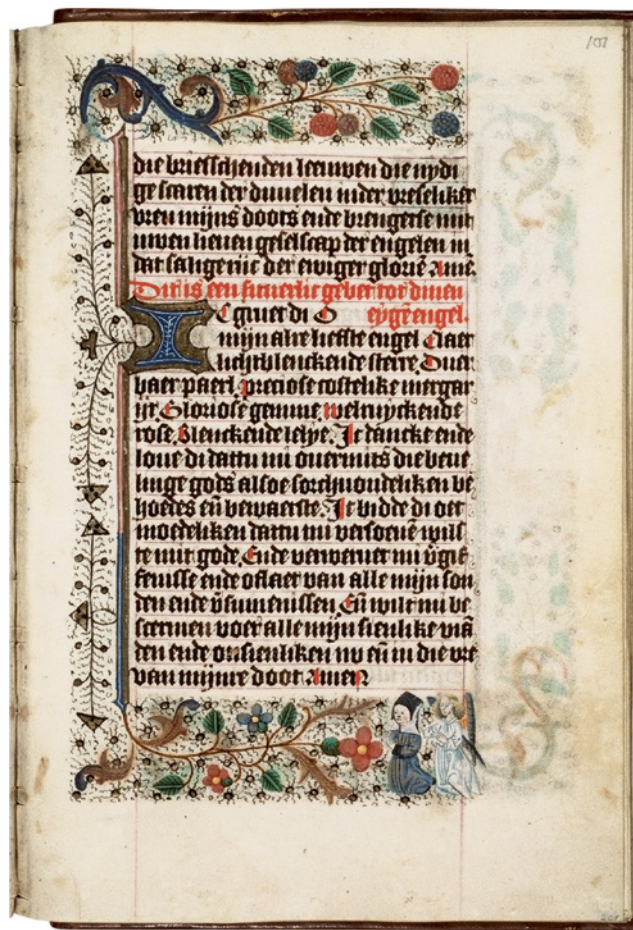


FIGURE 26 Folio in a book of hours with a prayer to 'your personal angel,' bearing a marginal image of a woman kneeling in prayer (the manuscript's donor?) with her personal angel. Made c. 1460–80 in Delft.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 135 E 18, FOL. 101R.

Mileage Credit

If indulgences connected earthly time to eschatological time, they also connected—through the agency of words—the votary's body with those of Mary, Jesus, and the saints. Suffering was measurable, and the pain of the *imitatio* could determine the unit of measure. The correlation between prayer and the body, as well as the metaphor of the imitative body, surfaces in numerous Christian prayers. Some of these relate to the measurements of the penitent body, including its length and weight, in order to construct analogous wax models, given as offerings at shrines, or measurements associated with Christ's body, Cross, Passion, titulus, and sepulchre, which became (abstract) objects of devotion, and occasionally *loci sancti* for miracles.³⁵ Others drew upon

35 Finucane 1995, pp. 95–96, traces the medicinal qualities of measured relics and ill bodies back to the sixth century.

more metaphorical models, including the measurements of God's bountiful earth.

Prayer offered one of the units of measure (in its sheer boredom, perhaps even in its measure of pain) and the indulgence was the table of conversion (however tacit, allusive, and uncoded) for that unit into salvific periods. This meant that the length of a prayer could determine the value of its associated indulgence: the longer the commitment to prayer, the greater the reward. Salvation was available by the word, or even by the letter. For example, in a prayerbook made in the second decade of the sixteenth century by and for a Franciscan sister in the neighbourhood of Luik, the reader receives a thousand years' indulgence for each letter in the prayer that follows the rubric:

*rub: Maximilian, the noblest emperor of Rome, who was said to have read it every day in German, left behind this following prayer. Our holy father, the Pope Alexander VI, authorized this prayer and gave 1000 years' indulgence for each letter in the prayer to every Christian who reads it devoutly and shows contrition for his sins.*³⁶

BKB, Ms. II 3688, fol. 145r

Maximilian I (1459–1519), the Holy Roman Emperor, the son of Eleanor of Portugal and husband of Mary of Burgundy, left the prayer behind when he died. Although the emperor read it in German (*duutsch*), it is given here in Middle Dutch (*dietsch*); one wonders if the size of the indulgence changed with the translation, considering that each translation would yield a different word count. Given that the prayer covers five folios, the reward in any translation would be quite substantial.

Prayer—in its physical length (in words) and the time it took to say, as well as its occupation of the mind and body (to a greater or lesser degree) of the supplicant—could be a stand-in for a parallel physical unit, either Christ's suffering or the supplicant's physical action, or to his or her physical connection to Christ. This meant that indulgences were also available by the kilometre, whereby empathizing with the object of devotion could be measured

by physically walking in Jesus' footsteps, a literal interpretation of *imitatio Christi*, or by its virtual proxy. You do not actually have to do the walking, if you pray enough. A common rubric, in prayerbooks made for religious and lay alike, promises as many years' indulgence as one would earn from going on pilgrimage.³⁷ Such a rubric appears, for example, in a prayerbook containing prints made by nuns at Onze Lieve Vrouwe ten Troost, and promises that 'One earns all the indulgence from Rome, Trier, and Cologne with this following prayer' if one reads it 'with devotion' (BKB, Ms. 18982, fols 60v–65v).³⁸ Rome, the seat of the Church, featured among its attractions hundreds of relics of the Passion, mostly imported from Jerusalem or acquired during the Sack of Constantinople.³⁹ Trier also held important relics of the Holy Cross, especially those connected to the Cult of St Helen. And Cologne held the Shrine of the Three Kings, or Magi, which was the object of tremendous popular piety.⁴⁰ Pilgrimage to see such relics was the single most efficient way of earning indulgences in the Christian Middle Ages.⁴¹ During Jubilee years the indulgence value for travelling to Rome and completing the circuit of the Seven Principal Churches temporarily burgeoned to include several plenary indulgences. A plenary indulgence would fully extinguish the onerous and fiery burden of sin. Consequently, Roman pilgrimages became so popular that they resulted in chaotic crowds, who even caused a bridge over the Tiber to collapse with their weight. These Jubilee years began in 1299–1300 and were intended to be centenary affairs, but in the course of the fourteenth century, it was decided that they should be every fifty years (1349–1350), every thirty-three years (1390–1391), or as often as necessary (1400, 1451, 1455, 1456,

36 The same rubric, nearly verbatim, appears in a prayerbook from c. 1530 containing a calendar from Tongerlo (Leiden, UB, Ms. Ltk 303, fols 172r–175r); it also appears in BKB, Ms. II 5443, fols 110v–116r (prayers in Dutch and Latin, c. 1550), and Bruges, SB, Ms. 568, fols 166v–169r. Meertens 1930–1934, vol. I, pp. 51–52 calls the prayer a 'volksgebed'. Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, vol. III, p. 96 name this prayer G 143 and provide numerous other examples. All may stem from Franciscan circles.

37 The rubric appears in e.g. the *Geraardsbergse handschrift*, a mid-fifteenth-century collection of Middle Dutch prayers, adages, advice, and tips for memorizing information, most of them rhyming. I thank Paul Wackers for this reference; for an edition, see Govers 1994. For indulgences earned for pilgrimages (which in many cases were related to fund-raising), see Webb 2006.

38 This prayer is Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, G 169.

39 For Northern European pilgrims to Rome, see Miedema 1996, who edits extant Dutch and German texts of the *Mirabilia Romae*.

40 See Legner 1985, vol. II, pp. 216–224, E18, for a description of the Shrine of the Three Kings and bibliography; Lauer 2006.

41 As H. de Jongh points out, taking a pilgrimage to the Holy Land—then literally walking in the footsteps of Christ—earned the votary several plenary indulgences, which had been attached to Jerusalem travel since the days of the first Crusade: in 1215, Innocent III extended a plenary indulgence to faithful Christians who would go to fight the Turks, and civilian pilgrims too could claim this indulgence. Jongh 1912, p. 133.

1467, 1468, and 1515, for example).⁴² They were clearly good for business. In trying to attract pilgrims, churches trumped up claims about their relics and images. The most famous example of this practice—the Carthusians in Rome claiming that their image of the Man of Sorrows was the one that Pope Gregory ‘saw’ during his miraculous mass—will be discussed later, in Chapter 5.

For those who could not go to the Holy Land or Rome for one reason or another—and this included nuns who were cloistered and therefore could not normally travel—some textual alternatives were available.⁴³ Prayerbooks often provide alternatives for physical pilgrimage, in other words, guides to virtual pilgrimage. In BKB, Ms. II 3688, a manuscript discussed earlier, the Franciscan sister who had a penchant for copying elaborate rubrics inscribed the following:

rub: There was a cloistered sister who had a great wish to go to Rome in the golden year [i.e., the Jubilee of 1500]. Instead she earned this grace, which an angel of God revealed to her; he said that she should stay in her cloister and read the following prayer. As often as she would read it, she would earn 30,000 years’ indulgence. But anyone who reads it for 200 days in a row will earn indulgence from all sins, which constitutes much more than just 30,000 years for each trip! When this came to the pope’s attention, he added another 30,000 years to anyone who reads it with five *Pater nosters* and *Ave Marias*, which equals 60,000 years’ indulgence for each trip! But remember: anyone who reads it for 200 days and is in a state of grace may earn the plenary indulgence from all sins.

BKB, Ms. II 3688, fol. 137r

Such imploring insistence on the pope’s imprimatur makes one wonder whether the pope had any knowledge of this whatsoever, although I am not interested here in determining which indulgences were spurious and which were authentic, assuming such a division could even be drawn. Important here is that this rubric demonstrates another example of invoking (however implausibly) the pope at every opportunity in order to legitimize

the scheme. The rubric provides a textual alternative to physical travel for the sisters who were discouraged, if not completely forbidden, from taking pilgrimages. It emphasizes the different possibilities for earning indulgences and employs persuasive language to make the nun see the benefits of virtual travel. Verbally pacing through the text for two hundred days, a time-commitment mirroring that of actual travel, she could earn a plenary indulgence.

Another unit of purgatorial sentencing-time was related to the number of Christ’s wounds, a common measurement of spiritual pardon.⁴⁴ Using Christ’s stigmata as an index of a votary’s indulgence connected the votary’s penance to Christ’s pain: he suffered in order to redeem the votary. This system established a *quid pro quo* relationship. He suffered X number of wounds, so that the votary could evade X number of days (later, years) of Purgatory. (As the number of wounds inflated, so the size of the indulgence grew.) These mathematical relationships reminded the votary that Christ stood at the fountainhead of the well of forgiveness. Whereas the journey to Rome could be physically measured and expressed as a journey of two hundred days, the number of Christ’s wounds was known chiefly through various revelations, according to which the wounds numbered in the thousands, as rubrics often specify.

Rubrics sometimes contain two different spiritual accounting systems, as if to buttress the claims all the more. An indulgence based on Christ’s wounds often appeared in conjunction with the indulgences to Rome, Trier, and Cologne:

rub: Anyone who says the following prayer with a devout heart filled with real contrition for his sins, and having the will to confess and not to sin [*loene*] any more, will earn all the indulgences that are available in Rome, Cologne, and Trier. Pope Benedict XII also gave as many years’ indulgence as Our Dear Lord had wounds, which was 6666, not counting the Five Holy Wounds. The pope in Rome preached this prayer during the Golden Year of 1350, when many thousands of people heard, learned it, and carried it back home.

Antwerp, PM, 14.17, fol. 75r

To sin is to take out a loan, that is, to have a debt that must be repaid. According to the rubric, the prayer renders a pilgrimage to Rome during the Jubilee of 1350, or to Cologne or Trier, obsolete. The prayer itself has the status of a pilgrim’s souvenir, a small piece of *devotionalia*

42 Remy 1928, pp. 11–17, 30–34, 91–97, 183–193, 200–204; Toussaert 1963, p. 342.

43 For such virtual pilgrimages, see Rudy 2011. Classen 1995 points out that some women, including Margery Kempe, did travel to the Holy Land. Carls 1999, esp. 38ff, discusses other pilgrimage accounts written by women, including the *Geistliche Meerfahrt* by the prioress Margareta Ursula von Maasmünster from the early fifteenth century. For Netherlandish accounts, see Stoker and Verbeij 1997, vol. 1, pp. 267–270.

44 See Breeze 1985.

disseminated at a holy site. Not only did it emanate directly from the pope, but also it was spread widely by hordes of pilgrims, thus confirming its legitimacy.

In many cases, the indulgence itself would in some way approximate another unit of measure, whether of eternal time or the petitioner's own life. Such reasoning applied in the letter-by-letter example, where the poem's physical length is a unit of measure that stands for a greater unit of measure (years of salvation); and to the example just quoted, where the act of prayer is a substitute for the physical act of walking. This is also tied back to the idea of prayer as an analogy of natural phenomena—blades of grass, leaves on trees. Such exchanges between 'units of measure' do not follow a regular metric system; rather, in crossing between several modes or kinds of spiritual touchstones, they speak to the indulgence's basic concern with turning one thing (earthly action) into something fundamentally unlike itself (salvation).

Size and Complexity of Indulgences

Up to this point I have referred to indulgence inflation as a general phenomenon, and as a rule it is the case that the value of the indulgences grew over time. In manuscripts from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, prayers often accompany small indulgences worth a few days. In later manuscripts, the indulgence rewards often came to be expressed as a period of years, or even hundreds or thousands of years or, in some rare cases, in more abstract, vague, and large quantities, such as the numerical value of sheaves of wheat or blades of grass discussed earlier. Yet some key counter-examples complicate this picture. Two of the earliest Middle Dutch manuscripts containing indulgenced prayers list some of the largest indulgences, embedded in convoluted narrative rubrics. These are Groningen, UB, Ms. 405, a manuscript from the mid-fourteenth century containing several texts by Jacob van Maerlant, as well as indulgenced prayers, recipes, and a description of the topography of Africa,⁴⁵ and HKB, Ms. KA 36, an illuminated prayerbook, which contains rhyming prayers and was made in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, probably in Brussels. Among other things, KA 36 contains the earliest representation of a snowman in the Netherlands (fig. 27). Both manuscripts contain rhyming prayers with rhyming rubrics. Rhyming texts—including rhyming histories, chronicles, prayers, and even rhyming tables of contents—were *de rigueur* at Netherlandish court circles in the fourteenth century and

trickled down into other areas of public discourse, including religious houses.

Rubrics in these two early manuscripts in Middle Dutch (Groningen, UB, Ms. 405 and HKB, Ms. KA 36) differentiate between indulgences that would remit mortal sin and those that would remit venial sin. This distinction points to an advanced culture of indulgence counting and reappears in much later manuscripts from the decades flanking 1500. These two manuscripts also provide long rubrics based on *exempla* or testimonials. They show that the growth of indulgences over time was haphazard. While, generally, the size of indulgences inflated over time (and is often cited as a reason for the Reformation), their growth was neither linear nor predictable. Several fluctuating values and corresponding issues are at stake regarding the size of the indulgence and the quality of the remission it promises to provide, which may be either time or sin itself. Time may be either terrestrial or otherworldly, and sin may be venial or mortal. Values for indulgences are sometimes symbolic and refer to abstract concepts, and sometimes closely enumerated. Indulgences refer to this fluctuating array of spiritual benefits, several of which might appeared in a single codex; this is probably due to the fact that manuscripts were copied from existing sources, which simultaneously advanced various and competing systems.⁴⁶

Groningen, UB, Ms. 405 contains elaborate calendars and tables, including one predicting astronomical phenomena, beginning with a solar eclipse to take place on 6 December 1341. It also contains a table for calculating Easter, running from 1339 to 1386. These dated tables indicate that the manuscript was probably written in 1339, for the eclipse actually took place on 9 December 1341, and it is unlikely that the prediction would have been made incorrectly *ex post facto*. It was written in 's-Hertogenbosch for the Premonstratensians of Mariënweerd in Beesd (near Geldermalsen) and contains, apart from Maerlant's texts, a rhyming prayer to Christ's wounds and a rhyming prayer to the Passion distributed over the seven canonical hours. Despite its early date, the manuscript contains a heavily indulgenced Middle Dutch translation of the prayer *Anima Christi*, a brief and popular prayer that serves as a *lorica* to protect its bearer.⁴⁷ These pleading interjections

45 Meertens 1930–1934, vol. I, p. 143 n. 55; Leendertz 1895–1897.

46 For an introduction to medieval prayer counting and a good overview of late medieval indulgences, see Fulton 2007, who discusses counted prayers in terms of the emerging market system.

47 Leroquais 1927–1929, vol. II, p. 340, transcribes a Latin version from a late fifteenth-century book of hours of the Use of Rome. For the Middle Dutch versions, see Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, G56. In English: 'God's soul, heal me. God's body, protect



FIGURE 27 Opening from a prayer book, with prayer to the arma Christi with column-wide miniatures depicting the arma Christi: a ewer and sponge, a ladder and tongs, with a snowman in the margin, and a winding cloth. Made c. 1375–1400 in the Southern Netherlands (Brabant?).

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. KA 36, FOLS 78V–79R.

that comprise the *Anima Christi* carry their rubric as a postscript:

rub: Anyone who reads this prayer has a thousand thousand days of indulgence from mortal sin, and a thousand years from venial sin. The pope sent this prayer, with the above-mentioned indulgence, to the queen of Sicily, because she had longed for it for a long time.⁴⁸

Groningen, UB, Ms. 405, fol. 219

me. God's blood, drench me. The water that flowed from God's side, cleanse me. God's martyrdom, strengthen me. Oh, good God, hear me! Help me, dear God, so that I may never be parted from you. Protect me from the evil enemies in my final hour. Take me and lead me so that I may praise you with the angels for ever and ever. Amen.

48 A different prayer, a pleading prayer to Jesus, became associated with the Queen of Sicily in other manuscripts, for which see Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, G 89.

In a variety of ways what may be the earliest indulgence in Middle Dutch has characteristics usually associated with much later indulgences—beginning with the mention of 'a thousand thousand days' (that is, a million days' indulgence). Moreover, the text differentiates between indulgences that remit 'mortal' sin from those remitting 'venial' sin, which is a refinement that does not appear in most codices until much later (and usually in the context of a troika of *Pater nosters*, discussed later). This rubric also refers to indulgence time in both days (which comes from the old system of penance on earth) and years (which comes from the new system of remission from Purgatory in the afterlife).

In countless rubrics from the fifteenth century, scribes indicate their confusion with indulgences through their mistakes and expunctuations. The copyists change the word 'days' into 'years', and seem to express a great deal of freedom in the rubrics that the prayers themselves do not afford. Rubrics were fluid: copyists could shrink or extend them according to available space on the page. It is as if the playwright's spoken lines (prayers) were inflexible, but the

stage directions (rubrics) were susceptible to the whim of the director. The rubrics, which were instructions, after all, and therefore decidedly not the word of God, could be tampered with in a manner that eluded the prayer text, which was elevated to a more sacred realm.

The Ever-Changing Meaning of *Carenen*

Middle Dutch *careen* (pl. *carenen*) derives from the Latin *quadragene*, as noted earlier, meaning forty days and referring to the duration of Lent, a forty-day parcel of time during which priests and confessors often dealt out temporal punishments. But the meaning of *careen* shifted during the fast changes in indulgence-gleaning culture and caused various misunderstandings in the late Middle Ages. One problem is that the term had relevance with respect to 'indulgence' only if 'indulgences' were to mean penance on earth, namely, that undertaken during the forty days of Lent. When the meaning of 'indulgence' shifted in the late Middle Ages to refer to purgatorial time (how many hundreds or thousands of years will I spend in Purgatory?) instead of earthly time (how much dour abstinence do I need to inflict on myself this Lent?), periods of forty days no longer made sense in the inflated sums of thousands or tens of thousands of years that prayers offered. Forty days would hardly make a dent in semi-eternity. Just as indulgences shifted their focus from earthly to purgatorial remissions, the term *careen* fluctuates as well. Furthermore, as earthly remissions became less common, the word lost its precise associations, but remained in use because of its strong associations with the concept of remission. *Careen* was something of an appendix—an organ that remains after its use is gone—which nonetheless appears in many indulgence operations.

The term *carenen* came from the context of earthly, not purgatorial, penance. Codifying penance had been a feature of earlier Christianity, as practised before 1200 when Purgatory—as Jacques Le Goff put it—was born.⁴⁹ Before 1200 there were handbooks of penance, which listed the degree of hardship one would have to undergo in order to atone for various sins. The system, however, changed with the advent of Purgatory, but some of the vocabulary remained, although the meaning shifted. This was confusing to late medieval Christians, and signs of their confusion are abundant in fifteenth-century manuscripts. Although a system of indulgences had taken hold of Northern Europe by the early fifteenth century, in which votaries expected indulgences that were listed in terms of

the amount of time the devoted reader would be excused from Purgatory in the dreaded and anxious future, some vestiges of the earlier system remained in place. Namely, all mentions of *carenen* refer to an indulgence system based on remission from penitential time on earth, often counted in terms of days, that is, the number of days that a votary might be excused from eating a restricted diet (usually of bread and water), abstaining from sexual pleasure, duly attending daily mass, or other penitential acts. In the late Middle Ages, the meaning of indulgence shifted to indicate the length of time by which a votary's purgatorial (not earthly) sentence would be reduced, often measured in hundreds or thousands of years, and shifted once again to delete sin itself. This goes some way to explain the vast disparity between indulgences offered for, say, reciting the *Salve sancta facies* in 1300 and doing so in 1500 (ten days' remission from penance on earth, versus 40,000 years' remission from time in Purgatory).

Just as there was confusion and often fluidity between two kinds of sin (mortal and venial) so there was between two kinds of remission, earthly and purgatorial. In addition to indulgence for mortal and venial sin, which Groningen, UB, Ms. 405 mentions, there was a third kind of indulgence, measured in *carenen*. But just what was a *careen*, a word over which many scribes stumbled? That many different fifteenth-century texts try to define *careen*—and do so in contradictory ways—suggests that many writers did not know quite what it meant. It was a term in flux that accompanied an indulgence system in flux. Analysing some of the ways in which writers defined this term reveals how they understood the system of remission to function.

HKB, Ms. KA 36 is one of the earliest Middle Dutch manuscripts to mention *carenen*. Made around 1390, it contains a selection of unique rhymed prayer texts, as well as a highly unusual cycle of imagery. A one-folio text begins with a rhyming red advertisement, then continues with something that is not really a prayer, but is actually an extended rubric, here transcribed in full:

rub: Say the following without hesitation, so that you will be released from your sins. inc: You shall say one *Pater noster* in remembrance of the slow death of the son of man, our saviour Jesus Christ, who died on the cross, and of the joys and the pleasures that he experienced when he saw that all his distress was not in vain in the end, and that so many people would be saved by it. You shall have 80,000 years' indulgence from venial sin and lost time. *Pater noster.*

You should say one *Pater noster* to honour him who had his dear friends in Limbo, when he used his

49 Le Goff 1984, Bratu-Minott 1999.

divine power to free them, and the joy that he had when he saw and realized that he was able to do that while nobody else could. For that, you shall have an additional 80,000 years' indulgence and lost time. *Pater noster*.

And another *Pater noster* to honour the joys that Our Lady had on Easter when she saw her resurrected son, and the joy that he had when he saw himself illuminated with his divine brilliance. For that, you shall be released from 80,000 *carenen*. As often as you teach this to another person, you will receive this pardon. Amen. *Pater noster*.

HKB, Ms. KA 36, fols 11r–12r

This text frames three *Pater noster*s about Jesus' and Mary's joys surrounding the Passion, and it instructs the reader about the extremely generous indulgence reward he or she would receive for constructing *Pater noster*s in this manner.⁵⁰ For performing the prayer, the votary earns 160,000 years' indulgence, which is differentiated into the categories of 'venial sin' and 'lost time', and also earns 80,000 *carenen*. Here it is not just that purgatorial time is remitted, but sin itself is washed away. These categories are not applied regularly—except in the context of this particular prayer—until the end of the fifteenth century. Furthermore, the indulgence functions in another way: the reader can earn it by teaching it to others and spreading it. In other words, the prayer and indulgence have their own marketing mechanism built into them.

Because the size of indulgences changed faster than the vocabulary could, the 80,000 *carenen* from the previous example are preposterous if they were to mean '80,000 Lents'. *Careen* (and its Latin source, *quadrage*) no longer made sense in the fifteenth century because priests no longer distributed punishments in forty-day parcels, the duration of Lent. However, the culture had shifted from brief punishments on earth to long punishments in the afterlife, in Purgatory. But the term was still in circulation, and people sought to make sense of it by inventing new definitions for it. The appearance of a definition of *careen* in one late fifteenth-century Middle Dutch prayerbook confirms the misunderstanding of the term; the definition appears in the context of the (now familiar) *Pater noster* troika that carries an indulgence attributed to Pope Callistus. The rubric reads:

rub: Item, the holy pope Callistus gave an indulgence to these three Pater noster. To the first one he gave an indulgence of 30,000 years of venial sin... To the third Pater noster he gave 30,000 years' and 30 carenen's indulgence. A careen means going seven years dirty and barefoot, fasting on bread and water, and seven years without sleeping in the same place where you slept the night before, and seven years without being covered by a roof, except to hear the mass in the church, and going seven years drinking water that's been used to wash feet in. Whoever completes all these points earns a careen.

BKB, Ms. II 5443, fols 152v–154v

Here the meaning of *careen* had shifted again. Even the nun who copied this particular manuscript was not certain of the exact definition, or thought that it was not widely understood, since she felt the need to define it. When the rubric states that a *careen* 'means', it indicates that a *careen* 'is worth the same as' going seven years dirty and barefoot and so forth, so this is an effort once again to give a physical quantification to prayer. The writer relies on tangible, earth-bound discomfort as a motivation to pray; in that way, the residue of the term's former meaning—forty-day periods of Lenten observance—are still detectable. The rubric evokes an image of a restless sinner, always on the move, undertaking the grimmest self-abasement for seven years. Although this understanding of a *careen* had drifted away from its former meaning as a 'forty-day period', it still referred to bodily discomfort.

A different definition appears in HKB, Ms. 135 C 9, fols 25v–26r, also from a Franciscan convent, and which gives an even more colourful explanation of the term.

rub: Item, definition of a careen, quadrage, or septeen. inc: Item, a careen, or quadrage, or septeen, all mean the same thing: penitence seven years' long, wearing a dirty dress or a hair shirt on your naked skin. Item, seven years' long going barefoot. Item, seven years of Fridays fasting on nothing but bread and water. Item, never to sleep a night where you slept the previous night. Item, seven years' long without being covered by a roof, except to hear mass in a church... Item, never again to drink from a vat, but to drink only from your hand. Anyone who completes these penances for seven years will earn a careen, quadrage, or septeen, which are all the same.

HKB, Ms. 135 C 9, fols 25v–26r

⁵⁰ Compare Mechtild van Hackeborn (d. 1299), *Liber specialis gratiae*, vol. 1, p. 19, a prayer about the resurrection that thematises Christ's five-fold joy at Easter, for which see Meertens 1930–1934, vol. 1, pp. 77–78.

While the language closely resembles that of the BKB example, it has shifted considerably, most notably in its

resolve to collapse any distinction among the terms *careen*, *quadrage*, and *septen*. It has also added some gruesome detail to the definition. This rubric suggests that the abasements were cumulative and relied, perhaps, on the imagination of the scribe or depended on material factors, such as how many ruled lines the scribe had available.

If keeping track of the shifting meaning of *careen* were not enough, another difficulty entered the mathematically complicated indulgence culture. With the uneven inflation of indulgences in the decades prior to 1520, the indulgence reward is sometimes listed not as a number of years of excuse from Purgatory, but as a percentage of all the years that one was supposed to spend there. These appear only in later manuscripts, written near the end of the fifteenth century. They often require the reader to perform a prayer, in addition to evaluating a tricky mathematical formula to determine the salvific effect of his or her efforts. Such a rubric appears in a highly indulgenced book of hours made around 1500 (fig. 28):

rub: As often as one devoutly reads these seven *Pater nosters* and *Ave Marias* with these seven prayers, she will earn the third part of forgiveness from all her sins, doubled seventy times, in addition to 230 years, in addition to 112 *carenen*, in addition to 80 days. Whoever brings it to someone's attention and teaches it to that person will earn 40 days' indulgence. Twice a year in many churches one should commemorate the brothers and sisters of this brotherhood who have died.

BKB, Ms. II 2923, fol. 41v

These calculations are puzzling, to say the least. It seems that the prayer promises a 33% reduction in the amount of sin for which the reader must atone; this is then 'doubled' 70 times. Doubled in this sense may mean 'multiplied', so that the resulting grace is 70×0.33 , rather than $(2 \times 70) \times 0.33$. At the very least, then, it promises something like forgiveness from all the reader's sin multiplied 23 times, in addition to all the years, *carenen*, and days. Regardless of its stated value, the rubric contains vocabulary that could only occur in an era of advanced numeracy, one brought on by the demands of proto-capitalism and its spreadsheets. This prayer was squeezed onto the page in a script much smaller than the script of the remainder of the book, as if the copyist were desperate to maintain a record of the entire accounting system.

A few rubrics address the relationship between various kinds of indulgence, and one, which appears in a manuscript made in Delft around 1480, promises to change

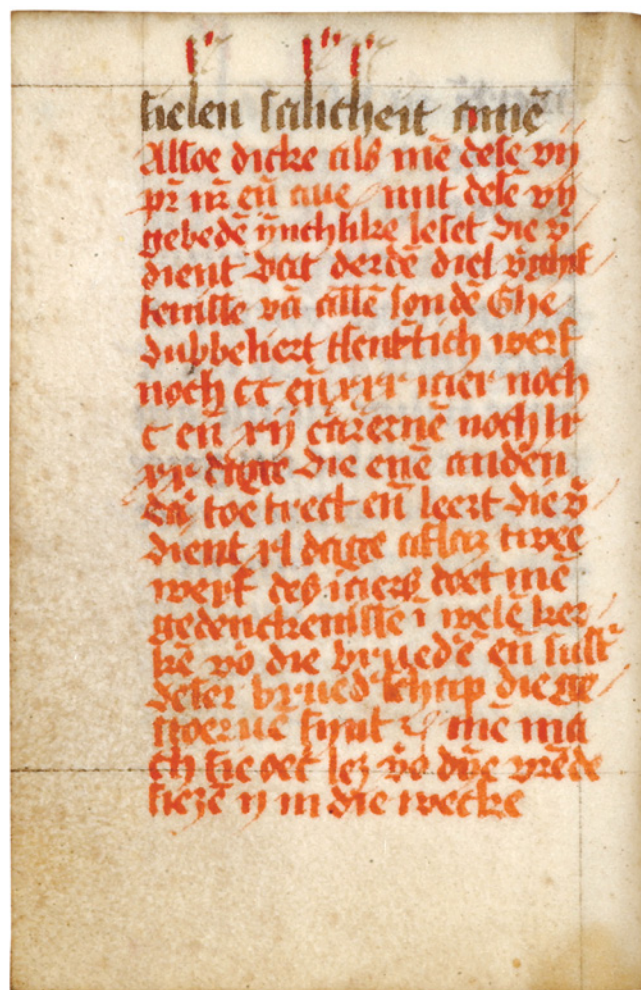


FIGURE 28 Folio in a prayer book with a full-page rubric. Written c. 1500 in the Southern Netherlands.

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. II 2923, FOL. 41V.

mortal sin into venial sin, that is, to make a categorical leap in the processing of sin. The text in question presents a prayer to Jesus' name and cites St Bernardino of Siena, the preacher who preached devotion to the sacred monogram:

rub: The holy father Bernardinus prayed this very devout prayer every day on bent knee for the truth of the most spiritual name of Jesus...Any Christian who would read this following prayer with devotion and who was that day in the state of grace, would have his eternal pain in Purgatory changed into temporary pain. If he had earned the pain of Purgatory, it would be forgiven through mercy with merciful forgiveness.

HKB, Ms. 135 E 18, fol. 21r

Another text in this manuscript describes how venial sin can be forgiven: by taking the sacrament, receiving

holy water, giving alms, speaking the *Pater noster* attentively, saying the *Credo* after the sermon, receiving the benediction at mass, beating your chest with remorse for your sins (HKB, Ms. 135 E 18, fol. 18v). It seems, therefore, that its owner was especially concerned about the mechanics of sin and its remission.

Over the course of the fifteenth century, ever increasing numbers of manuscripts attest to the power of prayer within their instructional fibre. In a related vein, rubrics also grew longer, with descriptions of promises of a prayer's effect, of its authenticity, and ever more intricate choreographed measures to ensure a prayer's efficacy and to prevent any failures. These choreographed measures often implicated images, which played a role in establishing or maintaining the correct words, actions, and mental dispositions that a votary had to establish in order to perform a prayer correctly and to glean its promised rewards.

Conclusions

Private devotional practice in the fifteenth century included texts that protected votaries at the hour of their death, during their undefined periods of purgatorial punishment, and while they were alive on earth. These protections shielded them against ills of the soul and of the flesh. Prayer was many things: it was both an armament against evil and a medium to reach towards a higher being. It was both a mechanism by which to reduce a purgatorial debt and a method of reaching towards imitative or compassionate behaviour.

Laypeople participated in the increasing mania for indulgences chiefly through their use of books of hours with their elaborate rubrics and their interactions with publicly displayed indulgenced images. Rubrics are at once scrupulous and shift: they claim exactitude, but hardly two of them are identical. They demand exact performance according to authorized modes and structures, but then drift from one copy to the next. According to Hillel Schwartz, 'exact' copies, although fictional, promulgate authority.⁵¹ In the case of many (most?) indulgences, there were hundreds of copies, with scarcely one original behind them.

Indulgences, likewise, played a major role in incentivizing the dissemination of images. In the late Middle Ages, a shift occurred around the concept of indulgences: in abandoning the earthly realm for the otherworldly, the

sizes of indulgences, likewise, rocketed skyward. Given the conservative nature of the copying of manuscripts, the old system stayed in circulation along with the new. Part of this shift may have been the result of the large-scale disappointment caused by Christ's failure to return, and the corresponding recognition that the Second Coming could be a very long way off. In that case, the scale of purgatorial sentences had to be reconceptualized in greater magnitude than previously imagined. Eschatological time would have to be recalibrated.

Systems of earning indulgences, although they may not have perfectly mirrored the new-found credit-debit banking systems, relied on many of the same techniques: counting, adding, multiplying, accumulating, transferring. These skills of advanced numeracy that spread through towns in the later Middle Ages were the prerequisite for indulgence mania. Convolved and hyperbolically large numerals associated with indulgences seem to indicate a large amount, rather than a precise value, and it is clear that many other indulgence values did as well, although they circulated simultaneously with indulgence values that were carefully worked out and tallied, to the day. Therefore, multiple competing and mutually infiltrating systems were copied and disseminated piecemeal according to the demands and habits of manuscript production—an old (pre-fourteenth-century) system of accounting indulgences as punishments on earth in days versus a newer system of accounting indulgences in Purgatory in years; a system of hyperbolizing indulgences to suggest 'a long time' versus carefully counted and measured indulgences.

In addition to computation, the other prerequisite for indulgenced prayer was the physical image, which ripened the space for prayer. The presence of the image was also a *sine qua non* for a range of responses demanding tangible interactions (decorating, kissing, stealing, transporting, smudging, painting, draping with one's mantle) that demonstrate that there was a blurring between the subject represented and the representation itself. This ambiguity led to a crisis in the mid-sixteenth century, when images were painted over, defaced, drowned, and burnt. Inherent in the claims of both the practitioners of iconophilia and iconophobia is that viewers reify the image, thereby erasing the distinction between the representation and what is represented. My premise in this book is that images ripened the space for prayer, just as prayer mediated between the viewer and the object.

Priests, confessors, or other officials who instructed the religious and laity in the practice of prayer probably encouraged votaries to heighten their devotional performances by putting an image of suffering, or of

⁵¹ Schwartz 1996, pp. 19–47.

compassion, before them. This ‘image of suffering’ might have started as a mental image, then crystallized into a physical object, just as the suggestion by the confessor might have turned into a rule. Despite the overwhelmingly metaphoric qualities of the Christian religion, its medieval believers could often be literalists, as they concretized ‘images’ into physical objects. This chain of events, which covered a large number of different kinds of images, also seems a likely scenario if one considers two important and highly celebrated prayers essentially attached to images—namely the Vera Icon and the Mass of St Gregory with the *arma Christi*—whose physicality was never in question. The Vera Icon was a relic, a ‘true image’, and a devotional aid all at once, and it was clear from the outset that the Vera Icon prayer was to be read in front of the real relic or one of its numerous copies. Likewise, the *Adoro te in cruce pendentem* was directed to a physical image that replicated the Gregorian

vision. It seems likely that this requirement carried over into other prayers so that the presence of the image became a necessary precondition for efficacious devotion. Scholars have already recognized the implications of these two image-based prayers, and it is part of my project here to demonstrate how widely spread, rather than isolated, such cases were.⁵² Part 2 of this book considers the Christological images that had currency in the late Middle Ages and presented opportunities for viewers to earn indulgences, and Part 3 considers the Mariological material. Time and again one sees that Jesus is associated with indulgences because he suffered for them, but Mary dispenses indulgences for other reasons: she did not suffer bodily but, rather, emotionally and therefore understands anguish; furthermore, because she is merciful, she comforts people at the moment of death.

52 See e.g. Ringbom 1965, Kamerick 2002.

PART 2

Christological Images and Prayers

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Introduction to Part 2

Increased interest in the Passion of Christ, in empathic forms of devotion, in the mechanics of salvation, and in image-based devotion characterizes the practice of Christianity during the 150 years prior to the Protestant Reformation. While the prayers in prayer books reveal some interest in the infancy of Christ—for example, in images of his cradle and attendant prayers at Christmastime—the overwhelming bulk of the images of Christ made in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries depicts events during his Passion or his body bearing the wounds he suffered. The number of wounds on his flesh related to the size of the indulgences that certain image–rubric–prayer combinations granted the votary, as if there were a strong positive correlation between how much Christ suffered and how much the votary would be relieved from suffering. Just as the previous section demonstrated the degree to which indulgences were counted and quantified, this section, which considers specific prayers and families of prayers, continues in this vein to reveal the escalating indulgences attached to prayers that memorialize, with increasing pathos, the suffering Christ.

Actually, the reward that the votary hoped for was two-fold. Part of it was in the faraway future, and the other part immediate. He or she hoped to tap into Christ's suffering and its power to relieve eventual purgatorial suffering. But beyond the specifics of purgatorial remission, the votary hoped to gain a physical reward that a saint had received: Francis with his stigmata, Bridget with her vision, Bernard with his bowing crucifix, and Gregory with his miraculously transformed Eucharist. Each received an immediate reward from prayers, a real-world benefit that confirmed that the prayer was working. Votaries also longed for this and therefore modelled themselves on saints by praying the same prayers that they had prayed.

Votaries also sought to witness what Gregory the Great had witnessed—his vision of the suffering Christ in lieu of the host that had been present before him. Images showing Gregory and his vision became closely attached to the most sought-after, indulgence-laden prayer in the Netherlands in the fifteenth century, the Verses of St Gregory,

beginning *Adoro te in cruce pendentem*, a prayer that Gregory purportedly issued after experiencing his miraculous vision. St Gregory became the most important intermediary between the individual and the body of Christ. This prayer, which I shall also call the Gregorian Verses, appeared in hundreds, if not thousands, of vernacular books of hours and prayer books. This prayer grew in length as it grew in popularity, and it accompanied an image that at once dramatized the myth of the prayer's origin and provided an object of devotion. The rubric that glued the myth to the image also justified a large indulgence, which further popularized the image. I take up the images of St Gregory, and the prayers that accompanied them and the indulgences that motivated them, in Chapter 5.

Late medieval votaries contemplated Christ's wounds, which were the wellsprings of grace and sources of indulgences. These are interrogated in Chapter 4. Many popular prayers promised indulgence for prayers to, or even into, those wounds. Rubrics demanded that votaries put themselves into a cruciform shape, partly in order to empathize more fully with Jesus. Many prayers suggest that the degree to which one empathizes with Jesus will be the degree to which one is released from purgatorial pains. Devotion was both mediated and measured by the pain inflicted on Christ's body. Quantifying pain and quantifying grace were intimately physically connected—two sides of the same body. Metric relics purport to record the literal measurements of the life and suffering of Jesus, from the dimensions of the Cross and the man himself to, most importantly, the size and number of wounds he suffered. All were passed down with the authority of empirical veracity. This rhetoric is contained in the language of rubrics. Images with prayers in this group culminate in one of the greatest, simplest, and most pervasive images made in Christendom: the image of Christ's face, which, like the mosaic depicting Christ as the Man of Sorrows (the one in the Mass of St Gregory), had its source in Byzantine icons. In the Netherlands, far from this source, the Mass of St Gregory shed the functions that it had had when its origin myth came into being around 1400, and instead took on new functions, broadcast through rubrics.

Arma Christi

In the late Middle Ages, Netherlandish votaries increasingly wanted to collect ‘authentic’ experience, including experience that could be measured, tallied, and considered objective, since the real experience they sought—participating in Christ’s Passion and literally walking in his footsteps—was one-and-a-half millennia and a continent out of reach. Late medieval votaries expended tremendous emotion and energy trying to uncover—or discover—the degree to which Jesus had suffered. Believers sought the objective trace, even in its most elusive or abstract form. They sought the indexical sign, the trace of the broken body, the primary marks made by the holy suffering limbs, one that left its effluvia pressed into a towel. Frustrating for believers, Jesus left few relics on earth before his bodily ascension into Heaven: what remained on earth were his foreskin (claimed to be in Antwerp’s Cathedral of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, among other places); a group of contact relics including the True Cross and the instruments of the Passion (many formerly in the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, the monumental glass reliquary built to house them); thousands of pieces of the True Cross; the site relics that pilgrims visited; and, most importantly, Veronica’s towel (in St Peter’s, Rome, until the Sack of 1527), which miraculously conveyed his perfect likeness during his drawn-out execution.

The *arma Christi* were visual stand-ins for the tangible remains of Christ. While they existed in various places in the form of relics, which increased their popularity, they were still at a remove from the average person’s devotion. At a further remove from the relics of the *arma Christi* were the images of the *arma Christi*, which allowed people, via rubrics, to get as close as possible through imaginative prayer. *Arma Christi* indulgenced images were far more accessible than the *arma Christi* relics, which in turn were more accessible than Christ himself.

Devotion to the *arma Christi* in the West owed much to their survival, possession, and display. Until 1204 Constantinople housed the greatest collections of Christian relics in the world, which included bodies of martyred saints and Christological relics transported from Jerusalem. Among these were relics of the Passion kept in the Great Palace, including pieces of the True Cross, the ‘Holy Towel’ of Edessa that bore a miraculous likeness of Christ, the Crown of Thorns, the holy lance, reed, and sponge. In the context of the Fourth Crusade, Western armies sacked Constantinople in 1204 and looted its relics, including the

most precious relics of the Passion. Thirty-five years later, in 1239 Louis IX purchased these relics and subsequently built the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris to house them. This was the largest, most ornate, and delicate reliquary that had ever been conceived, and it formed a locus for enthusiastic devotion to the *arma Christi* at the French court, which quickly spread to the other European courts.¹ As the subjects of sermons, the relics were broadcast publicly.² Furthermore, Louis and his successors gave away small fragments of these relics, which physically spread the relics to other courts and gave rise to new reliquaries. For example, Jean, Duc de Berry received one of the thorns from the Crown of Thorns and commissioned a lavish gilt and jewelled reliquary to house it, which survives in the British Museum in London.³

Images of the *arma Christi* entered prayerbooks for several reasons. They had legitimacy by virtue of having touched Jesus during his Passion, and also because they enjoyed royal patronage. Furthermore, their shapes could be abstracted and simplified, meaning that little skill was needed to reproduce them. And finally, in a group as well as individually, the instruments were said to carry large indulgences.

Arma Christi, Reproduced

Fragments of the *arma Christi*, together with devotions based upon them, quickly spread to other courts and monasteries. An example of such devotions appears in the *passionale* of Kunigunde, a manuscript made in the second decade of the fourteenth century with a full page dedicated to depicting an array of Christ’s instruments of torture.⁴ Among these are the ‘Veronica’ at the top,

1 For an overview of the transfer of relics from Constantinople to Paris, see Bagnoli 2010, p. 13. For the Sainte-Chapelle as a reliquary, see Cohen 2008.

2 Charansonnet and Morenzoni 2007. See also the other essays in that volume.

3 Bagnoli 2010, cat. 54, pp. 94–95; Cherry 2010.

4 The *arma Christi* with the Wound of Christ is full-page diagram within the *Passionale* of Abbess Kunigunde, manuscript on parchment, 1312–1321 (Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, sig. XIV A 17). For discussions, see Hamburger 1998, p. 374; Toussaint 2003. For high-resolution images of the entire manuscript, see the European Digital Library of Written Cultural Heritage

the cross, sponge, lance, and the crown of thorns, thus, precisely those relics that were in display in the Sainte-Chapelle. The illuminator has also filled out the page with elements that refer to events rather than things, namely Christ praying on the Mount of Olives just under the nimbed right hand of God, and the hand that buffeted Christ. Unlike the things arrayed across the page, these events do not correspond to relics in a collection. Scale here has been determined by placing Christ on his cross at the centre of the page, using the other long thin items such as the column of the flagellation, the ladder, spear, and sponge on a stick to organize space into vertical columns, and filling in the other objects to their maximum sizes in the resulting spaces. One can see that a votary vigorously interacted with the image, as the face of Christ and the enormous wound—which is like a magnified projection of his chest—have been touched or kissed repeatedly out of veneration.

Analogous representations of the *arma Christi* also appeared in the Low Countries. An early example appears in a miscellany made at the Cistercian monastery of Villers, also called Vrouwenpark, in the early fourteenth century.⁵ Vrouwenpark, situated outside Leuven, was founded as an Augustinian convent around 1058 and was renewed under Cistercian rule in 1215.⁶ The compilation volume they made, now BKB, Ms. 4459–70, comprises ten individual booklets—to use Pamela Robinson’s term.⁷ A different scribe wrote each booklet, and these have bound together. A colophon dated 1320 was added to the beginning of the manuscript (fol. iv). Palaeographic analysis suggests that all the booklets were probably made at this time. One of these (a quire comprehending fols 145–152) includes two folios with drawings (BKB, Ms. 4459–70; figs 29 and 30).

This entire booklet with its unusual images forms an extended meditation on the wounds, the *arma Christi* that caused them, and the indulgences that one can earn by reciting prayers to them. It may have circulated as a separate entity before being bound with the other booklets, being quite distinct from them since they mainly treat lives of local saints. The scribe who drew the wounds and the *arma Christi* was probably also the scribe of the entire booklet, as he has made the images in the same black and



FIGURE 29 Folio in the Villers Miscellany with the measured Wound of Christ, incorporated into a word-image design. Made c. 1320 in Sint-Truiden.

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. 4459–70, FOL. 150V.

red ink with which he inscribed the prayer and the accompanying rubric.⁸

In constructing folio 150v, the draftsman has put the largest thing on the page first—the measured wound of Christ—and then has filled in the relevant text and images around it in nested levels. This means that the images have had priority, and the words are filled in to elucidate them, in a reversal of normal manuscript-making practice, where words precede images and dictate their position. So abstracted are the images, especially the lenticular wound at the centre, the triangular nails, and the ladder, that the text is necessary to explain them, especially to an audience confronting the *arma Christi* for the first time. Constructing a label, but also a red nest of words around the wound, are the words: ‘This is the measure of the wound in the side of my Lord Jesus Christ. Let no one doubt it because he himself appeared to someone and showed him his wounds’ (BKB, Ms. 4459–70, fol. 150v). This language

(<http://v2.manuscriptorium.com/>) and search for XIV.A.17; Národní knihovna České republiky.

5 For Brussels, Royal Library, Ms. 4459–70, see Gessler 1939, esp. pp. 13–22, where the author discusses the images in the manuscript and transcribes their textual contents. Lewis 1997 discusses the drawings in the Villers Miscellany in the context of analogous imagery that belonged to royal women.

6 Lewis 1997, p. 224 n. 7.

7 Robinson 1980.

8 The Latin texts relevant to the wound imagery in the manuscript are transcribed in Gessler 1939. My transcriptions in the Appendix differ slightly, and I have translated selections.



FIGURE 30 Folio in the Villers Miscellany with the arma Christi and a textual description of the associated indulgences. Made c. 1320 in Sint-Truiden.

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS.
4459–70, FOL. 152V.

draws upon testimony, albeit vague, to buttress its veracity. It is a strategy used by many writers of rubrics.

A rubric that appears at the top of the folio serves as explanation and instruction for the images on the sheet as a whole: 'Whoever shall have looked upon this daily in remembrance of the passion and the weapons of Jesus Christ, shall have 40 days of indulgence, given by Pope Leo and confirmed by the same' (BKB, Ms. 4459–70, fol. 150v). This diagram and rubric testify to an early interest in indulgences, around 1320, and to the shackling of indulgences to the *arma Christi*. Noteworthy is the instruction that 'looking upon' the instruments daily is enough to secure the indulgence. This instruction also necessitates their representation.

Nestled around the wound is a prayer, the *Salve plaga*, whose margins are literally shaped by the wound. Addressing the wounds of Christ, this prayer dead-ends right in the enormous red pit at the centre of the page. It addresses the wound as 'you', as if the reader were reading right at—or into—the wound at the centre of the page. The whole prayer goes like this:

Hail, wound in the side of our saviour,
For from you has flowed a wave the colour of roses
And [you are] the true medicine for all ill

Hail, sacred wound, deliverance for sinners,
You are the perfect consolation for the sad
And the true restoration, and the way of the good
And the enjoyment of peace and the gate to the heavens

Hail always fresh and abundant wound
From you shall flow a beneficial wave
Through which are freed from a second death
All those serving you with a pure mind.

Hail, holy wound, house of rest
You [are] a safe refuge, an anchor of faith
Through you the accused are already cleansed from crime
And will be led inside before the sight of God. Amen

O spring of the water of Paradise
From which, divided into four,
Sweet rivers flow

By which hated demons
Are broken and forced out
And made to tremble.

Sweet wound in the side,
Between springs [there was] no such
Nectar for the cup ever.

Greetings, hail, rejoice, goodbye:
Against deadly poison,
Medicine for the people.

BKB, Ms. 4459–70, fol. 150v

According to the prayer-poem, the wound is the well-spring of a great sweet river that conveys the best possible medicine. Such watery themes connect the liquid from the wounds with the rivers of Paradise and with baptism. Addressing the wound of Christ as 'you', the prayer treats the abstract shape as the man himself, or conversely, reduces the man to his wound. Simple ink drawings of the *arma Christi* frame the wound and the poem. They are so abstract that the copyist/draftsman felt the need to specify them in a red text at the bottom of the field: 'The lance, the cross, the nails, the thorns, the death that I have endured, show how I have washed away the sins of the miserable' (BKB, Ms. 4459–70, fol. 150v).

In smaller red script the copyist gives a different kind of instruction when he writes: 'Find other punishments after two pages' (BKB, Ms. 4459–70, fol. 150v), indicating that more *arma Christi* are depicted on fol. 152v (see fig. 30). They are depicted in the second column of the page, but what prefaces them, and fills the entire first column, are further notices of indulgences:

Whoever shall behold these arms of our Lord, with which he redeemed us...shall have three years from the blessed apostle Peter. Item, anyone [who looks at these arms] will receive 100 days' indulgence from 30 popes. Item, anyone [who looks at these arms] will receive 40 days' [indulgence] from twenty-eight bishops. Item, from the lord Pope Leo, 40 days. Item, Pope Innocent, who was in the same synod while confirming all the aforementioned, has added an additional four years and two hundred days of indulgence. Item, from the Veronica, 40 days. Item, who shall have looked with a devoted mind every day shall never perish from a bad death. Item, for women labouring in childbirth this stands out as the best remedy.

The sum of the years of indulgences from the veneration of the arms of the passion of Jesus Christ, taking into account 365 days in a year, yields 18 and a half years and three days of indulgence for each day of veneration. Item, each week [of veneration] yields 119 and a half years.⁹ Item, each month [of veneration] yields 518 years and 3 and a half days of indulgence. Item, each year [of veneration] yields 6750 years with three and a half days of indulgence.

BKB, Ms. 4459–70, fol. 152v

In other words, the entire column of text consists of a series of calculations of the indulgence rewards. Within this text, one noteworthy element relates to the 'Veronica', which grants a forty-day indulgence. Curiously, however, amid the images presented in the manuscript, there is no Veronica. Perhaps the scribe was copying a model but did not attempt to depict any human figures. Depictions are essential in the scheme, however, as the indulgences are for beholding the *arma Christi* with daily regularity. Even in one of the earliest representations of the *arma Christi*, the enumeration of the indulgences fills nearly as much parchment as the description of the suffering.

This kind of highly calculated information about the *arma Christi* continues at the bottom of the first column

and the top of the second, after a line that indicates a new topic:

Six thousand six hundred sixty and five wounds, which truly have atoned for our misfortunes. To be noted: anyone who reads fifteen *Pater nosters* each day will have greeted each of the wounds after one year.

BKB, Ms. 4459–70, fol. 152v

The 'five wounds' (from the Crucifixion) are distinct from the 6660 wounds (on the rest of his body). With all its seeming exactitude, the maths still does not work. What is clear is that the statement is drawing an equation that relates the amount Jesus suffered with the amount that the supplicant must pray in order to achieve forgiveness.

Following that is another section of images, a continuation of the images of the *arma Christi* from folio 150v. This time, the draftsman/scribe has been more successful in presenting the schematic drawings alongside their relevant labels, which read:

Hand delivering blows
Thirty [pieces] of silver
Lantern
Swords and clubs
Judas' tongue [represented as a giant red tongue with a dagger superimposed]
Little torch
White garment
Purple garment
Tunic made without seams [a reference to John 19:23]
Knife of the circumcision [represented with its fore-edge covered in red]
Crown of mockery
Cane
Throwing of dice
Behold the wounds of the heart
Kicking feet
Birches

BKB, Ms. 4459–70, fol. 152v

Each of these labels is in black ink and placed as close to the relevant object as possible. With great economy of means, the draftsman/scribe is able to depict and identify each item. He uses the three colours available—red, black, and the naked parchment—to differentiate the three garments, for example. And he uses the red ink to denote blood on the knife, on the birches, and running from the wounded heart. The words 'my enemies have

⁹ Here the arithmetic does not add up: it should read '129 and a half years' (*centum et xxix annos cum dimidio*).

trodden upon me have been encircled and connected to the 'kicking feet'. This text is probably a reference to Isaiah 63:3 ('I have trodden the winepress alone...their blood is sprinkled upon my garments, and I have stained all my apparel').

Red ink means something else in the next section, which shows ten footprints. Here red is used to inscribe the words 'bloody feet', a label that marks a conceptual break: whereas the upper part of the diagram showed the *arma Christi*, the lower part shows the instruments' effects on Jesus' body. That there are ten footprints, rather than some other number, I think is not significant. Rather, this is simply the number of feet that the draftsman/scribe could draw comfortably in the remaining space. These ten feet stand for a thousand, according to the other red inscription running alongside: 'To be noted: Christ is said to have made a thousand steps carrying the cross, and in each footprint of his steps, he shed his blood'.

What may have been appealing about it was that the scribe could execute the imagery with red and black ink, without requiring specialized tools or skills. These features democratized the imagery so that anyone who had access to these simple tools could present the instruments of the Passion. For example, the Carthusian Zweder van Boecholt, the scribe of Utrecht, UB, Ms. 391, III, took advantage of their simplicity by inscribing the *arma Christi* in the lower margin of his copy of the *Passionale Ecclesiae Trajectensis* (fig. 31). Zweder van Boecholt was a scribe and corrector at the Carthusian convent in Utrecht in the 1420s. This convent had a large scriptorium that produced significant numbers of theological manuscripts, which, before the 1430s, were quite sparsely decorated.¹⁰ They had no illuminators among the twelve to twenty-four monks who laboured in the scriptorium. When Zweder copied a *Passionale* in 1426 he added an image himself to the lower margin under the entry for 2 November. Reduced to bold abstraction, Christ's Passion confronts the viewer with an array of geometric forms, which demand to be narrativized. Such an image pays homage to all Christ's suffering, yet at the same time is within the representational grasp of the scribe untrained as a figure painter. Indeed, the two colours of ink that a scribe keeps at hand—dark brown and red—fulfil the requirements of the job. With them he can represent wood, iron, and blood. Zweder was responding to the textual content for the day's reading (on the image of the Crucifixion), and he probably made this image while the book was still unbound. Being a scribe rather than an artist, he then labelled his picture to obviate any misunderstanding about what the abstract shapes

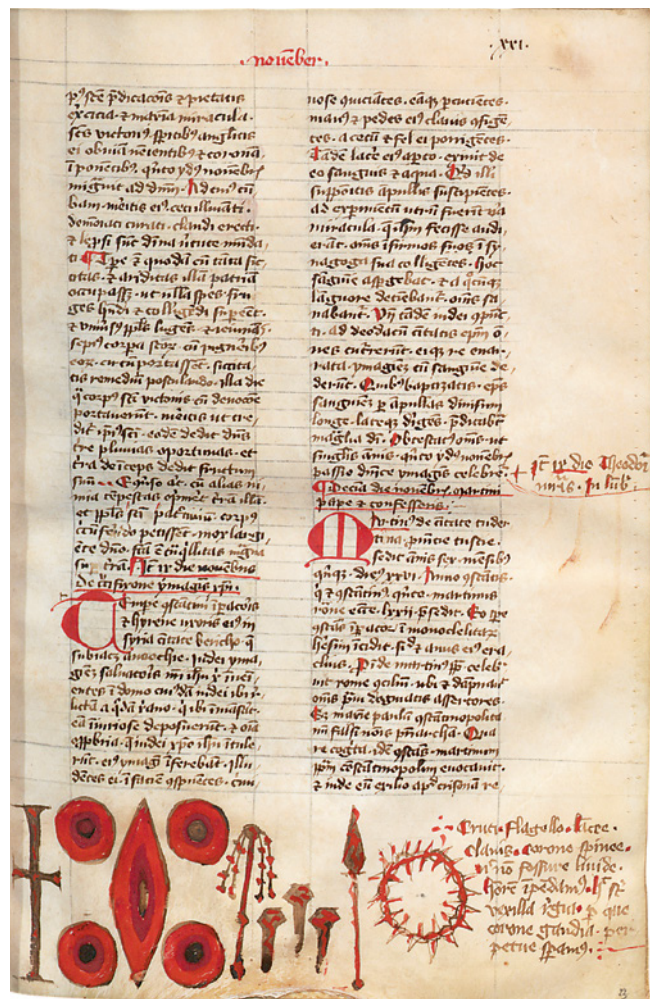


FIGURE 31 *Folio in a Passionale with a drawing of the arma Christi added by the scribe, Zweder van Boecholt, in the lower margin. Made in 1426 in Utrecht.*

UTRECHT, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 391, III,
FOL. 23R.

were meant to represent. In this he followed the strategy of the scribe from the Villers Miscellany.

Making analogous imagery was within the grasp of other scribes, who responded to blank parchment with the drafting skill they had at hand. A psalter copied in southern Germany, possibly by the canonesses of Disibodenberg around 1200, tells such a story.¹¹ When the manuscript was originally made, the large initials prefacing the major psalm divisions (at Ps. 1, 26, 38, 51, 52, 68, 80, 97, 101, and 109) were left blank. As the manuscript is quite small (with folios measuring 22 × 14.5/15 cm), and the initial letters were planned to fill the entire width of the page, their absence must have piqued the book's early users. In the

11 Vienna, öNB 1853, fol. 37r: initial in a late twelfth- or early
thirteenth-century psalter that was originally left blank and only
filled in with the *arma Christi* a century later. Fingernagel and
Roland 1997, cat. 90, cod. 1853, pp. 201–202, fig. 269.



FIGURE 32 *Prayer to the arma Christi, with column-wide miniatures depicting the Five Wounds and Christ's garment and gamblers' dice, with a figure holding a torch in the margin. Made c. 1375–1400 in the Southern Netherlands (Brabant?). THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. KA 36, FOL. 76V.*

early fourteenth century one of them filled in some of the letters with a sketchy style as best she could, with a Head of Christ and a nimbed David in the upper and lower bows of the B for *Beatus vir* (Ps. 1, fol. 7r). In choosing these subjects, she brings Christological imagery into the Old Testament text, and she chooses relevant imagery that she can execute with simple forms, namely the Head of Christ. David she labels with a banderol, which gives specificity to a vague figure. For Ps. 51 (fol. 37r, as above) she filled the initial Q with the *arma Christi*. Having run out of space in the empty Q for the torturer who spat on Christ, she adds this pictorial unit to the upper margin, and likewise crams the nails and torch into the left margin near the gutter. She adjusted the scale of the objects to suit the available space, so that the dice, for example, are enormous in relation to the hammer and pliers. All this suggests an impromptu and urgent need to fill sacred space with Jesus.

Features of the earliest devotions to the *arma Christi*—that they appear in verse and enumerate the objects—continue in later *arma Christi* devotions, such as a long poem in Middle Dutch copied into HKB, Ms. KA 36,

a manuscript made in Brabant around 1390 (see fig. 27 and fig. 32). This rhyming prayer to the *arma Christi* has an image for each stanza (HKB, Ms. KA 36, fols 75v–79v). It may have been prized specifically for its simplicity as a tool for helping to teach children to read. The earliest Middle Dutch witness (in HKB, Ms. KA 36) was made for a woman, normally the sex charged with the duty of teaching young children; and another witness from the mid-fifteenth century appears in a manuscript with other teaching tools.¹² Not only are the words simple and the lines written with a sing-song ease, but the images, too, are reduced to simple graphic shapes. They boil the Passion of Christ down to a palatable reading lesson.

As these examples demonstrate, one of the reasons that the *arma Christi* reached high levels of transmission was the ease with which they could be copied. An artist or enthusiastic amateur could reproduce them with simple means and with limited skill that did not require representing the human body. A second reason for their popularity was the indulgence they carried.

Indulgenced Veronica

Believers venerated metric relics because they referred to some authentic object—the wound, nails, cross, and titulus—whose proximity posed a difficulty for worshippers far-flung across Christendom who all craved a tangible trace. That trace appeared in its most palpable form in the True Icon of Jesus, that is, the likeness of his suffering face. Prayers dedicated solely to the Face of Christ developed their own iconography and had specific prayers copied in hundreds of manuscripts.

According to legend, Veronica, the friend of Jesus, lovingly wiped his face with her towel, on which his visage was miraculously imprinted. Jesus trudged on with his cross, leaving her holding the most celebrated acheiropoieton (image not made by human hands) in Christendom. This towel, both a precious blood relic of Jesus and an image of him, bridged two important categories of devotional objects—relics and images—and became a symbol of suffering, a devotional aid, a celebrated prize, and a much-copied, printed, and multiplied form that came to define Roman pilgrimage and summarize Christocentric devotions. The Vera Icon became both her attribute and her identity. Jeffrey Hamburger has written at length about the significance of the Veronica to women, especially nuns, so here I will concern myself only with

¹² See Rudy 2006.

various manifestations of the Holy Face in Middle Dutch culture, especially in their relationship to indulgences.¹³ Like the image of Christ as the Man of Sorrows (discussed later), the True Likeness received a papally authorized prayer that was to be read in front of the image and that promised an indulgence. Like metric relics, the True Likeness was a concession to exactitude, an indexical marker that pointed to the truth of Christ's suffering. Made through divine means, the 'original' had bypassed the possible flaws in representation introduced by human error.

The Veronica came to signify St Peter's basilica, where the relic resided from the mid-twelfth century until the Sack of Rome in the early sixteenth, and became the most significant pilgrims' attraction in Rome. For example, in an early Middle Dutch copy of the *Mirabilia Romae*, a pilgrim's guide to the churches and sites of Rome, the Veronica appears in the opening initial (fig. 33).¹⁴ In fact the rubric does not provide the title for the *Mirabilia Romae* but, rather, announces 'These are the indulgences of Rome' (*Dit is vanden aflate van Rome*, HKB, Ms. 76 E 5, fol. 57v). In the opening initial the Face of Christ signals the city of Rome, the presence of Jesus in the city and in the text, and the indulgences available there.

The Face of Christ was the first image to be associated with an indulgence. In 1216, Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) composed a prayer about the relic and promised ten days' indulgence for reciting it. (He did not stipulate that votaries would have to recite it in the presence of an image.) Innocent IV (r. 1243–1254) then granted forty days' indulgence to another prayer appended to the image, the rhyming *Ave facies praeclara*, comprising seventeen lines in the original Latin. John XXII (r. 1316–1334), following suit, composed the *Salve sancta facies* and then promised ten thousand days' indulgence for reciting it in front of the Veronica. It is his name that is most frequently connected to the indulgence. Two versions of this hymn emerged in Latin, consisting of either twenty-four or thirty-two rhyming lines.¹⁵



FIGURE 33 Folio in a manuscript with the Face of Christ painted in an initial, prefacing the Roman indulgences. Written and illuminated c. 1374 in Brabant.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 76 E 5, FOL. 57V.

Both the *Ave facies praeclara* and the *Salve sancta facies* were translated into Middle Dutch several times, so that there were multiple vernacular versions of the prayer in circulation. The similar origin myths, functions, and activating images of the two hymns meant that the two were often intercolated and conflated: some versions consist of the *Salve sancta facies*, with several lines from the *Ave facies praeclara* interpolated.¹⁶ As do all the versions, this interpolated version addresses the relic/image itself, and it finishes with the hope of an eschatological vision: 'O, blessed image, bring us towards our fatherland to see the face of Christ with a clean heart. Amen'. Generations of popes publicized the relic of the Vera Icon, and the steep indulgences augmented this publicity, which in turn led to the image's popularity.

13 Hamburger 1998, pp. 317–382; see also Kuryluk 1991; Hand 1992; Kessler and Wolf 1998.

14 HKB, Ms. 76 E 5: Collection of texts in Middle Dutch, including *Dietsche doctrinael*, *Beatrijs*, Jacob van Maerlant's *Die heimelicheit der heimelicheden*, made c. 1374 (Easter table on fol. 1v begins with 1374) in Brabant, possibly in Brussels or environs; 80 folios parchment, 255/7 × 190 mm; 2 columns; 37 lines. For the extensive bibliography, consult the BNM.

15 Chevalier 1892–1920, 18189–18190; Leroquais 1927–1929, vol. II, pp. 349–350, transcribes the 24-line version. For the Middle Dutch versions, see Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, G 117; editions exist in Weale 1890, esp. pp. 612–613; Meertens 1930–1934, vol. II, pp. 76–78; Stracke 1945.

16 Such a version appears in Antwerp, Ruusbroeck Ms. M10, fol. 80, as mentioned by Stracke 1945, pp. 238–239.

Rubrics reflect the confusion of both the prayer's origins and its reshaping by a number of popes. For example, the *Salve sancta facies* appears in a book of hours made in Enkhuizen, indicating:

rub: Here begins a prayer made in the honour of our lord's face. Pope John xxii gave to all Christians, as often as they read it with contrition for their sins, remission from 300 days' indulgence from penance, and the same number of *carenen*. *inc:* Hail, Holy face of our Lord, in which the divine light shines, printed on a cloth white as snow that was given to Veronica as a token of love...

BKB, Ms. 12081, fol. 141v

As did the Verses of St Gregory, versions of the *Salve sancta facies* and their rubrics multiplied, offering various types of indulgence. In an unillustrated manuscript made around 1475, the text provides a different version of the rubric and prayer to the Holy Face of Christ, with a much greater indulgence value:

rub: Pope John xii wrote and gave [the indulgence for] this prayer, and the pope after him authorized it. Accordingly, anyone who reads it while looking at Veronica is freed from 40 days from mortal sin and 1000 days of venial sin. *inc:* Hail, o Holy Face of our Lord...

BKB, Ms. 12080, Fol. 111r

This rubric conflates Pope John the composer (John xii, r. 955–963) and Pope John the granter of indulgences (John xxii, 370 years later). In this rubric, the identities of John xxii and John xii have become blurred because of scribal imprecision, and both receive credit for the prayer. Such imprecision is found throughout manuscript prayerbooks of the fifteenth century, especially concerning oft-repeated prayers with high indulgence value (such as the *Adoro te*, discussed in Chapter 5). As the rubric spells out, looking upon the image of Christ's face is a precondition towards validating the prayer and completing the requirements of the speech act.

Both the identity of the authorizing pope and the amount of the indulgence remained fluid, and in a manuscript from approximately the same time (the last quarter of the fifteenth century), the following version appears:

rub: Anyone who reads this following prayer before that face of Our Dear Lord Jesus Christ, shown in the cloth of Veronica, will earn 10,000 days' indulgence, given by the 22nd pope who is named John.

inc: Hail, Holy face of our Lord, in which the divine light shines, printed on a cloth white as snow that was given to Veronica as a token of love...

NEW YORK, MLM, Ms. Stillman 4, 156v

In this rubric prefacing the *Salve sancta facies*, the indulgence has grown to 10,000 years. What does remain stable, however, is that in (nearly) all versions, the reader addresses an image. This prayer addresses the face of the redeemer, not the redeemer himself. Just as there were prayers to his individual drops of blood, and to the objects comprising the *arma Christi*, here it is the face, or even its relic or trace, that is the 'you' addressed in the prayer.

How a supplicant might 'travel' to Rome to pay homage to the Vera Icon is hinted at in a rubric from a prayerbook made around 1460–80, possibly in North Brabant (AUB, Ms. I G 17). This manuscript provides texts for the entire liturgical year, beginning with Advent. Later in the calendar year, the text asks the reader to go to Rome to visit the face of Veronica.

rub: Item, how one should go to Rome every year with devotion to honour and pray to that True Face of our saviour, Jesus Christ, which one celebrates in Rome on the Sunday when one sings *Omnis terra* and one reads the gospel about the Wedding [at Cana], which is the Sunday closest to the Feast of Anthony [17 January]. Mechtild, the servant of Christ, taught the sisters that they should go to Rome with especial spiritual devotion, and that they should be there on the day when they show the Vera Icon; they should read as many *Pater noster*s as there are miles between Rome and the place where they lived. When they arrive there, they should confess in their prayers to the highest pope, who is God, receiving from him forgiveness from all their sins. Then they should take the *Corpus Christi* the following Sunday. In the time that would be most suitable, they should worship the image of Christ with the prayer that she [Mechtild] had written.

AUB, Ms. I G 17, fols 124v–125v

In other words, this particular day when crowds of votaries turned up to venerate the Vera Icon was considered especially propitious for praying to God's face. The instruction probably was meant as a substitute for actually going to Rome, and allowed the petitioners the extraordinary opportunity to read prayers in proportion to their distance from Rome, so that the repeated prayer substitutes for the journey. For this day in the liturgical calendar, the text continues by providing multiple prayers to be said

in the presence of the relic: a 'very devout prayer to the Holy Face of Our Dear Lord' (AUB, Ms. I G 17, fol. 125v). As the rubric makes plain, the prayer to be recited in front of the Veronica is given as the one that Mechtild herself had recited. In her six-part greeting to the face of Christ, each greeting becomes progressively longer and more breathless, and each names the face of Christ in different terms: 'Hail, beautiful face...! Hail, image of God...! Hail, compassionate face...! Hail sweet lord with the friendly face...! Hail, beautiful miracle made visible! Hail, most loving and beautiful face...!' Repeatedly the prayer calls attention to the visibility of the face of Christ, so that the prayer becomes a face-to-face dialogue. Furthermore, the sight of Christ's face is only available to believers, as it is called a miracle that Jews cannot look at. Ultimately, the prayer implores that you, 'sweet Jesus, will show me, poor [female] sinner, your mercy', so that the face of Christ be revealed in eternity. Moreover, the manuscript provides the *Salve sancta facies* to be read 'in front of a Veronica', as well as a psalm that is also to be read 'in front of a Veronica' (AUB, Ms. I G 17, fol. 127r–128v). Because the three prayers are copied one after the other in the manuscript, they clearly form a category that the scribe actively formed, that is, prayers to recite in front of the True Likeness of Christ. For the reader of this manuscript, devotion to the Vera Icon was an annual event, set into the calendar after Epiphany and before the Annunciation.

Both the prayer and the rubric were transformed, and the direction of this transformation is instructive for understanding the prayer's wildly open-armed reception. Although most of the Middle Dutch translations do not rhyme, and many are accompanied by a versicle and collect, the *Salve sancta facies* was indeed translated into a rhyming Middle Dutch version of eighteen lines (copied, for example, in BKB, Ms. 18270, fol. 54r).¹⁷ This is a sign that the prayer had achieved such a level of cultural saturation that the public demanded it in new forms. Furthermore, the prayer began to adopt supernatural properties. In the previous example, the image possesses amuletic properties, protecting its viewer from death for a full ten days. Perhaps this protection that the image afforded, which may have been circulated in the oral culture, goes some distance in explaining its great popularity.

The Holy Face of Christ and all its copies became the quintessential Roman image but, like the image of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, it had an existence separate from Rome as well. In both cases, indulgences drove their popularity. Image-makers produced representations of the Holy Face from every material and at every level



FIGURE 34 *Face of Christ, fragment from an image probably depicting Veronica holding her towel, stamped from pipe clay, mid-fifteenth century, from Utrecht.*

UTRECHT, CENTRAALMUSEUM.

of production, from expensive panel paintings to nearly disposable papier-mâché. Image-makers could even be image-bakers: the pipe-clay industry of Utrecht stamped out the face of Christ from moulds then fired them into earthenware figurines (fig. 34). Since the image was said to have floated slightly in front of a towel, representing it sculpturally was a feat. In the pipe-clay image, the face is strongly concave, not convex: it has not been stamped into the cloth but, rather, projects from it.

More than any other package of rubric–image–prayer–indulgence, the one for the Face of Christ was the most likely to have the activating image reproduced in the manuscript. There were several reasons for this, not the least of which was the potential simplicity of the design, which could be extremely naïve, simple, small, or seemingly unimposing and still meet the requirement. In a manuscript possibly made by brothers at the Rooklooster at Oudergem near Brussels, the simple pen sketch that appears alongside the prayer for the Holy Face was apparently sufficient to activate the prayer (Ghent, UB Ms 1353, fol. 114; fig. 35).¹⁸ Although this monastery became famous for housing Hugo van der Goes in the mid-fifteenth century, there was no artist present in the late fourteenth. Drawing the Face of Christ fell within the ability of a scribe, who worked up the image in the brown ink of the text and then added slightly rubricated cheeks. Other scribe-artists used an initial to frame the simple drawing, as is the case of a manuscript dated 1503 (BKB, Ms. IV 1250, fol. 18v, fig. 36). Within the historiated S of *Salve sancta facies*, the Face of Christ appearing in ghostly black ink on white cloth.

¹⁷ Oosterman 1995, R182.

¹⁸ Ghent, UB, Ms. 1353: Prayerbook in Middle Dutch from South Brabant. The manuscript was written by five people, one of whom dates his work 1394. The entire book was made close to this time. For an overview of the manuscript's contents and stratigraphy, consult the BNM.

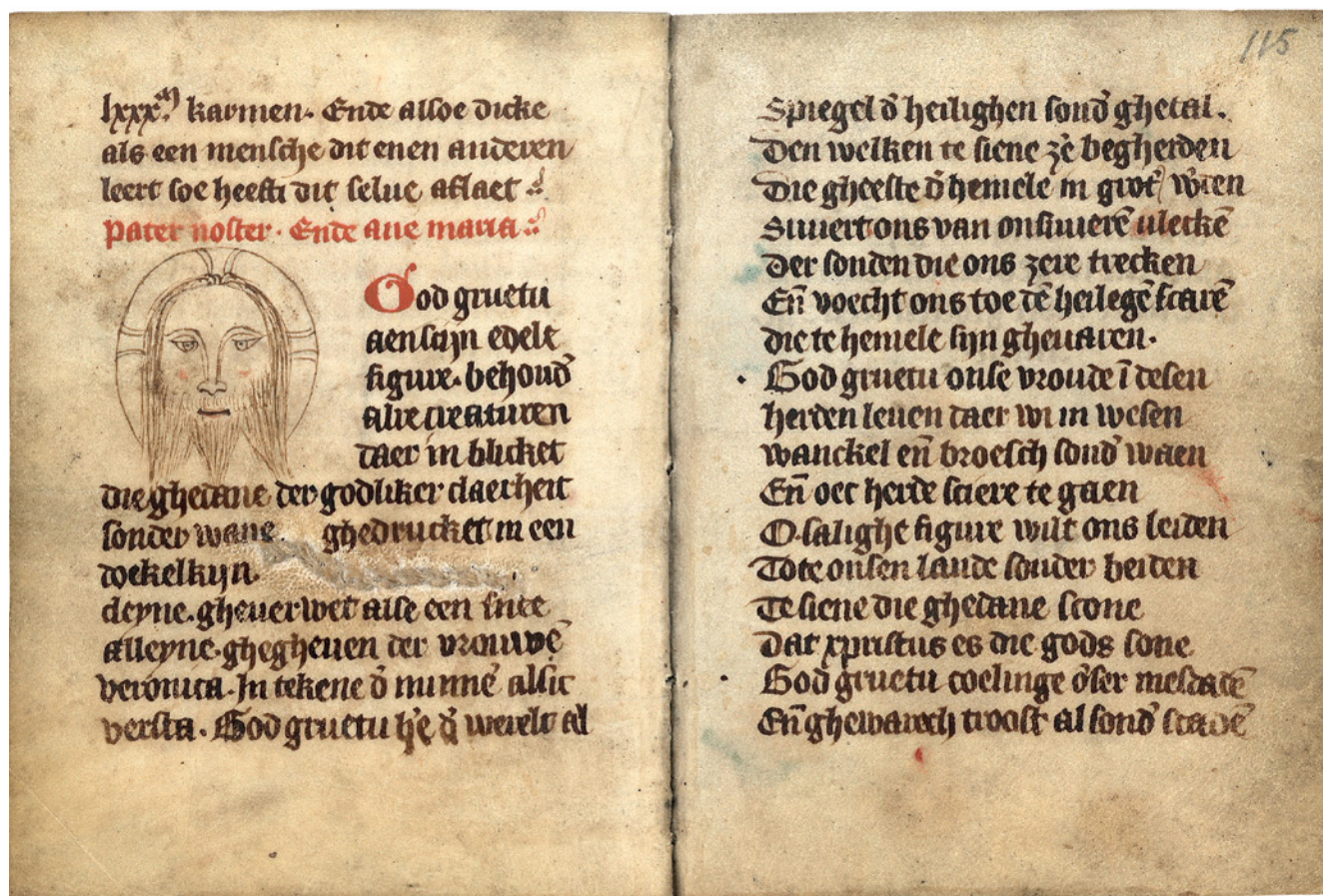


FIGURE 35 Folio in a manuscript prayer book with the Face of Christ drawn into the space left for an initial. Manuscript made in the late fourteenth century at the Rooklooster at Oudergem near Brussels.

Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS. 1353, fol. 114v.

However, the white is the colour of the parchment and makes the face appear to float above the parchment surface.

Another reason for the image's popularity was that it connoted the indulgence. So readily did the Veronica signify spiritual reward that it appears on indulgence bulls for visiting relics unrelated to Veronica's towel. Christ's disembodied face often appears on papal notices of indulgences related to relics or processions of relics granted to various churches and monasteries, regardless of the fact that the relics had nothing to do with Veronica or the Passion. For example, a letter of indulgence, which was made for the Sisters of the Common Life of Het Rondeel in Zutphen, was issued in Avignon in 1336 (see fig. 21). It takes the form of a parchment charter with seals at the bottom. Measuring 539 × 732 mm and with a text block of only 359 × 480 mm, the single leaf has plenty of room for painted imagery. One of the most prominent images in the margin is the unmistakable Face of Christ, which stares out frontally from the top of the sheet. Not only had the pope taken the Veronica with him when he moved from Rome to Avignon, but the image had also become

a visual shorthand signifying 'indulgence', stamping the image of purgatorial remission on this sheet and dozens like it.

Full-page illuminations depicting Christ's face are especially numerous in Southern Netherlandish prayerbooks, where the images probably derive from a now-lost painting by Jan van Eyck. An example of the Southern Netherlandish tradition appears in a book of hours now in New York (MLM, Ms. M. 421, fol. 13v), in which words describing Christ circumscribe his face. These words come from the 'Lentulus Letter', a description of Jesus purported to have been written during Christ's lifetime (although it cannot have been written earlier than the eleventh century).¹⁹ Therefore, the text from the Lentulus Letter further 'proves' the truth of Christ's likeness and its miraculous capture. Related miniatures depicting the face of Christ, usually without this textual proof, appear in Southern Netherlandish prayerbooks at all levels of execution.

¹⁹ Smeyers 1995, p. 263.

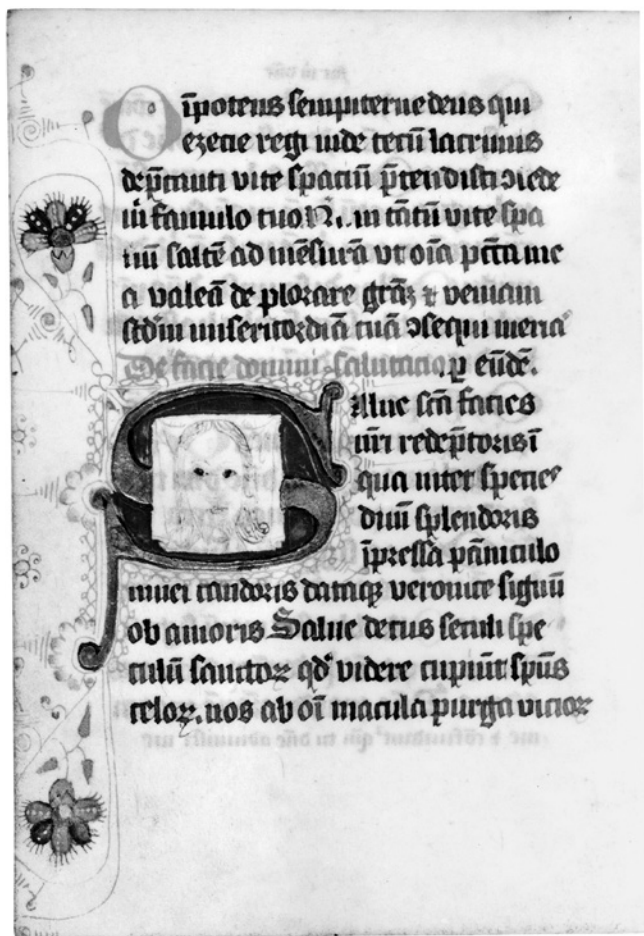


FIGURE 36 Folio in a manuscript prayer book with the Face of Christ painted into the initial of the *Salve sancte facies*. Manuscript made in 1503 in the Southern Netherlands.
BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. IV 1250, FOL. 18V.

Although many prayerbooks made in the Southern Netherlands contain such a full-page miniature depicting the Face of Christ, this motif caught on in the Northern Netherlands only in the mid-fifteenth century. For example, a Southern Netherlandish miniature with a faintly visible Veronica holding up the towel imprinted with the Face of Christ made its way to South Holland, where it was inserted into a book of hours, joining seventeen full-page miniatures made by the Masters of the Delft Grisailles that had already been inserted into the manuscript (HKB, Ms. 74 G 35, fols 161v–162r, fig. 37).

The manuscript's owner inserted the image of the Face of Christ opposite a prayer 'to the Veronica, the Face of the Saviour' (*Ad Veronican facien salvatoris*). Penwork was also added to the border of the text folio here, which is similar to, but executed by a different artisan from that of the penwork in the rest of the manuscript. Based on this evidence, one could imagine the following scenario: someone bought a book of hours in Delft, with inexpensive

full-page grisaille illuminations inserted before the major openings, and at many of the suffrages of the saints. This manuscript, which was probably copied, decorated, and assembled in Delft, contained an unillustrated copy of the *Salve sancta facies* (fol. 162r). Because miniaturists in Delft had not yet started manufacturing leaves with the Face of Christ, the book owner acquired a full-page parchment painting depicting Veronica holding the imprinted Face of Christ and had it inserted so that it faced the incipit of the *Salve sancta facies*. This parchment painting was made in the Southern Netherlands, where devotion to the prayer and image were already in full swing. At the same time, the owner had the border of the text folio (162r) decorated with penwork. This penwork was done in Delft, but not by the same master who executed the rest of the penwork in the manuscript. The border was upgraded so that it would be appropriate to face a full-page miniature.

This scenario suggests that single leaves with this motif travelled from the Southern Netherlands to the north. Although a large number of prayerbooks made in the Northern Netherlands contain the *Salve sancta facies* prayer, only a few of them contain a full-page miniature depicting the Face of Christ, which was a much more common motif in Flanders. It is possible that the Masters of the Delft Grisailles (a name given to an as yet undetermined number of illuminators who produced single-leaf miniatures based on a few fixed patterns) responded to market pressure from the Southern Netherlands by producing leaves with the Face of Christ themselves.²⁰ Only one image by them that depicts the Face of Christ survives—in a book of hours from Delft that has eighteen added miniatures by these masters (Baltimore, WAM, Ms. W.165, fol. 107v; fig. 38). It is quite a late work, and the quality of the workmanship is lower than that of their other miniatures. Continually expanding their repertory of images to increase their marketability, they probably picked up this subject from a Southern Netherlandish model but began exploiting it just as printing and the Reformation were dismantling their industry.

An alternative iconography for the Face of Christ shows Christ as *Salvator Mundi* with a crystal orb surmounted by a golden cross, such as one that appears in a tiny Southern Netherlandish book of hours across from the prayer *Salve sancta facies* (HKB, Ms. 135 J 10, fols 87v–88r, fig. 39).²¹

20 More than 150 leaves made by these masters survive, distributed across more than twenty books of hours. See Osterstrom-Renger 1983.

21 HKB, Ms. 135 J 10: book of hours, in Latin, for Use of Rome; made in Bruges, c. 1480–90, with an added section (fols 157–167)



FIGURE 37 Full-page miniature depicting the Face of Christ, inserted opposite the prayer *Salve sancta facies*.
THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 74 G 35, FOLS 161V–162R.

The miniature has been carefully tipped in, and the borders around it have been painted to match those of the facing text page, so that it is clear that the user/owner considered this image of Christ with his orb to be an appropriate proxy for the image of Christ's face pressed on a towel. Such images, apparently, were fungible. As rubrics in unillustrated versions make plain, what was essential was that the prayer be read in front of Christ's face, but whether that was his suffering face pressed on Veronica's towel, or his iconic face in majesty—in other words, whether it represented Jesus as man or God—was of no consequence to the medieval believer. Whereas nearly every other kind of figure is represented in three-quarter profile, Jesus appears as fully frontal and confrontational, as he did in images of the crucifix.

Crucifix

As transmitted through various rubrics, St Bridget modelled the behaviour of prayer before a crucifix. Bridget's experience of praying before a crucifix must have reflected (and shaped) the experience of many votaries. A large number of rubrics demand performance in front of a crucifix, either in imitation of Bridget or of other saints. Sts Bernard and Jerome famously took up prayers in front of a crucifix, and did so in quite physical ways. Bernard, as discussed later, embraces the cross literally, and Jerome is often depicted beating his chest with a rock while gazing at the hanging Christ. Simple and ubiquitous, the crucifix was the most basic devotional image in the late medieval church.

A medieval crucifix is one of the few images that is shaped like its referent. Whereas most images simply depict their referents, the cross embodies it with mimetic verisimilitude. Crosses came in every size, shape, and material imaginable. While painters could represent the Cross, or more usually, the Crucifixion, on a surface, they could also start with a cruciform surface,

c. 1500–1510; 167 folios parchment, 90 × 65 mm. Such images depicting the Face of Christ following the presumed Eyckian prototype are quite common; a closely related image appears in HKB, Ms. 133 D 18, fols 13v–14r, this time with a different kind of border.



FIGURE 38 *Masters of the Delft Grisailles, full-page miniature depicting the Face of Christ, made c. 1460–80 in Delft (?)*. BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART MUSEUM, W.165, FOL. 107V.

as in the case with certain Italian images painted on a cruciform tableau. These are simultaneously two- and three-dimensional, as they have an illusionistic painted representation of Christ on a three-dimensional cruciform panel. Sometimes the head is painted on a separate piece of wood that inclines forward in order to heighten the illusion of his physical presence. Christians in other parts of Europe had to do more mental work to see the body on the cross in such a way that the body was interactive. Such interaction probably had less to do with the verisimilitude of the representation than with the preparedness of the votary's mind. It was of course devotions that groomed his or her mind into such a state of readiness.

Processions inevitably had at least one processional cross. References to such processions appear in books

of hours, such as one made in Delft in the mid-fifteenth century (Nijmegen, RU, Ms. 295). This manuscript may have come from the Franciscan convent of St Barbara in that city, as St Barbara is mentioned first among the virgins in the Litany (fol. 83r) and in the suffrages (prayers to saints) a decorated initial emphasizes her name. Saints listed in the calendar confirm a localization to Delft. This manuscript also contains the Hundred Articles by Suso, which suggests that it was designed for a convent sister rather than a lay reader on the outside (Nijmegen, RU, Ms. 295; fig. 40). The rubric and prayer for the procession of relics suggests a collective female audience:

rub: To be used on the days of service when the cross and the holy relics go out. inc: Stand up, Lord, and hear us in the name of your saints, hallelujah! Stand up, you saints of God from your houses, sanctify the city, bless the people, and keep us humble female sinners [N] in peace, hallelujah! The relics come from Jerusalem...

NIJMEGEN, RU, Ms. 295, fol. 193v

The text refers to 'us' as 'humble female sinners', which the reader can further specify by filling in her own name at the letter N, which stands for *nonem* (*ons oetmoedighe sondaerschen N*), which are elements consistent with female conventual ownership.²² By processing the cross and relics, the processioners are making the relics get up from their resting places and walk round the city to sanctify it. One can imagine members of the Barbara convent reading this prayer in unison as they walked slowly round Delft behind a large visible cross.

Prayers to be Read before a Crucifix

As much as there is a devotion to the Veronica, there is devotion to the implements that mortify both Christ's flesh and, by the act of salvific mirroring, the viewer's. Middle Dutch prayerbooks supplied a number of prayers to be read in front of these objects. One of the earliest books for private devotional prayer written in Dutch comes from Brabant and was probably made around 1390 (HKB, Ms. KA 36). This manuscript contains, inter alia, prayers with miniatures depicting individual objects. Following a verse translation of the *O intemerata* (fols 107r–108v), for example, there is a prayer to Christ's passion (fols 108v–110r; fig. 41 and fig. 42), for which the supplicant is

²² The same text to be recited during processions of relics appears in HKB, Ms. BPH 132, fol. 157r, which is probably also from the convent of St Barbara in Delft.



FIGURE 39 Opening in a prayer book with a full-page miniature depicting Christ as Salvator Mundi, opposite the *Salve sancta facies*. Manuscript made c. 1480–1490 in Bruges.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 135 J 10, FOLS 87V–88R.

to read Ps. 4 (*Cum invocarem*) while performing a series of choreographed movements in front of a crucifix. This is about stagefright, about going forward with your knees knocking.

rub: If you are in great distress, go stand in front of a cross and say the psalm *Cum invocarem* three times to love and honour the holy footsteps that the dear lord made when he went to his martyrdom. 'I bid you, dear lord, by your holy anxiety, by your humanity that you suffered through death, that you sweated water and blood, that you will put my anxiety mercifully to rest'. Then move forward three footsteps and kneel down and say the psalm *Cum invocarem* again three times. Kneel down and say: 'Dear lord, I read this psalm to you to honour and to appreciate the holy footsteps that you trod when you went before Pilate the judge, and bid you, dear lord, by the power of the miserable judgement made over you, that you will mercifully take pity on my anxiety and on my distress'. Then move forward three footsteps and kneel again and say the psalm *Cum invocarem*

three times to love and honour the footsteps that you, dear lord, trod when you went to the merciful cross. 'And I bid you, dear lord, by the power of your frightful death, that you suffered for us all, that you will look upon my great hindrance paternally, and mercifully take pity on me, and deliver me from these problems'. *inc:* *Cum invocarem* exaudivit me...

HKB, Ms. KA 36, fols 108V–110r

Of course, the text that follows is the psalm mentioned in the rubric. Most of the 'prayer' is contained within the rubric, which provides the stage directions for a physical interaction with Jesus and also provides the script. The reader could best perform this devotion before a large cross that could be approached while crawling on the ground. In order to set off the name of the psalm against the sea of red letters, the scribe has written it three times in black ink.

A similar choreography appears in a manuscript copied by nine different hands, probably all Canonesses Regular of the Convent of Jerusalem in Venray. It includes two prayers to be read in the presence of a crucifix. Not only

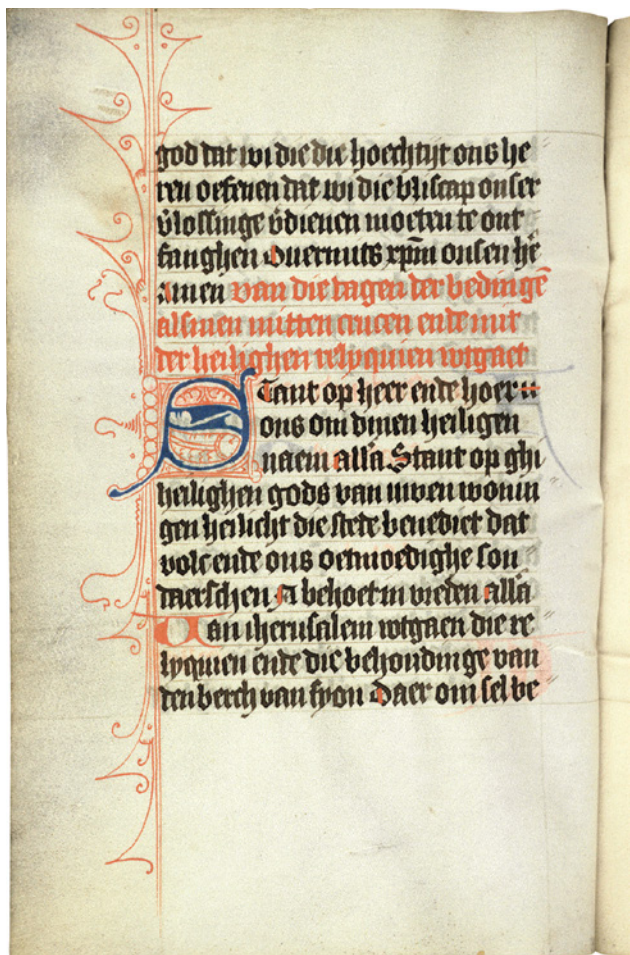


FIGURE 40 Folio in a book of hours with a rubric for a procession with relics and cross. Made c. 1440–1460 in Delft.
NIJMEGEN, RADBOUD UNIVERSITEIT, MS. 295, FOL. 193V.

the accompanying rubric but also the entire structure of the prayer construct a monologue delivered by the votary to the image.

rub: Before a Crucifix. inc: I prostrate myself before the feet of my lord, in memory of your honourable wounds, and I embrace the nails of your feet, which are driven in with great anguish. O, dear lord! Do not spurn me, who lies here before your cross and has embraced your feet. Behold me from your holy cross and endow me with the mercy of your compassion. O, worthy divine highness, hail! Take care of me, you who are merciful to all people and rise above all longings; and you who are supportive of good works such as these events. I bend the knees of my heart and of my body before you, father of mercy, and fall down on the ground before your merciful feet, thanking you from the bottom of my heart...Let us pray to that

sign of the cross by which we have received the sacrament of our salvation.

AUB, MS. I G 35, FOLS 31V–32V

This prayer text might best be described as a dialogue in which only one of the conversational partners actually speaks, while the other, in the form of an image (a carved and polychromed crucifix?) plays the part of the patient listener. Part of the speaker's script describes her bodily position while speaking: prostrate before the Lord, which in practice means lying down in such a way that one is oriented to Jesus. The prayer also choreographs Jesus and his bodily position with arms outstretched; he is a captive audience. These instructions therefore imply an embodied suppliant who is reading before an embodied image of Jesus on the cross. The first-person plural in the prayer ('we') relates to the collective nature of this prayerbook, which was made both by and for a community of regular canonesses.

An example of a rubric from Delft that implores Christ directly to help the suppliant on behalf of 'all the bitterness you suffered for my sake on the cross' (BKB, Ms. 12080, fol. 54v). A feature of prayers to be said in front of images is that they provide one half of a dialogue. Specifically, they structure the words—and feelings—from a reading *I*-voice, and direct them to a *you*, in this case, Christ on the Cross. He is participating in the dialogue, but not much. (The prayer to Christ's seven last words on the Cross, however, provided the script for both conversants.) Word-ing in the rubric suggests that seeing the image should trigger the response of reading this prayer.

One idea that emerges in this study is that prayers with common goals, themes, or that require similar environments, are clustered together in the manuscript. A flip side of the same observation is that manuscripts with one prayer to the Virgin, or to the Sacrament, or to a particular saint, often contain several, one after the other. Likewise, AUB, Ms. I G 35 presents a second prayer to be said in the presence of a crucifix:

rub: Before a Crucifix. inc: O, naked humanity! O, great martyrdom! O, deep wounds! O, power of blood!

AUB, MS. I G 35, fol. 34v

Whereas the first of the two prayers in AUB, Ms. I G 35 to be said before a crucifix constructs a series of imploring statements uttered by a self-abasing penitent as she clasps the feet of the crucified Jesus and gazes up at his face (and his sculpted face gazes back down upon her), the second of the prayers is a short prayer that lists a series of oral

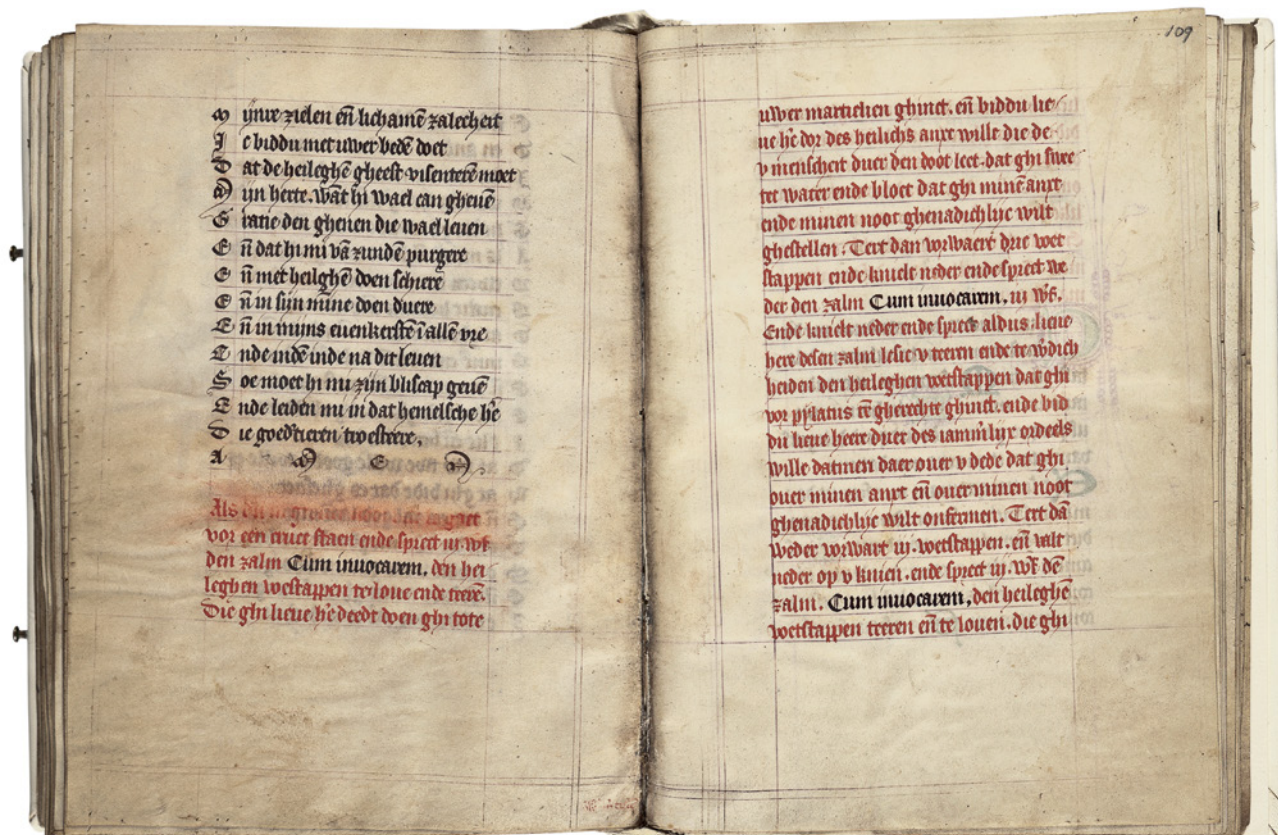


FIGURE 41 Opening in a prayer book with a rubric framing the Cum invocarem to be read in front of a cross. Made c. 1375–1400 in the Southern Netherlands (Brabant?).

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. KA 36, FOLS 108V–109R.

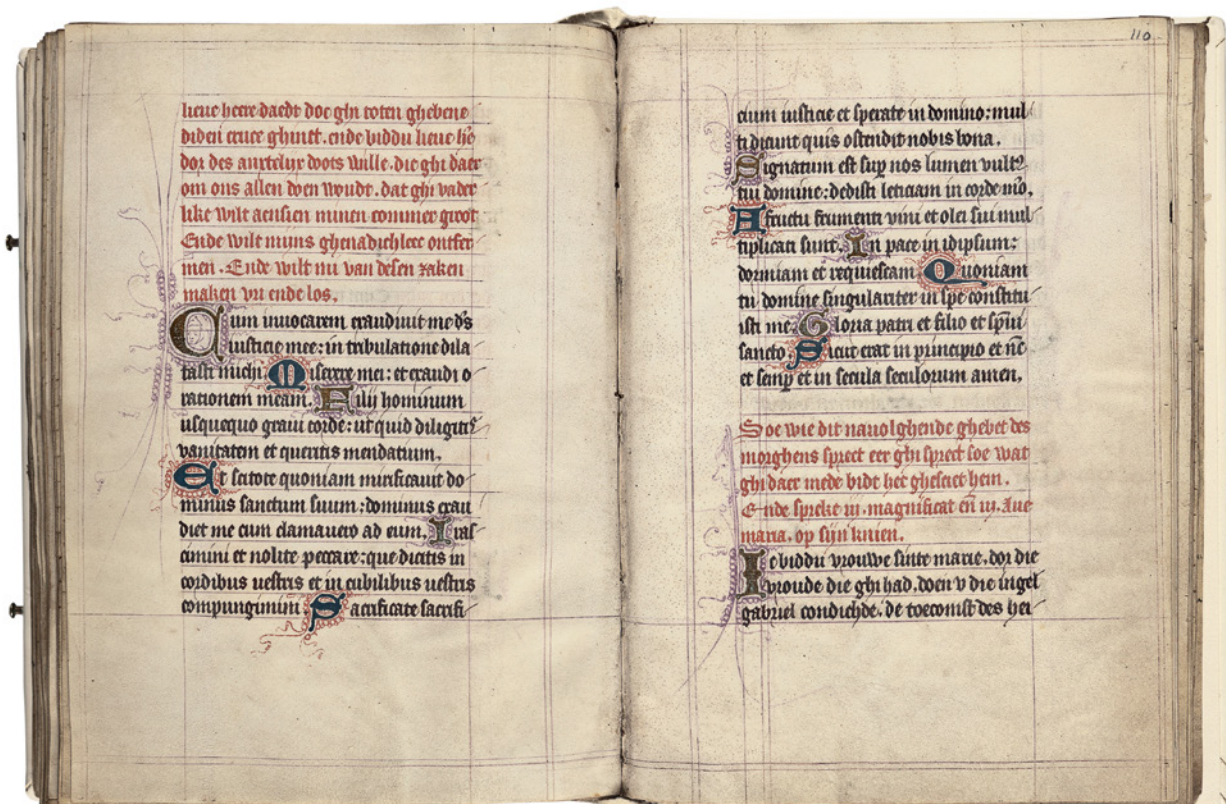


FIGURE 42 Opening in a prayer book with the continuation of a rubric framing the Cum invocarem to be read in front of a cross. Made c. 1375–1400 in the Southern Netherlands (Brabant?).

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. KA 36, FOLS 109V–110R.

ejaculations, and is more closely related structurally to the lists of the seventy-two names of Jesus and Mary. That the two prayers are copied back-to-back suggests that the copyist was aware of a category of 'prayers to be read in the presence of a crucifix'.

'O, naked humanity!' appeared in several forms, but in each version it comprehends short, punchy laments. It appears, for example, in a book of hours made in Enkhuizen in North Holland:

rub: Item, it is also recorded that anyone who reads this following prayer before a crucifix or in memory of the passion of Christ will earn 3000 years' indulgence, given by Pope Boniface IV. *inc:* O, naked humanity! O, great martyrdom! O, deep wounds!

BKB, Ms. 12081, fol. 96r

The entire prayer was short enough that believers could easily commit it to memory, which would have been expedient if they were supposed to recite it each time they encountered a crucifix, which in many environments could have been several times daily.

A prayer copied at the Convent of Canonesses Regular of St Elisabeth in Brussels after 1500 uses a version of this prayer as a refrain within a prayer to honour every drop of Christ's blood over a fifteen-year period. As a rubric instructs:

rub: To honour Jesus Christ and his precious blood that he shed out of love for mankind. Anyone who wants to honour each drop, he shall read 100 *Pater nosters* and *Ave Marias* or another little prayer every day for fifteen years, and at the end of the fifteen years, he will have greeted every drop of blood with a *Pater noster* and an *Ave Maria* or another little prayer.

BKB, Ms. 3059, 91r

Although the rubric specifies that the votary may choose the prayer, in fact the text supplies a relevant prayer. It anticipates a fixed time commitment, because the cycle is calculated around the number of drops of blood. This cycle then has a postscript rubric with a large indulgence granted by Alexander VI:

rub: One should read the following little prayer once after each ten greetings. For this prayer one earns 10,000 years of true indulgence if one reads it before a crucifix, given by Pope Alexander VI at the request of the king of France. *inc:* O, great suffering! O, deep

wounds! O, shedding of blood! O, sweet sweetness! O, most bitter death! Give us that everlasting life and everlasting rest to all the believing souls!

BKB, Ms. 3059, fol. 94v

If the supplicant recites the hundred *Pater nosters* and *Ave Marias* daily in the context of the first prayer, she should break them into ten groups of ten, and begin each set with this indulgenced refrain. While the instructions only specify that she read the refrain 'before a crucifix', in fact she would have the crucifix before her for the entire, fifteen-year-long cycle.

Franciscan prayerbooks often emphasize prayers that position the reader in a dialogue with a cross. A variation of this prayer before a crucifix appears in a simple prayerbook on paper in a parchment envelope binding (Bruges, SB, 319). The manuscript contains a colophon indicating that the book was 'written in the year of our lord 1557 for the use of sister Katheryn van Grouv by me, f.n.k.' (fol. 261r). This recipient was apparently a Franciscan grey nun. The final text offers these instructions:

rub: Here following are five beautiful prayers that one shall read in front of a crucifix of Our Lord. One earns 5000 years' indulgence and seven *carenen*. F.n.k. *inc:* O, dear lord Jesus Christ, I kneel before your eyes as a poor miserable person with all my sins...

BRUGES, SB, 319, FOL. 244v

This version of the rubric is noteworthy because the copyist, 'F.N.K.', has signed it, as if the prayers and their attendant indulgences were a gift he or she were giving to sister Katheryn van Grouv.

Prayers to be said before a crucifix were often grouped together in the manuscript, thereby forming a category. Such is the case in BKB, Ms. 11 5573, which has two such prayers in a row, both carrying rubrics that specify that the prayers should be 'read before a crucifix'. Both of them take the form of monologues directed to Jesus. The first of these begins 'O, lord Jesus, I kneel here before your holy cross and before your holy five wounds and before your endless mercy' (BKB, Ms. 11 5573, fol. 79r). Thus, not only the rubric but also the prayer itself situate the reader physically. They assume an embodied reader, but a strangely disembodied listener, as Jesus is reduced to his cross, his wounds, and his mercy, but is noticeably lacking in physical substance. The prayer immediately following comprises a segment from Thomas a Kempis' *Orationes de passione domini*, and similarly acknowledges the presence not of Christ crucified, but of his image, and the prayer acknowledges the

presence of a fully embodied reader.²³ It begins 'I bend my knees toward you, o Lord Jesus Christ, whom I see here spread out on the cross for my sake. I greet you, o, true image of my saviour...' (BKB, Ms. II 5573, fol. 81v).

Prayers Read while Shaping the Body as a Cross

St Francis is sometimes depicted with his arms outstretched as he is receiving the stigmata.²⁴ In such images Francis therefore conforms his body to Christ's on the cross while in the act of receiving proof, stamped upon his body, that he had mirrored Christ physically and spiritually. A small number of prayers ask the reader to strike such a pose while praying. Some even ask the reader to look at an image while praying and mirror it, therefore becoming the image. Examples like Francis allowed a doubling of the efficacy of the prayer, since in imitating Francis one also imitated Christ, who was Francis' model. This is not unlike attempting to achieve a vision of Christ via St Bridget, and likewise receiving the benefit of both Christ and the saints he has favoured with his presence. While rubrics usually offer an imitative prayer with a single object of imitation, at least one offers a collective model. A prayer that demands this kind of imitation appears a manuscript made for the Poor Clares of Hoogstraten bij Antwerpen:

rub: This is an especially powerful prayer. One should read it with devotion for special problems, with arms stretched out in front of a crucifix, with three Pater nosters to honour the burning love that the Son of God had to redeem us when he racked his loving limbs on the cross. One may also read this for souls, and for those on their deathbeds. inc: O, dear loving lord Jesus Christ...

BKB, Ms. II 1512, fol. 153r

This manuscript comes from a Franciscan context. In fact, the prayer appears in a manuscript which otherwise contains the Rules and Statutes for the Order of Female Poor Clares, in Latin and Middle Dutch.

Other Franciscan manuscripts contain texts emphasizing the particularly Franciscan nature of some indulgences, such as the prayer to the stations of Rome, which Franciscans favoured, and an indulgence called the Porcuncula available especially to members of this community (for example, BKB, Ms. IV 455, 61r–62v). This prayer celebrates the chapel called Our Lady of the Angels, Santa Maria degli Angeli, near Assisi where, according to the Major Life of St Francis written by St Bonaventure, St Francis

lived, prayed, and started the Order.²⁵ Thus the chapel is of significance to Franciscans and their origin story, and, according to the manuscript text, they would receive plenary indulgence there. On days of particular significance to Franciscans, such as the day on which the consecration of Our Lady of the Angels was annually celebrated, on the feast days of St Francis and of St Nicholas (a celebrated Franciscan), and on the day when St Francis received the stigmata, they could enter their local churches and receive a plenary indulgence. For this, they would have to stretch their arms out in the form of a cross in the presence of the sacrament and recite *Pater nosters* (BKB, Ms. IV 455, 61r–62v). In this exercise the votary is imitating St Francis as much as she is imitating Jesus.

Another rubric in this manuscript helps the reader achieve *conformitas* with St Francis by reciting the prayer that he had read.

rub: The Holy Father St Francis was said to have read these following prayers with great inwardness; anyone who reads them will see Our Lord in the flesh before he dies. Oratio. inc: Lord, I stand before your eyes as a poor miserable person with all my sins...

BKB, Ms. IV 455, fol. 71r

Not only do the rubric and subsequent prayer help the reader achieve the mental state that St Francis had achieved, but they also promise the reward that Francis had earned: namely, to see Jesus, possibly as Francis was purported to have seen him, hovering above the saint to imprint upon him the stigmata.

In other contexts, sisters who were dying were encouraged to contemplate an image of Christ crucified while lying in their deathbeds. One can imagine that the effect would be even more powerful were one of their sisters to strike the position of the crucifix at the bedside while muttering the prayer just quoted, thereby providing a full-sized, animate, talking crucifixion for her fading sister. It is not surprising that the prayer circulated among sisters of the Second Order of St Francis, as their spiritual leader, St Francis, had famously conformed his body to that of Christ.

The most corporally demanding of these devotions was the Hundred Articles penned by Henry Suso. This text appeared in at least two different Middle Dutch translations, and with a variety of rubrics, prologues,

23 For this prayer, consult Willeumier-Schalij 1976, esp. p. 59.

24 On this and other postures of prayer, consult Gougaud 1927, Ch. 1.

25 'Major and Minor Life of St. Francis with Excerpts from Other Works by St. Bonaventure', trans. Benen Fahy, in Habig 1983, pp. 613–851.

and postscripts. One copy with a particularly rich prologue (which follows the text rather than preceding it) appears in a prayerbook copied in 1502 (AUB, Ms. I F 30, fols 1r–12r, appendix only). This prologue asks the votary to perform the prayer in memory of Christ's numerous sufferings, with the complexity and repetition within the prayer mapping onto these sufferings. He (or she) should recite the hundred articles daily, with either an *Ave benigne Jhesu Christe* or an *Ave Maria* after each article. The prologue also provides an origin myth for the devotion: a male Dominican from Sweden used to perform his devotions with utmost compassion while standing in front of a crucifix. In fact, as the rubric continues, he prayed with such heartfelt devotion that he collapsed. A heavenly light then fell upon him, in which these hundred articles were revealed to him, along with instruction that he should perform them every day with a hundred prostrations. At this point, the text shifts from describing the man's experience to prescribing the reader's use of these heaven-sent prayers. According to the prologue, one should read each article while standing up, and then should kneel after each one that is about Christ and recite an *Ave benigne* or recite an *Ave Maria* after each article about Mary. These orations, so continues the prologue, one should perform while kneeling, except for the seventy-five that one should recite while lying on the ground, as indicated in the text. But, as the instructions indicate at the end, anyone who cannot read them in these positions shall read them while walking, standing, sitting, lying, sailing, or riding.

All these instructions that shape the body yield several effects. They place the supplicant in a humble position, often near the ground. They make the body uncomfortable, and therefore share in some of the pain of Jesus. And they make the supplicant more Jesus-like by conforming to his poses. They ritualize prayer in a way that is not just a cerebral exercise, but a fully embodied one. Finally, they put on display acts of piety and make them visible to others. Another quite different avenue for pursuing bodily involvement with Jesus and an authentic experience was to contemplate the exact measure of his *arma Christi*, his body, and his wounds. This made the suffering more tangible and immediate.

Cross, Wounds, and Measuring String

While traces of Jesus' body adhered to the tools his torturers had used to bloody him, still other, less tangible, marks were left behind: these were Jesus' measurements, obtained through revelation, apocrypha, mathematics,

tradition, and simply applying a tape measure to site relics. Specifically, medieval votaries could extrapolate a varied selection of the lengths of important objects (the True Cross, for example, which had been divided into myriad pieces), and distances between places where important events took place, such as the number of steps between the House of Pilate and the House of Caiaphas. In the same spirit they counted the number of his footsteps to Calvary and the distances between his falls on the hard stones underneath the weighty cross. Jan Pieper has called these 'metric relics'.²⁶ Such details allowed votaries to envision the Passion with increased particularity and attention to detail, and a sense of objective reality that was measurable. Petitioners, who after all came from a culture that asked how many angels would fit on the head of a pin, desired the measurements of his Cross. Above all, the exactitude of Jesus' suffering manifested itself in the recording of the exact number of wounds he endured on his head and body. Visions and revelations often yielded these figures, although pilgrims' accounts and direct measuring of relics (such as the sepulchre or the nails from the Crucifixion) could also provide these values. These measurements became the focus of devotions manifested in various ways in prayerbooks. Scribes wrote prayers to be said when looking at the length of the nails driven through Christ's extremities, or the length of the wound that the lance slashed into his flesh, or the size of the tomb in which he lay after his death. These measurable sufferings also correlated to the measurable rewards for penitence, that is, indulgences.

A miniature in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves depicts King Solomon ordering the wood to be prepared for the crucifix, and a carpenter measuring the wood with a piece of string. Duplicates of these prototypical measurements would go on to perform miracles and comfort the afflicted (fig. 43).²⁷ In fact, measuring it was not enough: votaries demanded to know the properties of the Cross. Within the story of the Finding of the True Cross in the *Golden Legend*, a verse asserts that the Cross comprised four kinds

26 Pieper 1995, coined the term, although the concept existed much earlier in scholarship, above all in the works of Xavier Barbier de Montault, 'Les Mesures de Dévotion', *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, IIe Série, t. xv (1882), who first brought attention to these relics, and later issued a multi-volume catalogue of such relics, primarily those in France and from French sources, such as pilgrims' accounts. He consolidated his findings in 'Les mesures, poids, fac-simile et empreintes de dévotion', in Barbier de Montault 1889–1902, vol. 7, Part 5: *Dévotions Populaires* (1893), pp. 313–552. For metric relics in an English context, see Duffy 1992, pl. 111–112.

27 For the most recent bibliography, consult Dücker 2009, pp. 330–331, cat. 94, and *passim*.



FIGURE 43 Folio in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, with a miniature by the Master of Catherine of Cleves depicting a carpenter measuring the wood for Christ's cross with a piece of string. Made c. 1440 in the Northern Netherlands.

NEW YORK, MORGAN LIBRARY & MUSEUM, MS M.917, P. 105.

of wood: *Ligna crucis palma, cedrus, cypressus, olivia*. This story relates:

There were four wooden parts to the cross—the up-right shaft, the crossbeam, the tablet above, and the block into which the cross was fixed, or as Gregory of Tours says, the crosspiece that supported Christ's feet...The apostle seems to have this variety of woods in mind when he says: 'You may be able to comprehend, with all the saints, what is the breadth and length and height and depth'.

The reader is asked to consider the precise material of Christ's Cross, as well as its dimensions: with what exactitude can one imagine the Cross? Citing an 'eminent doctor', the compiler finds a surprisingly literal answer:

The breadth of the Lord's cross is the crossbeam upon which his hands were extended; the length

means the shaft from the ground to the crossbeam, where the whole body hung from the hands; the height means from the crossbeam to the top, where the head touched; the depth is the part hidden by the earth in which the cross stood. By this sign of the cross all human and Christian action is described: to do good works in Christ and to cling to him perseveringly, to hope for heaven, and to avoid profaning the sacraments.²⁸

In other words, the dimensions of the Cross are the dimensions of Christ's body in pain. As the eminent doctor points out, the length and the breadth of the Cross received the most devotional attention, partly because they correspond to the wood that touched Jesus.

Measurements could mediate between the human and divine worlds. Not only could a measurement capture something of the original object that had touched Jesus and his narrative, but a votary could also offer up his own measurement to God. Presenting a candle bearing a wick of commensurate length to the sinner, or a candle of commensurate weight, was a popular possibility: the candle and wick would then burn and carry the petitioner's pleas upwards, as smoke, to the heavens, thereby conveying his message to God. Images considered apotropaic—most notably Byzantine icons—could also lend their measurements as an index of the divine.²⁹ Of course, string, when it is used in this manner to measure something—the holy tomb of Jesus, the length of the Cross, the girth of a sacred picture—becomes a contact relic through the process of measuring.

Among the values revealed through supernatural encounters was the number of drops of blood that Christ shed:

rub: To a devout person, our dear Lord revealed the number of drops of blood that he shed from his body in order to save humankind. That number was 500 times 1000, and 46,000.

OLIM LEUVEN, UB, MS. G 70, fol. 151v

As the rubric clarifies, the 546,000 drops were not counted but revealed. In the same (perished) manuscript a rubric proclaims that Christ shed 72,000 tears, and whoever

28 Voragine trans. and ed. Ryan 1993, vol. 1, p. 278.

29 Carr 2002, p. 85 notes: 'There are images of Christ and Mary that acquire special capabilities: as Talbot has pointed out, Leo VI's mistress Zoe is supposed to have been enabled to conceive the future Constantine VII by placing around her own body a string that had been measured around an image of the Virgin in the underground sanctuary'.

honours those tears 'with an *Ave Maria*, or a *Gloria patri*, or *dy sy loff*, the soul of that person, as it departs with death, will be washed, will be made white, and will be cleansed of all the foul flecks of sin'.³⁰ In that prayer, blood and tears are cleaning solutions, super-solvents measured in drops and counted in thousands. They partake of the metaphor of purity, of prayer as a means of cleaning the soul. The drops of blood were also the subject of a short pleading prayer (*O, alle gij heilige droepelen bloets Christi, bidt voer mij*) in which the petitioner addressed individual drops of blood as intercessors, as if each drop were a saint.³¹

Some rubrics acknowledge that the number of wounds on Christ's body was so high that God had to reveal the sum to Bernard:

rub: Pope Benedict XII gave [this indulgence to] anyone who lives in penitence and who has confessed his sins and has compassion [read: contrition] for his sins that he will never do them again, and has contrition in his heart. Anyone who reads this following prayer with devotion will earn as many days' indulgence as there were wounds in Our Lord's body. That number from head to foot was 5466. In the head there were 1000; in the body there were 4466. Because the wounds were so numerous, God revealed this to Bernard.

AUB, Ms. I F 30, fol. 49ra

Given that—as the rubric implies—4466 was too high a number for a mortal to count, the wounds therefore had to be divinely revealed. The prayer goes on to chronicle all Jesus' sufferings.

Not everyone who received a revelation was a saint. Jesus occasionally visited the less illustrious in order to regale them with his statistics. One such exchange involves the experience of an anonymous Franciscan:

rub: What follows here is what Our Dear Lord revealed to a Minderbrother [Franciscan] in Mechelen. inc: In his lifetime, Our Dear Lord suffered pain 180 times from taunting and hurtful words from Jews, especially during the time of his Passion. Jesus kneeled

5000 times during the 40 days and nights he spent in the wilderness. Jesus preached 2500 sermons during his life, publicly among his disciples. Jesus sweated 3003 drops of water and blood on the Mount of Olives. Jesus went 187 footsteps from Jerusalem to Calvary when he was carrying his cross. Jesus trod 1000 footsteps ascending Calvary before he reached the summit. Jesus cried 50 tears on the Holy Cross. Our Dear Lord suffered 6666 wounds.

AUB, Ms. I G 35, fol. 136r–136v

This short text is in a manuscript that probably came from the Jerusalem Convent of Canonesses Regular in Venray, founded in 1422 as one of the early Houses of Sisters of the Common Life.³² In 1467, it became a convent of Augustinian Canonesses dedicated to Jerusalem. One wonders whether the sisters' particular interest in Jerusalem motivated the inclusion of this text that brings its reader into immediacy with Christ's suffering by offering these specific, tangible details and evokes the specificity of place in Christ's ordeals (the Mount of Olives, the Wilderness, Calvary).

Devotions based on large ciphers tallying Jesus' suffering could demand a concomitantly large amount of their votaries' time. Many prayers, parcelled into seven segments, asked petitioners to sustain engagement for an entire week, an arrangement that mirrored a complete reading of the Psalter. Alternatively, a full cycle of saints' lives—divided into summer and winter volumes—was designed to take a year to read. But some prayers took even longer. In one prayerbook, for example, the number of drops of blood that Christ shed was so great that

... in order to honour each drop with one *Pater noster* and one *Ave Maria*, one should complete this exercise by reading 100 *Pater noster*s every day for fifteen years. [As a result] he will experience many different joys in eternity, as many as the son of God shed drops [of blood] on earth...³³

ANTWERP, PLANTIN-MORETUS, Ms. 14.17, fol. 71

30 Leuven, UB, G 70, fol. 152, from Meertens 1930–1934, vol. II, pp. 43–44: 'ende eer als vorsteit, die siele des menschen sal in den uutganck des doets gewaisschen ende gereyniget werden ende wyt gemaeket van alre onreynicheit ende vlekken der sunden. Ende ock sal een ygelicken traen opgaen, ende opstigen in een seer gueden roeck vor den selven menschen in den angesichte der hieliger [sic] drievoldicheit'.

31 Cited in *ibid.*, p. 43 n. 20.

32 AUB, Ms. I G 35 contains a text on fols 139r–141v (*Een devotee epistel ghescreven tot sommige susteren van Jherusalem*), which has been discussed by Mertens 1986, 95. This text also appears in HKB, Ms. 133 F 22, for which see Stooker and Verbeij 1997, no. 1224. Both manuscripts probably came from the Jerusalem Convent in Venray.

33 An expanded version of the prayer was apparently copied into *olim* Leuven G 70, fols 149r–152v, but it was not transcribed in its entirety before it was destroyed. See Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, p. 222, no. 35 sub 82. A similar prayer appears in BKB, Ms. 3059, fol. 91r.

This is not a schedule for the impatient, or those who want an immediate miracle, since the complete devotional exercise requires fifteen years.

The prayer to the shoulder wound was not so much counted—since it was a singular wound—as measured. Said to have been the deepest of all of Christ's wounds, it measured three fingers' deep, a unit of measurement that implies intimate physical contact. Christ was said to have incurred this wound while carrying the Cross. According to graphic and highly tangible descriptions, the shaft of the Cross dug into Christ's shoulder as he dragged the heavy wooden contraption through Jerusalem towards Calvary. Although there was a separate textual tradition that described and isolated the shoulder wound, there was apparently no medieval tradition of representing the shoulder wound, and one did not emerge until the seventeenth century.³⁴ It is possible that devotees contemplated the shoulder wound through images of Christ carrying the Cross. A manuscript prayerbook from around 1500, which contains a large number of other indulgenced prayers, features a prayer to this wound:

*rub: A prayer for the wound on Our Dear Lord's shoulder. Our Lord had a wound on his right shoulder that was three fingers' deep, from which he suffered a great pain, greater than all his other wounds. He told St Bernard: 'Anyone who greets it every day will earn a special grace. To anyone who honours this wound daily, I will forgive his venial sin and his mortal sin, and give more grace than I can ever remember giving.'*³⁵

Leiden UB, Ms. LTK 317, fol. 167r–167v

Adopting many of the same apotropaic promises as the wound was the image or copy of the Length of Christ. From a prayerbook made in a Franciscan context in the sixteenth century, one finds the following rich text, which describes such a devotion:

inc: Anyone who, reverently kneeling with devotion, reads a Pater noster and an Ave Maria in front of the length of Our Dear Lord Jesus Christ, and kisses it

with devotion, is certain not to die a sudden death from that day on. If he is tempted with any devilish temptation, the Truth of our dear Lord's length will save him. Furthermore, no one may bear false witness against him. As often as he kisses it [the length] with reverence and devotion, he will receive from our Lord whatever he desires in order to achieve his own salvation. *Item*, anyone who really prays and devotedly thinks about God and his length will be protected in body and in soul from all dangers and will be on good terms with his fellow man. *Item*, Pope Pius and Pope Innocent have awarded anyone who is truly confessed, who kisses the length of Jesus with devotion and looks at it, and reads one *Pater noster*: that person will earn seven years' indulgence and seven *carenen* for each recitation.

BKB, Ms. 11231–36, fol. 337v

'Truth', a rhetorical strategy designed to avert scepticism, is worked into the prayer itself. Even something as objective and measurable as a precise length must still be taken on faith. The insistent tone of the text seems calculated to defend the prayer from naysayers and doubters. Its promises are great—freedom from sudden death—which had become run-of-the-mill in such claims; but what is different here is that the devout act of kissing the Length of Christ and repeating the common prayers will prevent the votary from undergoing character assassination: no one will bear false witness against him. The rubric dates itself; the popes mentioned are probably Pius II (r. 1458–64) and Innocent VIII (r. 1484–92). I have not found any analogous prayers that make the same claims or the same requests from this or any earlier periods.

That the abstracted length of a person could stand as a synecdoche for the person in the flesh returns in the context of ex-votos: votaries would often construct a piece of string which was cut to their own length and have it made into a candle, or alternatively order a candle of their equivalent weight, as an ex-voto, that is, an offering given in gratitude after a miracle has taken place. The grateful one gives a measured proxy of him- or herself as a token of appreciation. Weights and measures, then, mediate between the worldly and the divine, and they do so in both directions: Christ's size provides a tangible and objective sign for the votary, and the votary can send him- or herself to heaven through the smoke of a burning candle that indexically refers to its patron.

One problem with worship directed towards the length of the Saviour was that the entire length would not fit in any prayerbook. While scrolls might have been ideal for this purpose, Netherlandish scrolls of Christ's length do

34 Gessler 1939, fig. 7, reproduces an image made in the seventeenth or eighteenth century and now kept at the Folklore Museum (Antwerp), which depicts the measured shoulder wound. I have not encountered earlier versions.

35 A version of the rubric and prayer to Christ's shoulder wound, with feminine pronouns, appears in New York, MLM, Ms. M. 485, fols 221v–222v. The prayer appears as Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, G 30; see also Meertens 1930–1934, vol. II, pp. 24–26.



FIGURE 44 Folio in a prayer book with an image of a wound as a fraction of Jesus' height. Made in 1530 in Germany. BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. 10758, FOL. 18R.

not survive.³⁶ A German prayerbook dated 1530 reaches a novel solution: it contains an image depicting the wound of Christ, which has a double signification (BKB, Ms. 10758, fol. 18r; fig. 44).³⁷ The wound contains a note inscribed within it, indicating that the length of the wound represents one twenty-eighth the length of Jesus' entire body.

In contrast, the Wound in Christ's side could fit into the book, which was reconceived as a wounded corpus.

Such a wound appears in a late fifteenth-century book of hours probably from Haarlem (HKB, Ms. 78 J 7; fig. 45). It fills a shield or breastplate whose surface has been penetrated to reveal text that explains: 'This is the width and the length of the wound in our lord's side, made by the spear thrust by the knight Longinus' (HKB, Ms. 78 J 7, fol. 95v).³⁸ The indexical marker 'this' indicates that the space framed by the red-blood frames, the shield, and the penwork is in fact the relic. The flayed skin of the beast stands for the wounded skin of the saviour.

Other Arma Christi

Nail of the Passion

This image of a shield with the measured wound in the Haarlem manuscript also depicts two giant nails seemingly affixing the shield to the page (HKB, Ms. 78 J 7; see fig. 45). They cause the page to bleed with great splashing, and provide as much drama as is possible without including a human figure. After the Wound of Christ, one of the most abstract objects of devotion in the fifteenth-century Low Countries was the nail. It is as yet uncertain to what extent this devotion permeated the devotional fibre of the region, nor is it entirely clear who was involved in the cult of the nail. What is clear, however, is that the few examples presented here range from the far north of the Netherlands (Groningen) to the south (Brabant). This nail cult may have moved within Franciscans circles. In several cases, votaries found the sheer size of the nails to be worthy of veneration.

While references to the Nail of the Passion appear frequently in Passion literature, there are very few prayers that isolate this particular one of the *arma Christi* and weave a devotion round it. One of these few appears in a fragment of a book of hours, which is decorated in a style typical of Groningen and is also written in a compact, round, neat script typical of fifteenth-century manuscripts made in that city (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Reid 33; fig. 46). Destined for a female audience, this text uses female pronouns. Although the decoration resembles that made by the Benedictine sisters of Selwerd in Groningen, the litany does not fit with a Selwerd attribution: the Benedictines' house was dedicated to St Catherine, but the litany in this manuscript places Agnes first

³⁶ In an English context, see Bühler 1964. He mentions four English scrolls which present such a length.

³⁷ BKB, Ms. 10758: prayerbook, 96 fols paper, 194 × 135 mm; written in German and illustrated with miniatures and prints. Copied by a friar, signed 'frbtfr frnftxs dkfckkrchfn scripsit hunc libellum a 1.5.3.0' (Ernest Diekirchen, friar, 1530), for which see Wittek and Glorieux-de Gand 1990, no. 785; watermark B 1732 confirms the date c. 1530. Contains a prayer to St Irmine (fol. 7), whose life was composed by Theofrid at the abbey of Echternach and was the patron of the book's first owner, Irmine Lesshem, whose name is written on fol. 138v. This fascinating manuscript requires further research. It contains prayers in circulation at Maaseik, translated into German.

³⁸ HKB, Ms. 78 J 7: Book of Hours with a calendar for Utrecht in Middle Dutch, c. 1480–1500, 149 folios parchment, 169 × 122 mm; 18 lines, made in North Holland, possibly Haarlem. See M. Hülsmann and R. Nieuwstraten, 'Haarlem en Noord-Holland', in Korteweg 1992, pp. 84–115, no. 79; Neuheuser 1999; Hülsmann 2000; Hülsmann 2009, Ch. 5.



FIGURE 45 Opening in a prayer book with a full-page image depicting the measured wound of Christ on a shield, with nails illusionistically penetrating the page, opposite a prayer to the Five Wounds.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 78 J 7, FOLS 95V–96R.

among the virgins, while Catherine is far down the list and does not receive any special attention. The manuscript may therefore have been intended for the female tertiaries of St Agnes in Groningen, also known as the Oldeklooster and the Geestelijke Maagdenklooster. The content of the prayers, with its emphasis on large-scale indulgence rewards, and talismanic prayers that need only be carried to protect their bearer, are also more typical of Franciscan spirituality than Benedictine.

The prayer to the Nail of the Passion appears within the surviving fragment of 106 folios, which also contains the Office of the Dead, prayers to be said at the deathbed of a man or woman (to be discussed shortly), and a number of prayers promising protection to their reader or bearer. The prayer to the Nail of the Passion has a rubric demanding that it be read before an image:

rub: Both looking upon this nail with devotion and speaking five *Pater nosters* and five *Ave Marias*, the words through the mercy of God, reduce the penalty of the seven deadly sins. *inc:* I greet you, blessed nail

of our dear lord, which pierced the hands and feet of Christ on the cross...

London, V&A, Reid 33, fol. 86v

Squeezed into the bottom left-hand corner of the text block, the artist has provided a seven-line image of a nail, constructed of black and red paint and swirling red and green penwork, so that the page itself provides the image. In this case the nail is not represented to scale: what is important is that the supplicant gazes upon its aggressive black form, not that the image indexes the original nail's size.

A painter in Deventer likewise paid no heed to the size of the nails, but represented them as large as possible. Such an image, painted on parchment, has been inserted into a manuscript, written on paper, containing a text of Conrad of Eberbach's 'Dat boec vanden claren ende verluchten mannen der oerden van cistercien' (The book of the bright and illuminated men of the Cistercian order), written in Middle Dutch by a male copyist who dated his colophon 1487. According to the colophon, he made

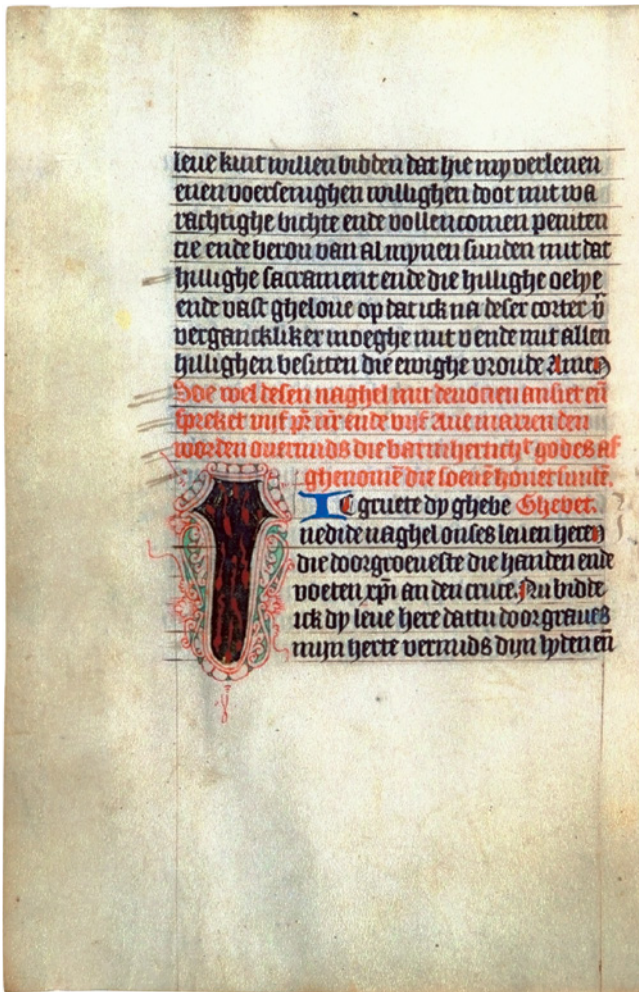


FIGURE 46 Folio in a book of hours with a prayer to the Nail of the Passion and an image depicting the nail. Made c. 1480–1490 in Groningen.

LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, MS. REID 33, FOL. 86V.

the manuscript for the Buyskenshuis, that is, a house of Sisters of the Common Life dedicated to St Agnes in Deventer.³⁹ Some time after the manuscript was complete, one parchment leaf with the nails of the Passion was apparently added, possibly by one of the sisters (fig. 47). Measuring 212 × 142 mm, the manuscript into which image has been bound is necessarily large. The image has no discernible relationship to the text. If the sisters were simply looking for a place to store and protect their nail image, then they may have selected this volume for its

size rather than its content, simply because the book was large enough to accommodate and thereby protect it.

That any enthusiast with paint, parchment, and patience could make single-leaf images depicting the nails, without extensive formal training, must have been one of its selling points. It is precisely the size of the nails that has captured the artist's attention, although the context for these nails proved a particular challenge for the artist as well. Here the artist has placed three gigantic nails in an expanse of turf, forming three angular iron trees in an otherwise barren landscape. Above the horizon line the artist has completed the landscape with a vast sky of enamel blood, shiny in the light on the wrinkled page.

Crown of Thorns

Just as the thorns themselves had separate journeys, as the kings of France snapped off a few thorns when they needed an important state gift, so too did the prayers to the crown of thorns have a separate career from the rest of the *arma Christi*. One such prayer appears in a simple manuscript made on paper (BKB, Ms. 18982, fol. 22v–53v), probably by a woman, who refers to herself in female forms (*deerne* and *sondersse*).

rub: This is the beginning of The Crown of Thorns of Our Lord which you should honour on Sundays with 72 Pater nosters and Ave Marias. You should read them soberly on bent knees with devotion. Anyone who reads them every Sunday shall remain in purgatory not longer than til the Sunday following death, even he died on the Saturday. Read with devotion: O, Jesus Christ, saviour of the world...

BKB, Ms. 18982, fol. 22v

The value of the indulgence is spectacularly high and is keyed to the weekly calendar of devotion, for which Sunday is generally reserved for the Resurrection and therefore for everlasting life on the part of the votary, who is hoping to imitate Christ as a death-defying model. This example shows how elements from the *arma Christi* went on to have separate careers and exhibit extraordinary powers. Although each of the *arma Christi* was quite easy to draw, here the book's maker has added a relevant print instead, which depicts Christ and Mary in a crown of thorns with an inscription 'Gheprint te carnelytersse Ten Troost *vive deo*' (BKB, Ms. 18982, fol. 23v).⁴⁰ Carmelite sisters of the convent of Ten Troost issued such prints, and prayerbooks such as this one must have been one of the destinations they had in mind for them.

39 Deventer, Stads- of Atheneumbibliotheek, Cat. I, 37. Alternate signature: 101 D 18 Kl. Manuscript on paper, 319 folios; 212 × 142 mm. The copyist wrote a colophon on fol. 319r: 'Finitum et completum in profesto Jacobi apostoli Anno domini etc. LXXXVII. Dit boec hoert den susteren toe buyskens huus toe Deventer in die papen strate. Een Ave maria om godes willen voer den scriver', for which see Gumbert 1988, no. 345; Stoker and Verbeij 1997, no. 335.

40 For such images, see Stock 2002, nos 058, 064, 067.



FIGURE 47 Folio added to a manuscript, with an image of three nails in a landscape. Painted after 1497 in Deventer (?).

DEVENTER, STADSARCHIEF EN ATHENAEUMBIBLIOTHEEK, MS. I,37, FOL. IIV.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown how individual items from the instruments of the Passion had their own cults and practices for veneration. The items that these practices emphasized centred on the Vera Icon, the Crucifix, and to a lesser extent, the nails. These items correspond to relics that were promoted by the institutions that held them. In other words, the devotional routines were an extension of the advertising campaigns around specific relic cults. Once such devotions were copied and recopied, they often lost their direct reference to these relic cults, which might have only had local relevance. Devotions flourished when they were more generalized, and when they had indulgences propelling them forward.

Devotion to the *arma Christi* flourished for a number of reasons. For one, churches holding relevant relics, especially those in Rome, competed for pilgrim-tourists. It also happens that those relics that received more publicity were precisely those that could be easily abstracted, reproduced, and measured. These features also promoted a related class of devotional objects: the Wounds of Christ. Franciscans had particular reasons for venerating the wounds of Christ, because doing so referred back to

one of the key foundation stories of St Francis: his receiving the stigmata. Subsequently, when members of Franciscan communities venerated the wounds, they were paying homage not only to Jesus but also to Francis. In fact, many of the devotions discussed in this chapter contain a strong element of *imitatio*, not only of Jesus but of saints. Indeed, many of the rubrics cited in this study specify that the prayers they introduce were first uttered by this or that celebrity saint or church father. *Imitatio* in this way functions as a kind of testimonial, a prayer's proven track record.

Another way in which this *imitatio* functions is by shaping the body of the supplicant. A corpus of prayers has rubrics that specify that the reader is to shape his or her body like that of Jesus on the Cross. Such a posture ultimately identifies the practitioner as a Christian, and the practice of prayer as one that forms and reforms the self in the mould of Jesus. Such prayers take the practice of praying in front of an image of Jesus and ask the reader to internalize that image, turning his or her own body into an image. This is both an intense form of mirroring and also a way of putting on display one's veneration of the body of Christ, the theme of the next chapter.

The Body of Christ

Some of the features that made the *arma Christi* far-reaching also applied to the Wounds of Christ. Like the *arma Christi*, the wounds could be highly abstracted and therefore easily drawn and reproduced without any specialist training. Furthermore, a scribe could represent the wounds with just two colours of ink: black (for lines including outlines) and red (for blood). Like certain instruments, such as the nail, the side wound could be represented at 1:1 scale within an octavo manuscript. For these reasons, the Wounds of Christ and the *arma Christi* were often co-travellers, as they participated in a similarly reductionist abstraction. Unlike the *arma Christi*, however, the wounds did not belong to a particular church. Although the wounds were tangible (Mary Magdalene tried to touch them and Thomas managed to do so), their tangible form had no corresponding object, until, at least, the wounds were represented. Images of the wounds of Christ made them tangible and immediate.

In this chapter I consider prayers to the body of Christ. Overwhelmingly, these relate to Passion themes, especially to his wounded body. Of particular interest in terms of indulgences are prayers to both the Side Wound and the Five Wounds of Christ, with their attendant devotions, some of which became quite physical, especially as they lavish attention on individual body parts. A less common form of devotion to Jesus provides scripts to be recited during the Christmas season to greet the baby Jesus. These emphasize his humanity and foreshadow his Passion.

Prayers for the Infant Jesus

Devotions to be said for the infant Jesus were read seasonally for Christmas. A prayerbook written on paper, probably by a woman for collective use in a religious community, is organized around the liturgical year, beginning with advent (AUB, Ms. I G 17; fig. 48). She starts the liturgical year by falling to the ground and kissing the earth. Specifically, the book directs her:

rub: Perform this devotion on the four Sundays of Advent. First, fall to the ground and kiss the ground and say: God in heaven, have mercy on me. rub: Then get back up and speak the following prayer: O, holy of holies, incomprehensible God of wondrous powers...

AUB, Ms. I G 17, fol. 1r



FIGURE 48 *Folio in a book of Devotional exercises, with a rubric choreographing behaviour for a prayer to be read at Advent. Made c. 1460–80 in North Brabant.*

AMSTERDAM, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, MS. I G 17, FOL. 1R.

These prayers require the votary get down on the cold, mid-winter floor and kiss it. In other words, they require the reader to submit to the authority of the text and also obediently to shape her body.

Apparently with a sculpted ersatz baby and crib, the votary is to continue with more devotions that demand physical involvement.¹ The next set of prayers (fols 51r–62r) are to be read while handling the baby Jesus at his crib, with specific instructions about how to do so with what must be a doll:

rub: For the sweet loving birth of our Lord Jesus Christ when you want to do your devotions next to the crib. inc: O, holy stable where Christ was born... rub: To the little baby Jesus: inc: Hail, little child, high king of heaven...rub: Take the child and press him

¹ Hamburger 1998, pp. 383–426 analyses an analogous devotion from Germany.

to your heart and say: Hail, you most sweetest piece of your father's heart, most salvific morsel...*rub:* **To the sweet little baby Jesus lying in the crib, calling to him:** *inc:* Welcome, most beautiful flower and fruit of the Virgin Mary...

AUB, Ms. I G 17; fol. 51r

Here I have only translated the beginning of this prayer, which continues in similar fashion for ten more folios.² In other words, this long text choreographs an entire series of rituals involving picking the baby up, pressing him to the reader's heart, speaking to him in highly saccharine language, and laying him down again in the crib. Of course, this ritual was not to be carried out with a real baby, who were rarities in convents, but with a sculpted miniature replica of a baby-with-crib. Pronouns in the manuscript indicate that it was made for a woman, and it probably belonged a female monastic community in North Brabant.

Several of these cribs survive from the Low Countries, and they must have been immensely popular as devotional objects in convents during Advent.³ Constructed with Gothic tracery sides and elegant finials and adorned with painted sculpture, such cribs helped to construct a seasonal make-believe. One example now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York has bells on it, so that the object would jingle as the votary manipulated it and sang the Christ Child into a quiet sleep.⁴ Those who wanted a miniature crib for a more modest price could choose a moulded pipe-clay figurine, in which the child was moulded right into his crib.⁵

Prayers for Advent do not end there in this long manuscript of 425 folios, but continue with those for the body parts of Jesus to be read at Christmastime (AUB, Ms. I G 17, fols 62r–67r). These prayers treat the individual diminutive body parts of the baby Jesus, beginning with his 'glorious head', 'sweetest face', 'merciful eyes', 'honey flowing mouth', 'noble ears', 'beautiful throat', 'most holy back', 'most holy shoulders', and so forth. The child's response to this particular form of attention is mixed, however, as the list ends in his 'most holy tears'. The sister may have read

this prayer, along with the previous ones, at the site of the crib. This particular form of devotion, in which the body structures the text, is common to both Christological and Mariological piety, as examples will testify.

A manuscript probably made by and for the Canonesses Regular of St Elisabeth in Brussels in the early sixteenth century contains exclusively devotions for the Christ Child at Christmas (Paris, BA 8218). This manuscript of forty-two folios has been bound in a folded piece of recycled parchment, a charter from the Hospital of St John in Brussels, which supports this localization and suggests that the book was a low-budget affair made for the sisters' own use. A colophon confirms that the book had a female monastic context: 'Beloved sisters, I beseech you that for the love of God you will not take this book out of the church. Pray an Ave Maria for Sr. Lijsbeth van Elderen' (fol. 29v). This female context is also confirmed by a detail in the collect (fol. 15v), where the word *susters* is only word-stroked with decoration. It appears that the book was made for collective use and was available to all in the church. The first folio (fol. A) has an inscription on its recto which indicates the function of the book: 'Item, this little book should be laid on the altar from Christmas to Lichtmas, and do not take it from the church' (fig. 49). In other words, many, if not all, members of the community had access to this manuscript during Advent. A sister should not appropriate the book for her own private use; rather, it should remain communal property and be kept on the altar, presumably in a church, at least during this period.

Someone, probably one of the women in the community, pasted a sixteenth-century engraving into the manuscript's front cover, facing the incipit of the first text. The choice of this image was certainly motivated by the content of the manuscript, for the print bears an image of the Nativity (fig. 50). The book is filled with instructions for interacting with a crib and relevant prayers. It opens with this introduction:

rub: **Here is a rosary to the glorious sweet baby Jesus to read at Christmas at the crib of Jesus, the new-born king, in Bethlehem.** *inc:* Hail! O, highest omnipotent king of the heavenly Jerusalem...

Paris, BA, Ms. 8218, fol. 1r; fig. 51

Language in the prayer is highly sentimentalizing, full of superlatives, and reminds the reader repeatedly how cute and tiny the baby was, and how beautiful the mother. At one point, for example, the text forms a meditation on how the baby with his little hands played with Mary's beautiful virginal hair (Paris, BA 8218, fol. 7v).

2 Compare these instructions with those in a manuscript for a German nun, discussed in Winston-Allen 2009, p. 147. Whereas the German nun is told to imagine the scene at the crib, the Netherlandish nun is told to perform the devotion at a physical replica of the crib.

3 LeZotte 2011; Ippel 2014.

4 For an image, consult <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/465966> (viewed 27 May 2016).

5 For an image of the Christ Child in a crib made of moulded pipe-clay, made c. 1450–1550 (Utrecht, Centraalmuseum), consult http://centraalmuseum.nl/ontdekken/object/?img_only=1#0:528 (viewed 27 May 2016).

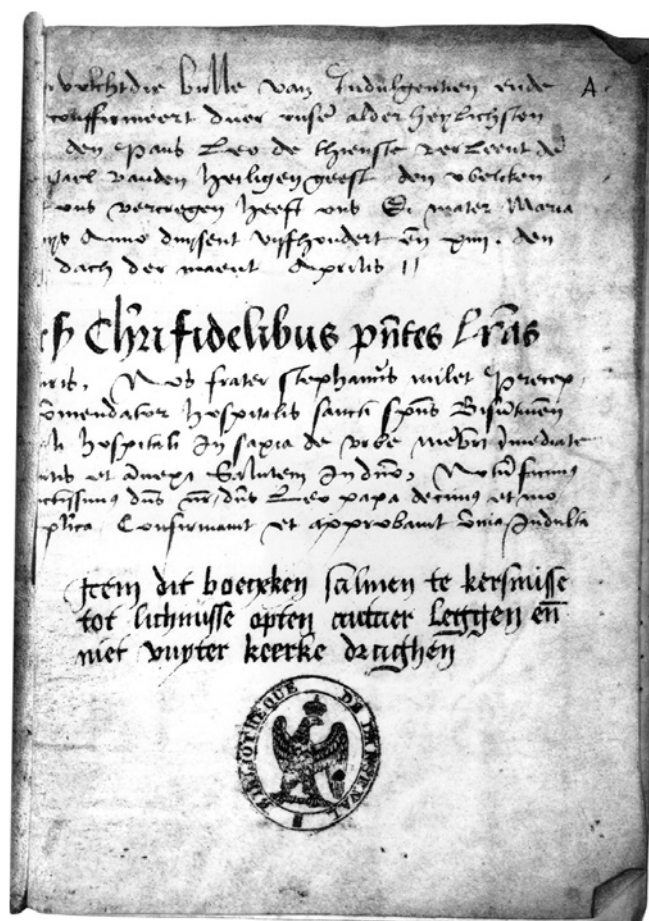


FIGURE 49 Cover sheet made of recycled material for a manuscript with devotions for the Christ Child at Christmas. Copied in the early sixteenth century in Brussels.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ARSENAL, MS. 8218, FOL. AR.



FIGURE 50 Print depicting the Nativity pasted to the inside front cover of a book of devotions for the Christ Child at Christmas.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ARSENAL, MS. 8218.

For each segment the text offers a short verse, followed by an *Ave Maria*, with *Pater noster*s interspersed at intervals; in other words, it is a kind of rosary. It therefore uses a familiar structure, but then maps the text onto a crib and a doll as it navigates the infancy narrative from this new, physical angle, paying keen attention to the presence of the Christ Child (in ersatz form). Like other devotional texts that treat one body part at a time, this one maps particular qualities onto specific body parts. This episodic structure is also what makes it appropriate as a 'rosary'. It helped the community of readers to construct tender, parental emotions appropriate to the season, providing a brief respite from the devotions typical of the remainder of the year, which focused more closely on passion, suffering, and death.

Five Wounds of Christ

Another way in which the body of Christ was broken down, made tangible, and contemplated was through veneration

of his Five Wounds. Jesus incurred these wounds during the Crucifixion (the four puncture wounds from the nails and the gash he received from the spear's blow to his chest). They remained distinct from the smaller wounds he incurred in the other beatings and mistreatments. The 5000-odd wounds of Christ's body—often cited as a measurement for spiritual reward or for calculating the number of prayers that a votary was to repeat in a given spiritual exercise—were separate from Christ's shoulder wound, as they were from his five major wounds. Worshipers treated these categories of wounds separately and had different devotional plans for them.

Christ's Five Wounds formed a distinct iconography. They often constitute a group of shapes arranged in a quincunx within a rectangular frame. A feat of imagination is required to configure these shapes as devotional aids, not to mention primary fountains of salvation. In their simplest, most abstract form, the geometrical formation appears as marks on the page made by a rubricator's red ink, which transform into blood on the page. Perhaps

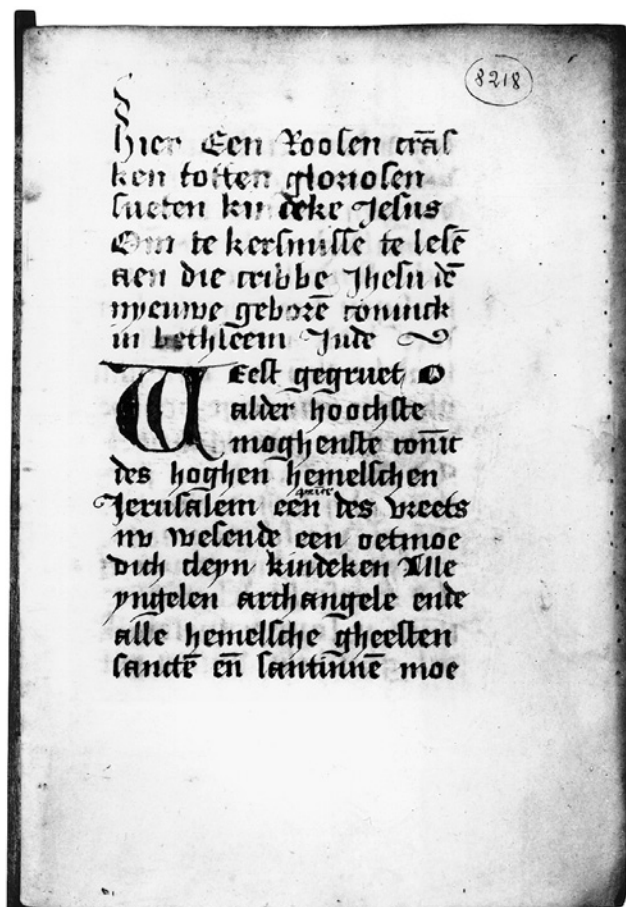


FIGURE 51 *Incipit of the prayers to the baby Jesus to be read at Christmas at the crib of Jesus. Copied in the early sixteenth century in Brussels.*

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ARSENAL, MS. 8218, FOL. 1R.

because of the degree of scrutiny and imagination—a large part in the beholder's share—they were thought to stimulate contemplation.

Along with their salutary promises, the Five Wounds entered believers' imaginations. Devotion to these wounds, which tapped Christ's fountain of life-giving blood, entered the oral culture in the form of *exempla*, which were often woven into the fabric of rubrics:

rub: One reads in an *exemplum* that there was a worldly and irresponsible man who would nevertheless honour the Five Wounds of Our Lord every day with the five prayers that appear below. When this man died, his soul was not even kept waiting in the air for an hour for the grace of God. Then Our Dear Lord came himself and collected the soul with great joy, and said, 'Because you have done my Five Holy Wounds great honour with these prayers, you shall suffer neither Hell nor Purgatory. To anyone who honours me in this way, I will return the honour'. To the right hand, a prayer. *inc:* Love and great honour



FIGURE 52 *Folio from a Book of Hours with a full-page miniature depicting the manuscript's patron alongside St John on Patmos. Made in 1488 in South Holland.*

AMSTERDAM, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, MS I G 52, FOLS 133V–134R.

be thine, Dear Lord Jesus Christ, 100,000 times in front of the most holy wound of your right hand...

AUB, MS. I G 52, fols 144v–145r

As the rubric suggests, the freshly released souls of those who did not honour the Five Wounds were kept hovering in the air. The Five Wounds protected the man in the story against Hell and Purgatory and, no less importantly, against delay and bureaucracy. Just as the language of indulgences participates in a numeric hyperbole, so too do some prayers, such as this one, in which the supplicant honours the wound of Christ's right hand 100,000 times. This rubric clearly stems from an *exemplum*, a story illustrating moral behaviour and frequently embroidered with exaggeration. The *exemplum* was copied into a manuscript from South Holland, made for a female patron (apparently a nun) in 1488 (AUB, MS. I G 52; fig. 52). It prefaces a prayer, which begins with Christ's right hand before moving on to the rest of his wounds, which appears in many manuscripts. This is one of many prayers that treat wounded body parts



FIGURE 53 Folio in a prayer book with wounds inscribed by the rubricator. Made c. 1400 in Oudergem bij Brussel. BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. 2905-09, FOLS 173V-174R.

one at a time and thereby slowly move the supplicant around the body in pain. The exemplum/rubric presents a prayer by proxy; it is another manifestation of the idea that Christ has favoured someone else, and that by claiming a connection to that person—and to Christ himself—the reader can ensure a better result.

A simple drawing has been added to a manuscript from the Rooklooster Augustinians in Oudergem near Brussels (BKB, Ms. 2905-09; fig. 53). Of fairly low quality, the manuscript was made around 1400 by several different hands. The drawing appears in the context of a rhyming prayer called 'A Spiritual Wine Tavern' (*Een geystelec wijnghelaech*), near the end of the manuscript. The scribe has drawn a gaping red mouth-like wound, terrifying in its simplicity and immediacy. Using the same red and black ink in which he copied the accompanying poem, the scribe constructed the drawing by violently casting a quincunx of puncture wounds in the parchment, four of them with the black iron nails still lodged inside. That

they were born of the same fountains of ink as the poem implies a continuity between the text and the image, both in origin and in meaning. Both the wounds and words emanated from Christ's side: they are the word-become-flesh. Reciprocally, the manuscript is the flesh-become-word. This poem-prayer suggests that the Spiritual Wine Tavern is the place where the soul can rest and drink from Christ's fountain-like side wound, causing an ecstatic spiritual drunkenness.⁶ In this case, the reader need not look beyond the page for that fulfilment, as she can spiritually suck on the page.⁷

6 For *Een gheystelec wijnghelaech*, see Swygenhoven 1847 and Meertens 1930-1934, vol. VI, p. 21, no. 6. For all the rhyming versions of the prayer, see Oosterman 1995, vol. II, no. 46.

7 One might consider in this context the *calamus*, the drinking straw through which the faithful could draw the consecrated wine into their mouths. The straw, usually made of precious metal, was adopted in order to prevent spills or that 'the consecrated wine might adhere



FIGURE 54 Opening in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting Christ as a fountain to preface the Spiritual Tavern. Made in 1535, probably in Tournai.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 74 G 9, FOLS 93V–94R.

Torrents of blood surge from Christ's wounds to plunge into the *Fons Vitae* (fountain of life) in an image that illustrates the Spiritual Tavern in a highly unusual manuscript dated 1535 (HKB, Ms. 74 G 9, fol. 93v, fig. 54). The striking prefatory image depicts the manuscript's donor, a woman prominently displaying a large rosary and an illuminated prayerbook as she gazes up towards Christ's wounds. On the facing folio alternating lines of the rhyming prayer appear in red, a rubrication choice that gives the impression that blood bathes the downbeats of the metrical rhythm. The juxtaposition of text and image, tied together with a veritable bloodbath of red, suggests that the donor was reciting the rhyming prayer into Jesus's wounds, to the rhythm of Jesus' beating heart as it pumped the last of his fluids into the giant ceremonial chalice, poised just at her expectant lips. Indeed, as discussed shortly, some rubrics even explicitly request that votaries read prayers *into* Christ's wounds.

to the beards and facial hairs of communicants, or become polluted by spittle'; Vincent 2001, p. 35, following Borenus 1930, esp. 101 n.

Eucharistic wine—or Christ's blood, as the case may be—frequently acted as a proxy for all medicine, a metaphor that reappears continually.⁸ Devotion to the Five Wounds therefore increased during and just after the Great Plague, which decimated the European population in 1347, and then returned with regularity for several centuries.⁹ Bubonic plague caused buboes, tumescent wounds that attacked victims' armpits and groins. The diseased called upon St Sebastian, who had likewise suffered

8 Meertens 1930–1934, vol. III, pp. 13–15, transcribes another prayer that repeats the metaphor of the sacrament as medicine. Bynum 2002, who distinguishes blood and bread symbols, also points out that Christ's blood as medicine forms a distinct subcategory of blood symbolism.

9 St Bridget went to Rome for the Jubilee of 1350, when it was not clear to the Romans if there would be anyone left in Europe to make the pilgrimage to the Eternal City. Although Bridget does not mention the plague in any of her writings, she does include the Five Wounds on the order's habit, as five red dots on the nuns' white crowns, while the crown of thorns and the Cross are also implicit in the shape of the red textile detail. Olsen 2000, esp. pp. 8–11, analyses the symbolism of Birgittine dress.

multiple wounds, although he had incurred his when soldiers punctured him with arrows. Believers surmised that his suffering through these wounds would make him sympathetic to their own painful and lethal buboes. As an alternative to Sebastian's, Christ's own wounds provided the diseased some degree of comfort, and many rubrics prefacing prayers to Christ's Five Wounds forge this connection. With his bursting glands, the plague sufferer brought his body towards *conformitas* with Christ's, although inadvertently.¹⁰

Just as the *arma Christi* received representation outside the context of their narrative, so too did the wounds receive individual prayers. Consequently, the Five Wounds, isolated from the rest of Christ's body, often appear in manuscripts as a full-page miniature. Such an image appears in a book of hours from South Holland, probably copied in the late 1450s (HKB, Ms. 133 E 15, fol. 121v; fig. 55). Its owner(s) added several parchment paintings to it over the following two decades, suggesting a continual and attentive use. The original owner was probably a Dominican and a nun, as the manuscript contains a Dominican calendar.¹¹ Among these tipped-in leaves is a full-page painting depicting the wounds of Christ, which prefaces a Latin text praising the Five Wounds (fols 122r–130v). The four peripheral wounds resemble bulbs leaking radiant fluid, while the chest wound has transmogrified into the heart itself, exposed, raw, and bloodied. A spear has pierced the heart as if it were on a spit, and the motif of the pointed metallic spear impales the border, left and right. Therefore the image isolates and abstracts the wounds while at the same time rupturing the frame.

Further praising the wounds, the book's owner or early user selected an unusual image to face the Hundred Articles by Suso—the only Middle Dutch text in the codex—depicting a female saint displaying her stigmata (fol. 226v, fig. 56).¹² In keeping with the manuscript's Dominican theme, the image probably depicts St Catherine of Siena,

a female mystic who received the stigmata.¹³ The image presents Christ's wounds isolated from the narrative of his Passion and subsequently superimposed onto another body, a female one, as a palpable sign of God's acknowledgement of her *conformitas*. This unusual choice further suggests that the patron felt a particular devotion to the wounds and to those who had experienced them.

A book of hours from Zwolle, from the 'Sarijs' group,¹⁴ features a full-page miniature depicting the Five Wounds of Christ, positioned immediately after the calendar and immediately before the Hours of the Virgin (Utrecht, UB, Ms. 6 H 31, fol. 18v; fig. 57).

Although it prefaces the Hours of the Virgin, the image does not illustrate that text, nor is it particularly relevant to it; rather, the wounds provide a visual prolegomenon to all the devotional texts in the codex, thereby transporting the votary towards a prayerful state for the duration of his or her use of the book. While the manuscript was made in Zwolle, the miniature, with its shimmering geometrical design, consisting of a diaper pattern alternating with gold, red, and blue, and thick gilding, is typical of the metallic illumination from Arnhem. Its laceration surgically incised, the heart beats a glowing cadence at the design's epicentre, punctuated by the radial position of four smaller satellite wounds. Each gash springs from a red flower, as if overripe roses had overextended their petals to reveal their innards. Each rose languishes in a nest of spiralling spines, diminutive beds of green thorns. The wounds, roses comprising nested razors, brandish the dangerous potential to draw blood. As is typical of illumination from the eastern Netherlands, the gilding round these dangerous roses surmounts a layer of white gesso, creating low relief on the parchment surface, so that the burnished gold shimmers all the more as it curves around the impasto.¹⁵ Black inked lines circumscribe each gold field, setting off the centre like kohl around an eye. These black lines also underscore the resulting rhythm of matte and gloss, of colour and light. It is difficult to focus on the coruscating pattern: the wounds get lost in the strobe-like motion, and the only respite from the visual commotion is the hole at the centre—the heart—into which one's attention can finally sink. The emphatic geometrical

10 Hayum 1989, pp. 13–52.

11 HKB, Ms. 133 E 15: Book of Hours (Dominican use), mostly in Latin, with the Hundred Articles in Middle Dutch; 274 folios parchment, 117 × 79 mm; 17 lines, written in 1438 or, more likely, 1458: there is a computing circle given for the year 1438, but text around it explains: 'Item men sal weten dat dit naghescreven kalengier began int jaer ons heren duseut vierhondert ende acht ende vijftich'. The Dominican calendar has feasts in red including St Thomas Aquinas (7 March) and his Translation (28 January), the Translation of St Peter Martyr (7 May), St Dominic 'patris ordinis nostri' (5 August) and his Translation (23 May). See Rudy 2015a for the parchment paintings, and consult the BNM for further bibliography.

12 For the text, see Deschamps 1989; Aelst 2005.

13 That the manuscript is for Dominican Use suggests that the saint represented is Catherine of Siena. For Elisabeth of Spalbeek, see Simons 1994.

14 These are manuscripts with a saint constructed from a spelling error listed in the calendar on 19 January: St 'Sarijs' instead of St Marijs. Most of the Sarijs manuscripts are identified and discussed in Wierda 1995. Utrecht, UB, 6 H 31 is no. 58.

15 This also means that the gold has been more liable to abrasion, and several of the border decorations have become degilded.



FIGURE 55 Folio in book of hours, with a parchment painting depicting the Five Wounds of Christ. Manuscript copied c. 1450, with images added later in the fifteenth century.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 133 E 15, FOL. 12IV.



FIGURE 56 Folio in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting St Catherine of Siena displaying her stigmata, opposite the Hundred Articles. Manuscript copied c. 1450, with images added later in the fifteenth century.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 133 E 15, FOL. 226V-227R.

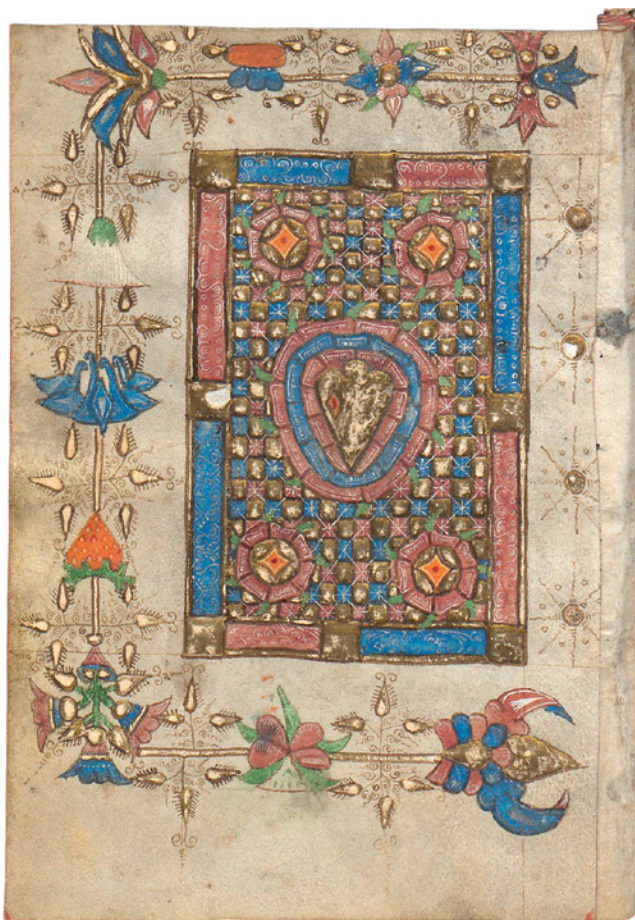


FIGURE 57 Full-page image depicting the Five Wounds of Christ, inserted into a book of hours from Zwolle. Image made c. 1460–1480 in Arnhem (?).
UTRECHT, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, 6 H 31, FOL. 18V.

design has the potential to throw the willing viewer into a trance.

Speaking into the Wounds: The Colnish Pater Noster

The Colnish *Pater noster* is a prayer woven around Christ's principal wounds—the hand, foot, and side wounds he incurred on the Cross and the head wound from the crown of thorns. The prayer brings the votary into a physically close relationship with the wounds. It presents the *Pater noster* fleshed out, as it asks the votary to recite the prayer as a monologue directed towards an image of Christ crucified.¹⁶ While there are many late medieval prayers

that provide a vernacular gloss on the Latin *Pater noster*, often broken into seven segments, what distinguishes the Colnish *Pater noster* from others is that the prayer segments are mapped onto the crucified body of Christ. To do this the petitioner speaks sections of the prayer into each wound, beginning with the nail hole on Christ's left foot. The prayer not only prescribes that the votary perform the prayer in front of an image—either a Crucifixion or the disembodied Five Wounds of Christ—but that she speak the prayer while in an intimate relationship with the anthropomorphized image, during which she visually scrutinizes, handles, and tastes the Saviour.¹⁷ Through the prayer, the wounds of Christ become animated agents that lead the reader to a deeper—physically deeper—understanding of the most oft-repeated prayer in Christianity.

In some ways, the Colnish *Pater noster* recalls a text by Aelred of Rievaulx (d. 1166) who urges female recluses to taste the body on the cross, because the 'blood changes to wine'.¹⁸ According to Aelred's text, written for his sister who was also an anchorite (an urban religious hermit who had herself bricked into a cell, usually built into the wall of a church), the recluse is to enter the body of Christ through the side wound. Christ's heart becomes a refuge, a place not unlike the recluse's cell. This devotion also circulated enthusiastically among the semi-enclosed, particularly within houses of women living under the Third Rule of St Francis. Francis, of course, had received the stigmata as a verification of his identification with the martyred Christ, and, consequently, many devotional exercises practised by Franciscans centre on the wounds of Christ. The Colnish *Pater noster* not only uses the Wounds

Antwerp, Plantijn Moretus Museum, Zaal 111, Ms. 36 (now under the signature 14.12), which is from Delft and dates from c. 1480, not from 1400; therefore it is not—as they erroneously assert—the earliest textual testament. In Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, the text appears as G 183.

17 Several scholars have addressed the role of taste in medieval devotional practice. See e.g. Heck 1995, esp. 13–14, where the author points out that the vernacular texts added to Bonne of Luxembourg's Psalter (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Ms. 69.86) draw upon a tract by Bonaventure called *De triplici via*. This tract describes how the soul ascends a stairway to heaven in which the first step is *Suavitas* (learning how to taste God's sweetness) and the second step is *Aviditas* (learning to develop a longing to taste that sweetness). See also Fulton 2004; Lermack 2008.

18 Aelred writes: 'Hasten, linger not, eat the honeycomb with your honey, drink your wine with your milk. The blood is changed into wine to inebriate you, the water into milk to nourish you', in 'Rule of Life for a Recluse', in Rievaulx 1971, p. 90; see also Bynum 2002, p. 685.

16 Meertens 1930–1934, vol. 11, pp. 11–13, 29, first called attention to this text by citing five manuscripts containing it, and noted that the text was to be said before an image of Christ crucified; Stracke 1943 identified a sixth manuscript containing the text, which he transcribes (Antwerp, Ruusbroecgenootschapsbibliotheek, MS 10). Stracke follows Meertens's erroneous dating of

of Christ as one of its organizing principals, but also demands that the votary interact with the wounds using several different senses.

Uneven survival rates among manuscripts render most statistical analyses questionable, but one might say, cautiously, that the Colnish *Pater noster* found its most enthusiastic readership among and within convents of female tertiaries. Men, on the other hand, appear not to have performed this devotion. I have found only one copy of the Colnish *Pater noster* that was (probably) written by a man, who implores, 'Pray an *Ave Maria* for the *scriver*' and dates the manuscript 1502 (AUB, Ms. I F 30). It is possible, however, that he wrote the manuscript for a community of women as a pedagogical tool, as the manuscript contains all the basic prayers in Latin that young people were to know (fols 61ra–62ra), including the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo in deum*, *Credo in spiritum sanctum*, *Ave salus mundi*, and other basic prayers. If indeed a man wrote AUB, Ms. I F 30 for use by women, the male teacher or confessor might have provided his female charges with the Colnish *Pater noster*. As I will show, the devotion was marked by a sexually charged intimacy, in which the penitent physically whispers into a (representation of a) man so that her voice penetrates his body, getting under his skin. As Jeffrey Hamburger has convincingly argued, other prayers designed for women religious encourage the votary to dwell in Jesus' heart as a house; the Colnish *Pater noster*, in contrast, encourages the votary to make a few brief house calls, entering the domain of Christ's body through each of its portals in turn, but then returning home for the night.¹⁹

Despite its name, the Colnish *Pater noster* (that is, 'the *Pater noster* from Cologne') circulated in the northern, southern, and eastern Netherlands. If it had some relationship with Cologne, that connection has been lost.²⁰

19 See the chapter on the heart as a house in Hamburger 1997.

20 Stracke 1943, p. 87 points out that Antwerp, Ruusbroecgenootschapsbibliotheek, Ms. 10 is written in an eastern Netherlandish dialect, which, he maintains, may point to the prayer's Rhinish origin. The precise origin of the prayer, however, remains to be discovered. One of the earliest surviving copies in Middle Dutch appears in a manuscript probably made in Utrecht and is dated 1398 (St Petersburg, Biblioteka gosudarstvennaja publičnaja imeni Saltykova Šcedrina, Goll. O.v.I, 10, fols 101–113). This manuscript contains a table for calculating movable feasts, dated 1398–1462, for which see Gailliard and Vreese 1907–1914, no. 22; Lievens 1963, no. 138; Meertens 1930–1934, vol. 1, pp. v–vi. Later in the century, female tertiaries of St Andreas in Sonsbeek bij Xanten in the eastern Netherlands produced several copies of the prayer including one from 1456 (Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Ms. 1876), and one from

Although the prayer appears in several redactions, a 'typical' version appears in a prayerbook written after 1464 in Dutch and Latin (HKB, Ms. 131 H 4). Announcing the name of the prayer, the first rubric also presents the first phrase of the *Pater noster*:

rub: This is the Colnish Pater noster. Pater noster qui es in celis. inc: O, most merciful father, I, a poor, unworthy sinner, thank you...

Addressing God the Father, the votary is to say 'Our Father who art in Heaven' in Latin, followed by a gloss on this phrase in the vernacular. That gloss elevates the Godhead and debases the reader. It combines ventriloquism with submissiveness. This position sets the stage for the remainder of the prayer, all directed towards an image of Christ on the Cross, as will become clear in the context of the rest of the rubrics, which continue:

rub: Now speak into the left foot: 'Sanctificetur nomen tuum'. inc: O, my sweet and faithful father, I, a poor, sick, and wounded person, seek and thank you...

The votary enunciates the second phrase of the *Pater noster*, 'hallowed be thy name', into the puncture wound of Christ's left foot. Continuously holding that position, she recites a prayer to the 'father', the first person of the Trinity. By submitting to this ritual, the votary transforms herself, casting herself in the position of Jesus praying to his heavenly father at the Garden of Gethsemane awaiting his Passion. The text of the prayer emphasizes the smallness of the petitioner, a lowly, withered, and wounded creature awestruck in the face of God. By referring to herself in the terminology of abasement, the petitioner further casts her identity onto that of Jesus, both the Jesus in the Garden who is sick, nervous, and sweating blood, and the Jesus on the Cross who is suffering from slow, excruciating, fatal wounds. The structure of the prayer reinforces the reader's squalor, since the humble penitent begins the prayer at the foot of the Cross at Jesus' feet.

The choreographed prayer continues with fragments of the *Pater noster* directed to the remaining principal wounds:

rub: Now say into the right foot, 'Adveniat regnum tuum'...

rub: Now into the left hand speak, 'Fiat voluntas tua'...

the 1490s (Darmstadt, HLHB, Ms. 193), for which see Achten and Knaus 1959.

rub: Now say to the crowned head, '*Sicut in celo et in terra*'...

rub: Now say to the right hand, '*Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie*'...

rub: Now say to the pierced side, '*Et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*'...

rub: And say '*et ne nos inducas in temptationem sed libera nos a malo. Amen*'.

Working her way up Jesus' body, the penitent moves from foot to head, and from left to right, from the place of earth to the place of heaven, and from the side of perdition to the side of salvation. Significantly, the votary recites the penultimate phrase of the *Pater noster*—'and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us'—directly into Jesus' side wound, that is, his heart, the seat of forgiveness. It seems that the final phrase, 'lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil', is to be spoken while the votary steps back from the image and contemplates Jesus in his entirety.

The prayer's epilogue fulfils the role that most prefatory rubrics fulfil: it explains what the votary has to gain by performing the prayer, and further instructs the reader how to do so:

rub: The more one directs [literally, shoots] this prayer with love and devotion into the wounds of our dear beloved Lord Jesus Christ, the sooner one receives more gifts from doing so. And although this prayer may seem distasteful at first, the longer one practices it, the tastier it becomes to him. Amen.

HKB, Ms. 131 H 4, fol. 55r

That it becomes increasingly 'tasty' to the votary closely mirrors the fact that the votary must put her lips to Christ's wounds, to taste his flesh as an intimate Eucharistic ritual, in the act of reciting the prayer. But, as Aelred of Rievaulx had said, the blood turns into wine. That she 'shoots' the prayer into the wounds suggests that the words can wound, and that she herself participates in Christ's wounding.²¹

21 Compare a two-folio spread from the *Rothschild Canticles*, a late thirteenth-century manuscript (New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Ms. 404, fols 18v–19r). As Hamburger describes, 'Rarely has the imagery of wounding love received more dramatic embodiment. Seated on a low bench, the Sponsa thrusts a lance toward the full-length figure of Christ, who turns toward her and, in the traditional gesture of the *ostentatio vulneris*, points to the wound in his side'; Hamburger 1998, pp. 127–129.

Since the votary recites each section of the *Pater noster* into one of the wounds of the feet, head, hands, or side, it is the body of Christ, and especially its wounds (rather than any narrative), that frame the recitation of the prayer. Since the head wounds are not generally depicted among the Five Wounds of Christ, the image to which the votary refers here is either an image of the Five Wounds arranged on a crucifix surmounted by a crown of the thorns (which would stand for the head wounds), or (more likely) an image of Christ on the Cross exhibiting his wounds (including his wounded head), rather than disembodied from them.

One particularly full version of the Colnish *Pater noster*, one with the most specific set of choreographed instructions, also makes plain what kind of image the reader is to use in order to fulfil the prayer's mandate. This version appears in a manuscript on paper bearing watermarks that suggest a date around 1500 (Leiden, UB, Ms. Ltk 317). It was written by a woman, possibly a Franciscan in a convent near the German border, who added a colophon: 'Nota bene, if it be God's will, pray for the [female] copyist who wrote this book, because the work was very hard for her, although the finished product is not beautiful' (fol. 324r). Her script is, in fact, especially uneven. An introductory rubric provides instruction and sets a prayerful tone:

rub: This is a devout prayer called the 'Colnish *Pater noster*'. The greater the love and the more heartfelt the devotion to the wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ with which one speaks this prayer, the more gifts one receives from it. The longer a person exercises it, the sweeter and tastier it becomes to him. Now humbly kneel at the feet of the heavenly father and speak, 'Our father who art in heaven'.

Leiden UB, Ms. Ltk 317, 36v

The prayer goes on to specify that the reader is to address the left and right feet and hands and the crowned head, each time with a segment of the *Pater noster*, as in the other examples.

Whereas earlier recensions of the prayer merely imply that the votary should use an image to enhance the performance, the rubrics of this recension explicitly demand that the prayer be performed with the aid of a sculpture, one representing Christ on the Cross, although this only becomes clear at the end of the text. At the final segment of the prayer, this recension makes explicit that the votary has been performing this devotion in front of an image of Jesus all along. This clarification occurs at the moment when the votary steps back from the Five Wounds

to take in the entirety of Jesus. During the final segment, the votary is to 'drop in obeisance in front of that sculpture [*beelt*] of Our Dear Lord Jesus Christ, and speak, "Father, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen". Both the insertion of the vocative particle, and the implicit command that the votary perform the devotion as a monologue directed at a sculpture representing Christ, assure a heightened degree of tangibility. This recension assures an object of address, both linguistically and physically.

Whereas many devotional exercises function by framing repeated prayers while focusing a narrative thread on some aspect of the Passion, here the *Pater noster* itself is fragmented, and mapped onto a fragmented body. The reader would converse with the broken *corpus Christi*, beginning with the left foot, the lowest point on the sinister side of Christ's body, then moving to the right foot, then visit the other terminals of the crucifix, from the sinister hand of the Father (the side of the damned in representations of the Last Judgement), to the head (the place of rational judgement). Penultimately, the votary would visit the Right Hand of the Father (the place of the elect), and from there easily enter into Jesus' heart for one final draught from the heart wound, before stepping back, sated, to contemplate the whole of Christ's wounds and suffering. The final rubric is a summary directive to the prayer; the scribe admits that the prayer could be distasteful, but adds hopefully that it will become more palatable with time. A similar rubric appears in BKB, Ms. II 3688, fol. 58v, a manuscript written for tertiaries in the second decade of the sixteenth century.

The most vehement expression of this initial distaste, followed by eager consumption, appears in a copy of the prayer written by and for female tertiaries at a convent in Hoorn in North Holland (AUB, Ms. I F 14). Five hands, including a certain Lijsbeth Ijsbrantsdr van Minilieden, copied the manuscript; the sisters had it rebound in 1519 in the nearby monastery of Canons Regular of St Maria-Nieuwlicht in Westerblokker bij Hoorn. The manuscript is heavily worn, and the fact that it had to be rebound suggests that it had been heavily used during the decades shortly after it was made in the 1470s and was already falling apart by 1519. Devotion designed by and for women, as Hamburger has shown, often exudes love and passion. The rubricated prologue prefacing the Colnish *Pater noster* reads as a blood-drenched love letter, full of passion, longing, and sensory experience:

rub: This is the prologue for the Colnish Pater noster.
You shall request these following devotions from the

wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ... You shall dwell upon each wound to acknowledge its love [*minnen*], as well as [to contemplate] your own defects and inadequacies; and you shall carry the dirty, poisoned wounds of your unacknowledged, unrepented sins to the honey-flowing wounds of Our Lord, and you shall seek the healing balm that will fully heal your filthy wounds.

AUB, Ms. I F 14, fol. 170v

This prologue implies that the devotions reside in the wounds, from which the votary must request them, as if the wounds were wellsprings of devotion. In other words, devotion comes from the body of Christ rather than from the mind of the votary. The wounds also exude a liquid that is simultaneously a healing balm and a sweet drink. It is as if the wounds were lips, out of which the prayers are vocalized, and into which requests are made; it is no mistake that the wounds are often represented as lips, swollen horizontal *labia*.

In the Hoorn manuscript, with each new wound, the reader petitions the Father by name, thereby bringing him towards an ever-more intimate dialogue. With every new fragment of the *Paternoster* that she utters, the votary names the audience, 'Father', as if to try to secure his attention: 'Father, thy kingdom come... Father, give us this day our daily bread'. Whereas the other versions ask the votary to read a prayer into or through 'Christ's pierced side', this one asks the votary to speak into Our Lord's heart, and to do it twice: 'Father, forgive us our trespasses', the nun utters into the heart; 'Father, forgive us our trespasses', she repeats, again into the wound of the heart. A metonym for the heart, the side wound was a highway straight towards Jesus' compassion.

A corrupted recension of the rubric appears in a Dutch book of hours dated 1477 (Ghent UB, Ms. 1340, fols 64v–67v). It divides the *Pater noster* into seven, rather than the usual eight, segments.

rub: Kneel at the feet of the heavenly father and say, 'Our father who art in Heaven'.

rub: Now speak to the left foot with devotion, 'hallowed be thy name'.

rub: Now speak to the wound of the right foot, 'Thy kingdom come'.

rub: Now speak to the left hand, 'Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven'.

rub: Now speak to the crowned head, 'Give us this day our daily bread'.

rub: Now speak to the right hand, 'And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us'.

rub: Now speak to the heart with devotion, 'And lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil. Amen'.

In redistributing the segments of the prayer onto the heavenly father and six wounds, the copyist has misunderstood an important aspect of the prayer, the element of closure which reunifies the *corpus Christi* as the votary steps back to take in the entire body at once. Furthermore, with this division, the votary misses the opportunity to ask forgiveness into Jesus' heart wound, which was clearly the most important of the five major wounds and the most important part of the prayer. Here, instead, she utters 'Forgive us our trespasses' into Christ's right-hand wound, which is significantly less dramatic than his bleeding heart wound. She remains at arm's length from Jesus' full compassion.

In performing the Colnish *Pater noster*, the votary participates in a metaphoric dismemberment of the body of Christ by isolating each of the major wounds. During this process, she brings the wounds to her lips until she might even touch and taste them. She may at first find this exercise distasteful before sucking its delectable spiritual nectar. Part of the pleasure of this text stems from her imitation of Jesus in prayer before his heavenly father, when he also took the chalice and drank from it. Whereas the body of the devotion fragments the *corpus Christi*, the exercise finally unifies and redeems the body in its final verse, when the votary addresses the reconfigured body of Christ in the form of his entire image. Like all nuns, she was the bride of Christ. As such, while practising this devotion, the reader may have responded to its love message, which is both spiritual and overtly sexual. She desires closeness, the enveloping love, of intermingling her effluvia with his, of visiting his heart. Although only the rubrics in one of the recensions of the Colnish *Pater noster* discussed here makes explicit that the reader perform this devotional exercise in the presence of an image, all the versions assume it. Perhaps the later copyist (of the Leiden manuscript) crystallized into script what had been the practice for the performance of this prayer all along: that it involve Christ's tangible presence in the form of a carved *corpus* nailed to a cross, into which the votary could recite his or her heartfelt, but carefully choreographed, lines, while panning over Christ's wounded body in slow motion, speaking into his wounds like a delicate listening device. Wounds convey the votary's penitence straight to his heart, through the conduit of his blood. Christ's body was all apertures, all portals.

St Bernard and the Embracing Body

Some versions of the Colnish *Pater noster* attribute the prayer to St Bernard. Such is the case in a manuscript written about 1472 for the tertiaries of St Maria ter Engelen in Bilzen, a town in Limburg not far from Maastricht (UCC, Ms. Warmond 92 A 2, fols 23r–28r). The Bilzen version of the Colnish *Pater noster* is closely related to that copied by the tertiaries in Hoorn, but with two important differences. First, Bilzen has an expanded prologue, and second, the structure follows the days of the week so that the tertiary would read one piece of the prayer each day for seven days beginning with Sunday. An irregularity in the scheme (Monday is repeated) suggests that the copyist was not following a precise exemplar, but made an error while transforming the prayer from a source that lacked the weekly structure.

The rubric includes a description of St Bernard's performance, as a testimony to the prayer's efficacy; moreover, by imitating the saint's devotion, the reader gained both the proximity to Christ and the hope of the favour that Christ showed the saint. The rubric instructs:

rub: One reads that when St Bernard performed these greetings to the crucifix, the image sweetly and humbly bent towards him. You should read these prayers written below to honour the wounds of our dear lord Jesus Christ, because he promised to offer them [the wounds] to anyone who reads them [the prayers] with devotion and with grief of her sins. You shall dwell upon each wound to acknowledge its love [*minnen*], as well as [to contemplate] your defects; and you shall carry the poisoned wounds of your unrepented sins to the honey-flowing sweet wounds, [then] think about—and suck from them—the healing balm that will make your filthy wounds heal. Kneel at the feet of the heavenly father and speak with humility, saying, '*Pater noster* qui es in celis' on Sundays.

UCC, MS. WARMOND 92 A 2, fol. 23r

On Mondays she addresses both the left and right foot; Tuesdays the left hand; Wednesdays the crowned head; Thursdays the right hand; Fridays the pierced side; and Saturdays the entire body of Jesus. It is also possible that she has parcelled the body of Christ out this way because she elided the left and right foot wounds, which, according to most Western iconography, were made with a single nail, and as such, usually only one wound is visible in an image of the Crucifixion.

The prayer is attributed to St Bernard, who was associated with a different prayer to be read in front of a

crucifix, that praising Christ's body parts, discussed earlier. The copyist conflated the two rubrics that normally preface these respective prayers, thereby emphasizing the fact that the Colnish *Pater noster* is to be read in front of a crucifix, since that is the manner in which Bernard originally performed it, according to the apocryphal rubric. The reader begins by looking up at Jesus, from a position kneeling at his feet, and declares 'Our father who art in Heaven', the first phrase of the *Pater noster*.

Indeed, the Colnish *Pater noster* was not the only prayer that was recited to an image of Christ crucified; medieval votaries had many other opportunities to anthropomorphize carved wood and paint and to elide the signifier with the suffering man it signified. A sixteenth-century Franciscan prayerbook with many image-centred prayers contains one to Christ's body parts, to be read while looking at his imagined body hanging from a crucifix (BKB, Ms. 11231–36, fols 192r–196v). The prayer resembles the Colnish *Pater noster* in that it asks the votary to read the prayer—rather, a series of prayers—while addressing appendages of Christ's crucified body. The rubric opens by telling the reader the basic conditions for reciting the prayer:

rub: Anyone who reads the following prayer with devotion and inwardness to honour the passion of our lord and to honour Our Dear Lady for 15 days in a row shall receive anything he prays for, as long as he is in a state of grace. One should begin like this: the person should sit himself in front of a crucifix with inner desires and pangs of the heart towards the mercy of God, and cast his eyes onto the eyes of the sculpture of Christ, then read the following psalm, the third one in the Psalter. inc: O, Lord, how many are my foes! How many rise up against me!

BKB, Ms. 11231–36, fol. 192r

Just as the small pieces of the *Pater noster* had become the refrain in the Colnish *Pater noster*, the third psalm becomes the refrain for this prayer. The votary is to perform the exercise in front of a sculpture (*beeld*) depicting Christ, and specifically make eye contact with the image. Through that link—of looking and being looked at, of speaking and being listened to, of identifying desires and weaknesses and receiving mercy for them—the reader/viewer can successfully complete the exercise. It is one mediated by the image, choreographed by the rubric, and scripted by the prayer.

Whereas the Colnish *Pater noster* had begun with Christ's feet, this exercise begins with Christ's head. To perform it, the votary must be conscious of her own head,

carefully bowing it to the image, thereby further connecting with the image of Christ, whose head usually droops in Northern European crucifixes of this period. The rubric directs:

rub: Then read Pater noster and with a bowed head, say the above-written psalm 'O, Lord, how many are...'; then cast your eyes onto the head of Christ and read this prayer: inc: O, you merciful head, who has come down to us in the body of the Virgin Mary...

BKB, Ms. 11231–36, fol. 194r

This piece of the prayer recalls to mind the image of the Annunciation, in which Mary, too, communicates her humility with her bowed head.

Other pieces of the prayer recall other common images, such as St John the Evangelist with his head on Christ's breast, a moment isolated from the Last Supper:

rub: Then read Pater noster and Ave Maria and the above-written psalm 'O, Lord, how many, etc', then cast your eyes onto Christ's breast and read the following prayer devoutly: inc: O, Lord Jesus Christ, by your holy divine breast, where St John the Evangelist rested...

BKB, Ms. 11231–36, fol. 194v

It seems, then, that the votary performs the devotion in front of a crucifix, but remains mindful of other images, common ones she could probably have found in her convent.

Progressing down the body of the crucified Christ, each section of the prayer features one area of Christ's body. As with some related prayers, the text asks the votary to consider the role of each body part in salvation history, as was the case with Christ's breast. His arms, right and left, connote salvific and sinister qualities, respectively.

rub: Then read Pater noster and the above-written psalm, 'O, Lord, how many, etc', then look at the right arm of the cross of Our Lord and read the following prayer: inc: O, Lord Jesus Christ, by your right arm and hand, under which all of the elect shall gather during the Last Days...

BKB, Ms. 11231–36, fol. 195r

Jesus' body turns into a mnemonic and a motivation for prayer. Somewhat unexpectedly, the prayer for contemplating Christ's left arm does not connote the damned, the Hell-mouth, or a mental image of St Michael throwing the wicked into a fiery jail:

rub: Now read *Pater noster* and the above-written psalm, item, then look at Our Lord's left arm and read this following prayer: *inc:* O, Lord Jesus Christ, by your left hand and arm, and by the three names that you had when you were born, hear me, Lord, hear me...

BKB, Ms. 11231–36, fol. 195v

Rather, the prayer avoids the topic of damnation and rehearses a topic less relevant to the left arm of Christ: his trinity of names. After gazing up briefly at his face and uttering another psalm, the votary now finishes the devotion at Christ's feet:

rub: Now look at the feet of Our Lord and his body and read these prayers. *inc:* O, Lord Jesus Christ, by your holy body and your holy feet, with which you went before the doors of Paradise, hear me, hear me, hear me...*rub:* Item, now read *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* and read *Salve Regina* to the end with the collect *Deo Laus*.

BKB, Ms. 11231–36, fol. 196v

The entire prayer choreographs an intricate *imitatio Christi*, in which the reader/viewer aligns her body with the body of the represented Christ, ultimately in order to follow him to Paradise and to everlasting life. Although Thomas à Kempis intended the *Imitatio Christi* to function at a metaphoric level, this and similar exercises bring it down to a more earthly literal level. Ultimately, what often happens in rubrics is a blunt-force application of theology, one that may dilute or distort that theology. Thomas à Kempis may have had a highbrow idea about the imitation of Christ, but when scribes produce books, that idea meets its application and becomes fundamentally material and practical. The message is clear: through the portals of Paradise, which are likened to the bloodied apertures in Christ's own body, the reader/viewer will walk on her own graced feet.

A more frequently copied rubric with Bernard as protagonist prefaces a somewhat different devotional performance of Christ's body parts. One of the many rubrics that memorialize the event appears in a prayerbook from 1477, possibly written by a nun devoted to St Ursula (for she also copied the highly unusual Hours of St Ursula into the codex). The rubric chronicles Bernard's intimate relationship with a crucifix:

rub: Here begins a devout prayer that St Bernard wrote to articulate Our Lord's Passion. It is written that once upon a time, St Bernard was reading this prayer in front of the cross of Our Dear Lord Jesus

Christ. It was observed that the sculpture loosened itself from the cross, bent down, and hugged St Bernard. [The prayer] was given and confirmed by the seat of Rome with a nice indulgence, as anyone who reads it with worthiness and devotion earns 2000 years', 300 years', 70 years', and 70 days'. Earn this indulgence devoutly.

Ghent, UB, Ms. 1340, fol. 20r

Acting as proxy for Jesus himself, the image of Jesus confirms the value of the prayer St Bernard had been reading by providing a sign, and not just any sign. As in St Gregory's vision, in which the body of Christ manifested itself in order to demonstrate its wound, in this story the image of Christ physically interacts with St Bernard. In both cases, images act in extraordinary ways in order to communicate with the living, in one case, to allay a doubt about the Eucharist, and in another, to validate a particular prayer. Regardless of the exact circumstances of the original event, if one existed at all, their subsequent recounting emphasizes the presence of witnesses, who can later provide testimonials to the miraculous events. This rubric and prayer, about Christ loosening himself from the cross to embrace St Bernard, often appears in Franciscan prayerbooks, such as BKB, Ms. 11231–36, fols 175r–182r, where it also offers 2300 years' and 70 days' indulgence. Although the event occurred to St Bernard and not to St Francis, it must have appealed to the particularly somatic devotional values of the Franciscans.

The prayer, too, demands systematic observation: it provides an exegesis on the body of Christ, describing his feet, legs, torso, side, chest, arms, and head. It begins at the foot of the (representation of) the saviour because of the prophecy of Isaiah (1:6), which was thought in the Middle Ages to prefigure Jesus during his Passion:

From the sole of the foot unto the top of the head, there is no soundness therein: wounds and bruises and swelling sores: they are not bound up, nor dressed, nor fomented with oil.

Both the prayer, with its emphasis on physicality, and Bernard's purported experience with the body of Christ, are undeniably corporeal.

The powerful prayer attributed to Bernard itemizes Christ's body parts, forging links between the limbs and the prayers, not unlike the relationship between the Colnish *Pater noster* and the wounds. Both the Colnish *Pater noster* and the prayer to Christ's body parts require recitation before a crucifix. The rubric recounting Bernard's embrace and the corresponding prayer transfer Bernard's personal

experience into a devotional sequence, thereby encouraging a corresponding shift: the reader is to take the place of Bernard, the one whom Jesus embraces. If one prays as Bernard had prayed, Jesus will dislodge himself from the cross to embrace the speaker, thereby conferring upon the speaker Christ's warm propinquity. The sequence implies the presence of a crucifix bearing the nailed figure of Christ crucified; given the tactility of the ensuing performance, one imagines a three-dimensional tangible object. The image of Christ Crucified becomes the ultimate Jesus of Compassion when the sculpture responds to the love of the beholder to give the crucified figure the power to defy the bonds of iron nails, which still puncture his hands but no longer have the power to bind him to the cross.

This prayer was popular among nuns and semi-enclosed women and appears, for example, in a prayer-book made for (and possibly by) a religious sister. It accompanies an image depicting Christ loosening himself from the Cross in order to embrace a female Augustinian—probably a Black Sister (*zwartzuster*), to judge by her garb (Heverlee, Park Abbey; fig. 58).²² Other clues in the manuscript suggest that it was used by the Gasthuiszusters Augustinessen of Geel, who were dedicated to Sts Dymphna and Elizabeth, and who ran in a hospital. In their vocation, they would have been intimately familiar with the blood and wounds. The image presents one of the tangible fruits of prayer, taken on a literal or metaphoric level: the loving embrace of a bleeding Christ.²³ The prayer–rubric–image package structures prayer—with a high degree of intensity and for long hours—that might similarly result in an embrace.

Indeed, the nun who used and probably made this manuscript imagined herself in a close relationship with Christ. Noteworthy about the Park manuscript is the manner in which its owner sought to personalize the experience. To this end, she pasted dozens of small engravings into her manuscript to construct prefabricated historiated initials.²⁴ It may have been the Augustinian herself who painted them. The subjects of these engravings come from a sequence of roundels depicting scenes from the Passion, which derive from a set made by Israel van Meckenem.



FIGURE 58 Folio in a prayer book, with a historiated initial depicting Christ loosening himself from the Cross in order to embrace a woman in the garb of a *zwartzuster*. Made c. 1500 in the Southern Netherlands (Geel?).

HEVERLEE, PARK ABBEY, MS 18, FOL. 138R.

Someone, possibly the scribe (the nun?), has then painted some additional initials in the same size and in a comparable style, so that the paintings—unusually—imitate the prints not in subject matter but in style.

Whereas the engravings represent events from the Passion of Christ, the hand-painted initials depict Eucharistic themes featuring the votary herself and which make explicit the votary's hoped-for physical relationship with the body of Christ. In one, she stands before Christ as he displays his Five Wounds, while a torrent of blood from his side wound flows into a chalice (fig. 59). In another one, Christ opens his side wound to release the torrent into the chalice on the ground before him (fig. 60). It is in this group of miniatures added to blend in with the printed iconographic programme that one finds the image depicting Christ as he loosens himself from the Cross to embrace a sister.

According to legend, Bernard wrote the prayer to the body parts of Christ after his experience with the crucified body coming to life. Bernard's experience as reported

²² The unusual engravings pasted in the book, as well as the hospital context of the manuscript, are the subjects of Rudy 2007.

²³ Winston-Allen 2009 has called attention to images made by nuns that depict the devotional subject physically interacting with the sacred subject, particularly in the work of Sibilla von Bondorf.

²⁴ On the issue of pasting prints into manuscripts, see Schmidt 2003, Weekes 2004.



FIGURE 59 Folio in a prayer book, with a historiated initial depicting Christ displaying his wounds to a *zwartzuster*. Made c. 1500 in the Southern Netherlands (Geel?). HEVERLEE, PARK ABBEY, MS. 18, FOL. 107R.

in the rubric was apocryphal, since Arnulf van Leuven (d. c. 1250), the prior and abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Villers in Brabant, actually authored the prayer in Latin (*Salve meum salutare*). In many Latin and most Middle Dutch recensions, it usually asks the votary to read the prayer in front of a crucifix, thereby imitating the conditions under which Bernard purportedly composed the prayer.²⁵ The image in the Park manuscript builds a relationship between the votary-nun and various saints. Most notably, the canoness stands as a proxy for St Bernard, who receives Christ in his arms; for his part, Christ overcomes the very nails of the Crucifix in order to demonstrate his physical affection for her. While uttering St Bernard's words inscribed in the prayer, she can become St Bernard in the eyes and arms of Christ. Thus she forges an additional connection to the physical demands made by the rubrics: bodily action begets bodily reward.

A prayerbook of around 1500, which contains Passion exercises and indulgences, includes a related heavily



FIGURE 60 Historiated initial showing Christ opening his side wound to release the torrent into the chalice on the ground before him. Made c. 1500 in the Southern Netherlands (Geel?). HEVERLEE, PARK ABBEY, MS. 18, FOL. 49V.

indulged version of Bernard's crucifixion prayer.²⁶ This one, however, distributes attention to Christ's body parts over the seven days of the week, in a structure familiar from the Colnish *Pater noster*. The prayer has both prefatory and summary rubrics, as well as rubrics interspersed throughout the prayer text to announce the new body part and day:

rub: Here begins a devout prayer that St Bernard wrote in order to describe the passion of Our Lord. They claim that once, when he was reading this prayer, it happened that the cross bent down from the cross [sic] and embraced him. From the stool of Rome [the prayer] was endowed with splendid indulgences for anyone who reads it devoutly: 2000 years, 78 and 71 days in total. *inc:* Hail my salvation, O dear Lord Jesus! Hail and let me take the pleasure to show my devotion to your cross...

BKB, Ms. 4944–47, fol. 71r

This prayer continues by directing the reader to begin on Sunday with a prayer to the feet of Jesus, on Monday to his knees, on Tuesday to his side, on Wednesday to his breast, on Thursday to his heart, on Friday to his hands, and on Saturday finally to his face. In other words, the prayer works up the body, from the feet of Christ (as in the prophecy of Isaiah) to a face-to-face conversation

25 The prayer is Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, G 1. For Dutch editions, see D.A. Stracke, 'Over het: Ave mundi salutare, in het Diets', *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 24 (1950): 409–419; Indesteghe 1961, 70–76. for the Latin edition, see D.A. Strack, 'Arnulf van Leuven, O. cist. Versus gelukz. Hermann Jozef, O. Praem', *ibid*: 27–50, 133–161.

26 In the seventeenth century, the manuscript belonged to the Carmelites (a men's house) in Mechelen, but its previous ownership is unknown.

with the Lord. The final rubric in the prayer group tells the reader to 'pray the aforementioned prayers to a crucifix'. The user would be familiar with the prayer, and would know from the beginning to perform the ritual with the aid of the crucifix.

While the provenance of BKB, Ms. 4944–47 is unknown, another manuscript containing Pseudo-Bernard's prayer with the same seven-day division (this time with an indulgence of 3300 years and 60 days) was copied around 1475–1500 for the Sisters of the Common life at the Hendrik Adamanshuis in Zutphen (AUB, Ms. I G 27, fols 23r–30v). Whereas the version in BKB, Ms. 4944–47 describes the posture of the sculpture, that bends down to embrace the votary, this version just prescribes the posture of the votary: 'I prostrate myself before your feet trembling with fear in memory of your worthy wounds' (AUB, Ms. I G 27, fol. 23r). If the Colnish *Pater noster* was a prayer that circulated with a greedy reception in convents of women tertiaries, then St Bernard's prayer to Christ's body parts found its favoured audience among women connected to the Windesheim Congregation (largely in the eastern part of the Northern Netherlands), for the most part, Sisters of the Common Life and Augustinian Canonesses.

A slight variant of this prayer appears in the Venray manuscript already cited, in which the votary is to concentrate on one body part each day for a week (AUB, Ms. I G 35, fols 1r–11v).²⁷ The beginning of the prayer has not survived, so readers go *in medias res* with a prayer to Christ's knees; the rubric for that prayer is on a page headed by a large red letter *M* in the upper margin, which stands for *Maendag* (Monday). The next segment, 'to the limbs of Jesus' (*tot alle den leden ons heren*), bears the red letter *D* (*Dinsdag*, Tuesday; fig. 61). Such guide letters continue through the prayer cycle, with *W* (*Woensdag*, Wednesday) reserved for devotions to Christ's breast, *D* (*Donderdag*, Thursday) for his heart; *U* (*Vridag*, Friday) for his hands, and finally *S* (*Saterdag*, Saturday) for his face. It is most likely that the missing first section of the prayer bore an *S* for *Sonnendag* and asked the votary to contemplate Christ's feet. She can therefore pore over Christ's body slowly in a weeklong conversation with his flesh.

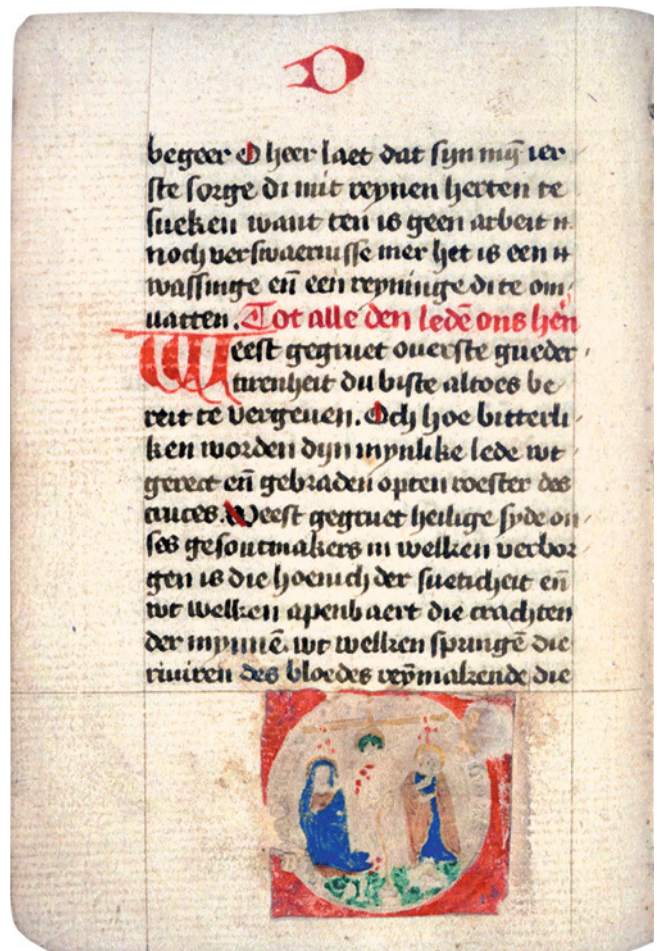


FIGURE 61 Folio in a prayer book with prayers to the body parts of Christ, to be read on Tuesday, with an embossed paper Crucifixion pasted at the bottom of the page. Made c. 1500 in Venray.

AMSTERDAM, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, MS. I G 35, FOL. 3V.

Someone, possibly the original owner, has pasted a small image in the lower border of this folio. The image has been made with embossed paper, as if pressed in a mould. Someone has retraced the image—which represents Christ crucified between Mary and John—with bold tempera paint, to make it more visible. This image, which has probably mistakenly been called a paper pilgrim's badge, is possibly a souvenir from having taken the Eucharist, which most believers usually only did annually. Perhaps the image was produced by pressing dampened paper into a Eucharist wafer mould. The act of pasting it here suggests that the user had strongly corporal Eucharistic associations with the prayer. This prayer further makes the transubstantiation material, this time turning the extended meditation on the limbs of Christ into a paper wafer. As with the Mass of St Gregory, the rubric, popular practice, and theology all come together in a creative way determined by the votary.

27 The sisters at Venray got their start between 1422 and 1427, when Jan van Heinsberg, Bishop of Luik, gave a group of women permission 'to live together like the apostles, without possessions, in sobriety and in obedience' (*in een vergadering zonder eigendom, in een rein leven en in gehoorzaamheid als de Apostelen te leven*). In 1465 they appealed to the bishop again to ask to live in enclosure. This he granted them, and they joined the Windesheim Congregation, following the Rule of St Augustine. See Schoengen and Boeren 1942, vol. II, pp. 197–198.

Conclusions

Keen attention to Christ's suffering marked the verbal and visual culture of Netherlandish devotion in the decades before the Reformation. This attention took many forms, including a marshalling of faux-exactitude regarding the extent of his suffering. The period witnesses a thrust towards the counted and the measured: Christ's wounds and suffering were tallied up so that votaries could rehearse the enormity of the crimes against him. At the same time, the concomitant prayer culture witnessed an increasingly counted and countable prayer system, intimately connected with indulgences. This form of devotion has a number of implications. One relates to verifiability and exactitude. A side wound bearing the exact measurement of the 'original' implies careful reproduction from exemplar to copy, although it is clear that exactitude in these dimensions was no more serviceable than exactitude in measuring indulgences. Images of the wound are not uncommon, yet they do not belong to a single tradition; therefore, the images of Christ's side wound appear sporadically in different contexts, rarely accompanying the same prayer. Another implication has to do with the ever changing relationship with the soul and its afterlife. Late medieval votaries desired to participate in penitence, one of the sacraments (along with baptism, confirmation, marriage, and so on). Toussaert calls this wish to be cleansed the Cult of the State of Grace.²⁸

Late medieval votaries organized several different devotions to the Passion around the Five Wounds of Christ. They found theatrical ways in which to interact with Jesus, specifically his wounds and fragmented body treated one limb at a time. It is through the portal of his wounds that much information about Christ's humanity and suffering, highly desired by the late medieval believers, came into the world: through revelation. Bridget and other mystics who conversed with Christ often asked him about the degree of his pain. Some of the stories most often rehearsed in vernacular rubrics have to do with the humanity of Christ's seemingly dead body. These include the apocryphal legend in which St Bridget's only question to Christ when he appeared, resurrected, to her regarded the number of wounds he had suffered.²⁹

Many of the fifteenth-century prayer texts ultimately derive from just a few Passion tracts (such as Ludolphus the Carthusian's *Vita Jesu Christi*).³⁰ These passion tracts, although preserved in many copies, were often not read in their entirety. Rather, writers would cut pieces from them and paste these pieces into new forms, much shorter than the original. Prayers present carefully curated selections from these tracts, or selections from psalms or other Biblical texts. The textual project of devotion was one of selecting, shortening, and distilling. One could also see the attitude towards images doing the same: abbreviating the body of Christ down to his moments of greatest pain, abbreviating his body to the parts that hurt the most. Passion tracts gave writers wine, and they distilled and fortified it into grappa.

The various orders practised devotions that reinforced their nuanced belief systems. Franciscans expressed a particular devotion to the Wounds, in the wake of Francis himself displaying the stigmata. The popular devotion known as the Colnish *Pater noster* especially circulated among houses of Franciscan tertiaries. In this devotion, the wounds become mouthpieces or conduits for the reader's grave contrition directly sent to Jesus' heart through his blood. It is likely that this devotion was regularly performed with the aid of an image and that sub-rubrics for the prayer later crystallized these instructions for a practice that had already existed.

St Bernard had performed the ultimate devotion in front of a sculpture, for which the origin myth of the prayer became embedded in its late medieval rubrics. This myth-and-rubric narrates how St Bernard animated a sculpture of Christ crucified through the force of his prayers. The sculpture then loosened itself from the cross and embraced him. The tacit promise of the rubric is that by following in St Bernard's footsteps, the votary could also enjoy this miraculous experience. Prayers to the Face of Christ had a separate tradition from those to his limbs; prints of his face made in blood on Veronica's towel were related to a tradition of indexical signs of Christ's suffering. Devotion to the suffering Christ found a new form in prayers surrounding the Mass of St Gregory, which was built around the most enormous indulgences.

²⁸ Toussaert 1963, p. 105.

²⁹ Although Christ does appear to Bridget several times according to her *Revelations*, he does not actually tell her the number of wounds he suffered. I take up this point below.

³⁰ For the full Latin text with English critical apparatus, see Ludolf the Carthusian 2006.

The Mass of St Gregory, the Man of Sorrows, and Prayers for the *Arma Christi*

The Life of St Gregory the Great (c. 540–604), recorded by Paul the Deacon around 880 and subsequently transcribed in the *Golden Legend* that was assembled by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine (1230–1298), describes a miraculous event that took place during a mass that Gregory was performing. According to the version retold by Jacobus de Voragine:

A certain woman used to bring altar breads to Gregory every Sunday morning, and one Sunday, when the time came for receiving communion and he held out the Body of the Lord to her, saying: 'May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ benefit you unto life everlasting,' she laughed as if at a joke. He immediately drew back his hand from her mouth and laid the consecrated Host on the altar, and then, before the whole assembly, asked her why she had dared to laugh. Her answer: 'Because you called this bread, which I made with my own hands, the Body of the Lord'. Then Gregory, faced with the woman's lack of belief, prostrated himself in prayer, and when he rose, he found the particle of bread changed into flesh in the shape of a finger. Seeing this, the woman recovered her faith. Then he prayed again, saw the flesh return to the form of bread, and gave communion to the woman.¹

That, however, is not what appears in the hundreds of surviving images that depict the Mass of St Gregory, a modern term to describe a constellation of images that medieval people called the Vision of St Gregory. In nearly all the images, the story is about Gregory and his visionary experience at the altar, often with witnesses, but the woman from the original story is almost never present.² Even more strikingly, the finger from the story had expanded into an entire body. A single disembodied digit pointing at the fleshiness of the host had become in nearly every

Gregorian Mass a full man. In fact, the representations of the Mass of St Gregory cannot really be said to depict Voragine's textual narrative at all.

Hundreds, or even thousands, of images of the Mass of St Gregory survive from the fifteenth century. These narrative images drew upon—but severely altered—the story as told by Paul the Deacon and Jacobus de Voragine. They share some properties but differ significantly in what they depict and how they depict it. They all contain Gregory, an altar, and a suffering Christ, but otherwise vary widely. In this chapter I discuss selected examples from this constellation of images in the light of the rubric, prayer, and indulgence with which they became closely associated. The rubric appeared in at least as many versions as the image and was in fact intertwined with it. The construction, appeal, and promulgation of the 'Mass of St Gregory' was bound up with a mosaic cult image, which became a tool that Carthusians in Rome leveraged in order to attract attention and pilgrims. Among the unexpected consequences of the Carthusians' public relations campaign was a pan-European mania for the indulgences associated with the story they initially promulgated. According to my analysis, images of the Mass of St Gregory respond to and are in dialogue with the rubrics. Indulgences, rubrics, and images mutually feed each other, growing richer and more elaborate over the half-century before the Reformation.

From Man of Sorrows to Gregorian Mass

At the centre of this media event was a Byzantine miniature mosaic depicting the suffering Christ, but which became a tourist attraction in the Basilica di Sta Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome.³ This mosaic depicts the torso of the post-Passion Christ. Gregory, who was the pope in the final fourteen years of his life, was said to have commissioned—or somehow engendered—the mosaic, a Byzantine icon of an existing type called *Akra Tapeinosis* (Utmost Humiliation), known in the West as Man of Sorrows (fig. 62). Measuring only 13 × 19 cm, the central icon contains several thousand stone tiles, each one smaller than a square millimetre. Even up close, the myriad tiles combine to form an overall painterly effect (fig. 63).

1 Voragine trans. and ed. Ryan 1993, vol. 1, pp. 179–180.

2 Virginia Reinburg argues that the female donor kneeling at a prie-dieu at the Mass of St Gregory in Boston Public Library Ms. q. med. 81, fol. 143r represents or stands in for the doubting woman. I do not think this is the case, first because there was no tradition of depicting the doubter at the Mass of St Gregory, and second because donors would want to present themselves as believers not doubters. The figure wears fifteenth-century garb. Reinburg 2012, p. 119.

3 Bertelli 1967; Evans 2004, cat. 131, pp. 221–222, with further bibliography; Bagnoli 2010, cat. 116, p. 202.

What is unusual about this particular icon is that there are no miracles associated with it. Rather than engendering miracles itself, this icon developed a story based on Gregory's miracle, that it concretized his miraculous vision. In

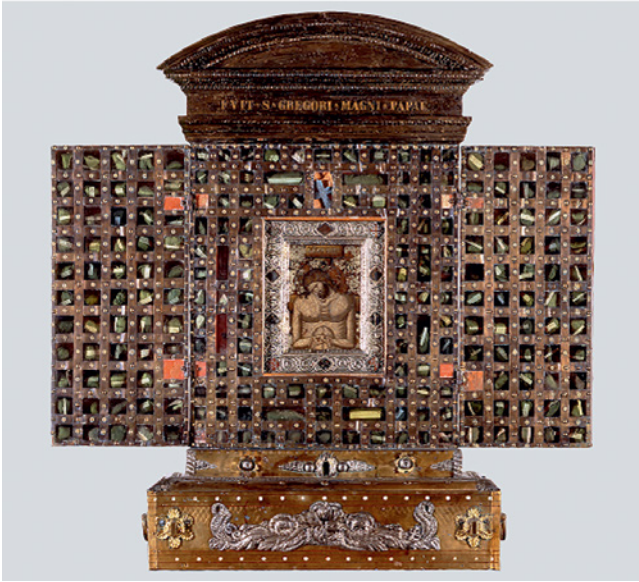


FIGURE 62 *Mosaic icon with the Akra Tapeinosis (Utmost Humiliation), or Man of Sorrows, in a series of frames. Mosaic icon, Byzantine, late 13th–early 14th century. BASILICA DI STA CROCE IN GERUSALEMME, ROME.*



FIGURE 63 *Detail of the Mosaic icon from fig. 62.*

other words, it wore miraculous stories by proxy. But one can see how the medieval audience would have nevertheless considered the image miraculous, as the technique required the mosaicist to lay thousands of infinitesimal coloured tiles into a substrate. The resulting image depicts the saviour teetering between life and death, nearly alive but literally made of stone. Hans Belting pointed out that the image's immediacy explains how viewers could have considered it a preservation, or a trace, of the vision, and not an object of artistic construction.⁴ What better way to represent a miraculous event than with a technique so painstaking that it seemed inconceivable that human hands had made it?

In a brilliant piece of research, Carlo Bertelli told the story of the central icon. Its genesis and transformation are revelatory. An inscription added to the frame indicates that the miniature mosaic records Gregory's vision (in the sixth century); however, the mosaic was not made until around 1300, probably at the monastery of St Catherine in Sinai. A military leader named Raimondello Orsini del Balzo, the count of Lecce, probably took the mosaic icon from St Catherine's and brought it to Rome in 1380, after which he placed it in a silver frame bearing his coat of arms and presented it to the Basilica di Sta Croce in 1385 or 1386. Its shrine—in which it is currently preserved—with hundreds of tiny cubicles was made at this time. Each cubicle houses a relic with an *authentique* (a small medieval label written on parchment). This physical reframing accompanied a conceptual reframing, as the frame made the icon grow physically in stature. The army of saints, their disembodied fragments lined up in rank and file, fortified the image's power.

Sta Croce in Gerusalemme, where the micro-mosaic was housed, was a Carthusian establishment. It was built upon relics from Christ's Passion, a piece of the True Cross, a nail from the Cross, several thorns from the crown, and, most importantly, actual dirt from the Holy Land that was bathed in Christ's blood. This substance, which was both earth and relic, lay under the floor slabs. Technically, at least, the church stood on hallowed ground.⁵ The Carthusians played up all of these stories to maximize the draw to the items in their collection. Using their relics to drive their public relations—which was of course what all churches with relics endeavoured to do—continued in the fifteenth century. Their status received a boost in 1492, when the Carthusians announced the discovery a piece of the INRI titulus in a vault embedded in one of the church

⁴ Belting 1981, p. 18.

⁵ Donkin 2016 (forthcoming). I thank Dr Donkin for sharing this essay with me before its publication.

walls.⁶ Their promotion of this object should be seen in the context of one and a half centuries of similar exploitations, most notably of their mosaic icon, which was their biggest success. A plausible explanation for the image's redeployment goes like this: Carthusians wanted to promote the image in their possession, but their problem was that their image had no miracle associated with it. Their solution was to build a good story around it that would attract pilgrims to it regardless. To do this, they seem to have drawn upon the story of Paul the Deacon but then changed the details in order to harness the story to explain the mosaic and to embed it in the *vita* of a powerful saint, pope, and authority figure. They may have also drawn upon a pre-existing visual tradition, one showing a revelation of St Bridget, as part of the strategy to reframe it.⁷ In sum, they built a new shrine around the icon and embellished stories about it. Physically aggrandizing it (with new framing) and conceptually reframing it (with a new story) went hand in hand. By framing it as the image that St Gregory miraculously saw when he was performing mass, they were able nonetheless to frame the image around a miracle, even though the image itself was not performing the miracle.

This freshly constructed shrine presented an entirely spurious origin myth, summarized by a text at the top of the shrine, which declares 'Fuit S. Gregori Magni Papae' (It was [the vision] of Pope Gregory the Great). Late medieval votaries took the words at face value and believed the image to document Pope Gregory's vision. In other words, they mistook the micro-mosaic made in Byzantium around 1300 for a work made in the sixth century, possibly by miracle, in Rome. Dating the icon eight centuries too early helped to elevate its status, and the image was soon venerated and copied. Its strangeness as a foreign work of art made with a highly laborious craft technique was translated into its having 'miraculous' status. The mythology constructed around the image put St Gregory at the centre of the narrative, although this connection did not occur until centuries after the saint had disappeared bodily from earth. Therefore the myth was based on a deliberate prevarication. This was the latest in a series of strategies that the Carthusians deployed to garner more attention to their various cult objects.

It was only around 1400 that images depicting the Mass of St Gregory began to appear, images that depict the pope performing mass before an apparition of Christ as Man of Sorrows, with the *arma Christi* hovering nearby. At about

the same time, the Carthusians seem to have reconfigured their micro-mosaic in order to reframe it with a new narrative, one around Gregory the Great. Thus, the micro-mosaic was at the centre of the propaganda campaign promoting the miraculous Vision of St Gregory. The icon quickly adopted new frames, new identities, new functions, and therefore a new mythology. It was able to do so because of its ability to navigate between the symbolic and ritual function of Christ within the Church—his historical body and the host wafer that continually renewed him—and the supplicant's desire to bridge the two.

Set in an aggrandizing cascade of frames, this mosaic had an enormous physical presence. It was copied and re-copied until its copies and descendants bore scant resemblance to the original and took on a bevy of new functions in the process, beyond the intentions of the Carthusians. The Man of Sorrows was embedded into a new narrative image—the Mass of St Gregory—that helped to concretize the story of Gregory's miraculous vision. These images had a special status for several reasons. First, they contained an image within an image and show the origin myth of an icon that parties in Rome were trying to promote. As the woman disappeared from the story, St Gregory himself replaced her, and in so doing reshaped the narrative.⁸ Thus, first to be expunged from the story was the anonymous female character; the reframed story put the pope and the mosaic in the limelight. Whereas before, the miraculous vision quashed a woman's doubt, now the vision rewarded a man's faith. A famous man replaced an anonymous woman, and the story became part of his celebrity myth. With these adjustments, the visual narrative reified the authority of the Church that administered the sacrament, and to whose officiant the original miracle happened.

Second, images of the Mass of St Gregory reinforced Eucharistic piety. They forged a connection between the body, the bread, and the altar. Viewers, who were immersed in ecclesiastical culture, would have understood that the moment depicted was when Gregory, like every priest at mass, was repeating the words that would turn the bread into the *corpus Christi*. Images of the Mass of St Gregory were, in part, about the ways that icons and the narratives around them mediated between the material but abstract form of the bread and the figural but

6 An interesting discussion of the INRI titulus appears in Nagel 2013, pp. 19–22.

7 See below.

8 Only one image depicting St Gregory and the doubting matron is known to have survived, a manuscript illumination of the twelfth century at the Abbey at Wiengarten. As Michael Heinlen convincingly argues, this image was made in response to a gift that the abbey had received in 1094 from Judith of Flanders—some of Christ's blood; Heinlen 1998.

immaterial form of Christ's historical body. By making the host narrative vivid and immediate, and inserting it into the viewer's own sense of historical continuity, the Mass of St Gregory played into a waxing reverence for the Eucharist; the image affirmed both the doctrine of transubstantiation (which, by the fifteenth century was no longer contested) and the importance of the Church's monopoly on its administration while providing a model for venerating the Eucharist.

To forge a new mythology, the icon's keepers drew upon an existing structure of narrative images that depicted a visionary's miracle. Until now, no one has connected the rise of the Gregorian narrative with representations of St Bridget, which may have provided some of the ready-made visual models, just as Paul the Deacon's story provided a ready-made textual model. For example, a manuscript made in Naples in the 1390s contains a full-page miniature depicting St Bridget of Sweden having a vision (fig. 64).

At the lower right the saint sits at her writing desk, while her vision unfolds against a radiant gold background before her. She mediates between the vision she experiences

(depicted in the upper registers) and the book (in her lap) that records and transmits the experience. The blue, heavenly register above contains ranks of angels and is represented as the source of the fire, and therefore of the vision. In the lower register the impetus for her vision also appears: it is a priest performing mass. At the moment that he raises the host (a disk of bread nearly the size of his head) a fire from heaven descends upon the altar and the bread turns into the Christ Child. The visual argument in the illumination emphasizes the equivalence between the host and the body of Christ in human form. The officiating priest, however, is not St Gregory: he is tonsured but does not display any of the attributes of a bishop or pope. With a few subtle shifts, this is the part of the image—the altarside drama—that was lifted and repurposed for the newly forged Mass of St Gregory, with the priest simply given the attributes of the famous pope.

Carthusians also drew on existing images of Christ as Man of Sorrows surrounded by the instruments of the Passion, a subject that had existed before it was co-opted into the larger narrative of the Mass of St Gregory. For example, Lorenzo Monaco produced a panel in 1404



FIGURE 64 Opening in a Birgittine breviary with a full-page miniature depicting St Bridget of Sweden having a vision, across from the incipit of the 'devout office which beata Brigida read with devotion every day'. Made c. 1390–1400 in Naples.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 76 F 29, FOL. 2V–3R.

combining these elements, together with Mary and John who prop up and fondle Jesus's living-dead body.⁹ In fact, the *arma Christi* had been represented since at least the ninth century and appear for example in the Utrecht Psalter.¹⁰ It is possible that the Carthusians co-opted this motif into the Mass of St Gregory in order to underscore their own collection of Passion relics, especially the Holy Cross to which their church was dedicated. Bringing in the *arma Christi* also had the added benefit of associating their new narrative image with indulgences, since images of the *arma Christi* themselves had enjoyed an indulgence throughout the fourteenth century.

Those who were forging a new iconography for the Mass of St Gregory modified existing models of depicting visions, but changed the characters. Both the Birgittine illumination and many fifteenth-century images of the Mass of St Gregory emphasize the visionary quality of the experience. They suggest that what we are seeing is the visionary experience of the characters. One can easily see how the ways in which artists portrayed St Bridget's visionary experience at the moment of the Elevation were reappropriated for a new situation, that of St Gregory. Images of the Mass of St Gregory were produced from around 1400, that is, shortly after the Birgittine manuscript was made in Naples.

In sum, the Carthusians took several ideas that were in circulation and combined them in order to market their image. Specifically, they drew upon not only images of visionary experiences such as St Bridget's, but also existing images of the *arma Christi* along with their attendant indulgences, and the textual story recounted by Paul the Deacon and Voragine. They adjusted these sources as needed, and then combined them so that they all converged on their micro-mosaic. It was one of the most remarkable pieces of marketing in Christendom. The new image, the 'Mass of St Gregory', was so successful that it became one of the most frequently represented images in the fifteenth century. It was copied in every medium imaginable, in any skill level available, and in innumerable permutations.

The Carthusians seem to have succeeded in promoting the icon because they capitalized on three phenomena: first, pilgrimage to Rome, and with it pilgrims' desires to see the most significant relics and objects and to hear the most famous stories about those relics while in their presence, so that sacred objects and places would bridge historical time with their own lived moment. Second,

a vigorous interest in Eucharistic piety, which had recently been promoted across Christendom through Corpus Christi processions, a desire to see the Eucharist in monstrances and in micro-architectural structures designed to house it, and a strong rise in Eucharistic miracles. And third, the public's cupidity for indulgences. When pilgrims physically visited the image, the Carthusians benefited materially. When anyone retold or depicted the story of St Gregory, the icon grew in fame. Others benefited as well, often far outside the Carthusians' circle. Indeed, the Carthusians had little control over the reception and distribution of copies of the image, and other parties had different motivations for promulgating it.

Although the miniature mosaic was not the first image of the Man of Sorrows in the West—the motif had developed in the twelfth century in Byzantium and had spread to the West even then—the image on display in Sta Croce gained myriad followers. As I discuss later, the framing narrative of the Mass of St Gregory also involved an accompanying prayer, the Verses of St Gregory, which carried an enormous indulgence. Because of the indulgence that became attached to the mosaic, it magnetized Roman pilgrims and became a standard stop along their route.¹¹ This state of affairs was naturally welcome to the keepers of the image, who benefited from the pilgrims and their alms. Pilgrims must have consumed souvenirs of the famous icon. Consequently, the image of Christ as Man of Sorrows was produced in many copies, which, to varying degrees, refer to the prototype. These include a plethora produced by mechanical means; printing was rising just as the image was gaining popularity. For example, Israel van Meckenem, who capitalized on trends as aggressively as did the Carthusians, produced several engravings depicting Christ as Man of Sorrows (fig. 65). One carries a text at the bottom: 'Fuit S. Gregori Magni Papae', which is taken directly from the inscription on the icon's frame.

Such a print must have had special resonance to those who had had first-hand experience of the cult image in Rome, or even to those who had heard about it second-hand. Israel van Meckenem further memorialized the mosaic associated with St Gregory by providing a line of fake Greek at the top of the image. In this, the engraver is 'copying' the letters above the cross in the mosaic from Sta Croce, although those he provides appear to be nonsense letters, meant to evoke a Greek inscription rather than to reproduce one. To the original audience, the Greek letters (even if fake) would have confirmed that the image came from a different time and place and was bathed in mystery.

9 The painting, which dates from 1404, is in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence. For images, see Wikimedia Commons.

10 Utrecht, UB 32, fol. 12r.

11 For the earliest images of Christ as Man of Sorrows in Western Europe, see Belting 1980–1981.

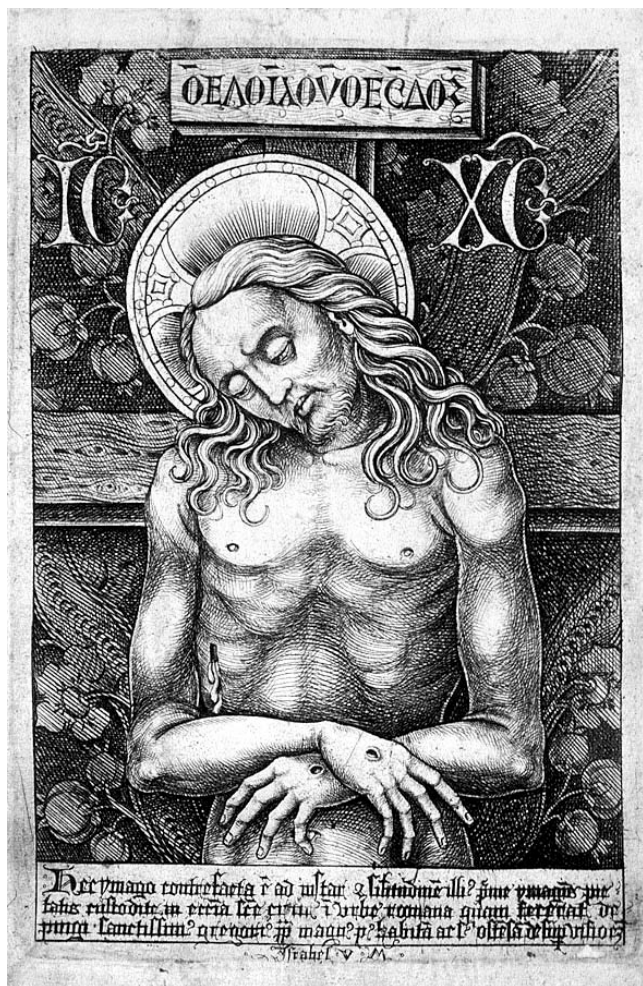


FIGURE 65 Israel van Meckenem, Gregorian Man of Sorrows, c. 1495, copper engraving, 16.6 × 11 cm; Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. B 135.

Meckenem's print was further copied and disseminated by an anonymous copyist shortly after 1500 (fig. 66).

Although the engraver emphasizes the wood grain of the cross—possibly a reference to Sta Croce, where the cult image was housed—he has omitted the inscription 'Fuit S. Gregori Magni Papae', and has thereby severed one of the links between this print and the image in Rome that it represents. He has, however, attempted to reproduce the Greek letters at the top, which gives the image a mysterious and foreign feel. While prints spread the images, in manuscripts they had a special place precisely because they could be combined with rubrics that elaborated on their use. This was true whether the image inserted was painted or printed.

This multiplicity of images relates to another source of confusion: sometimes the church in which the Gregorian Mass took place is cited as Sta Croce in Gerusalemme; sometimes it is a different Roman church, such as S. Gregorio in Monte Celio, St Peter's, or even

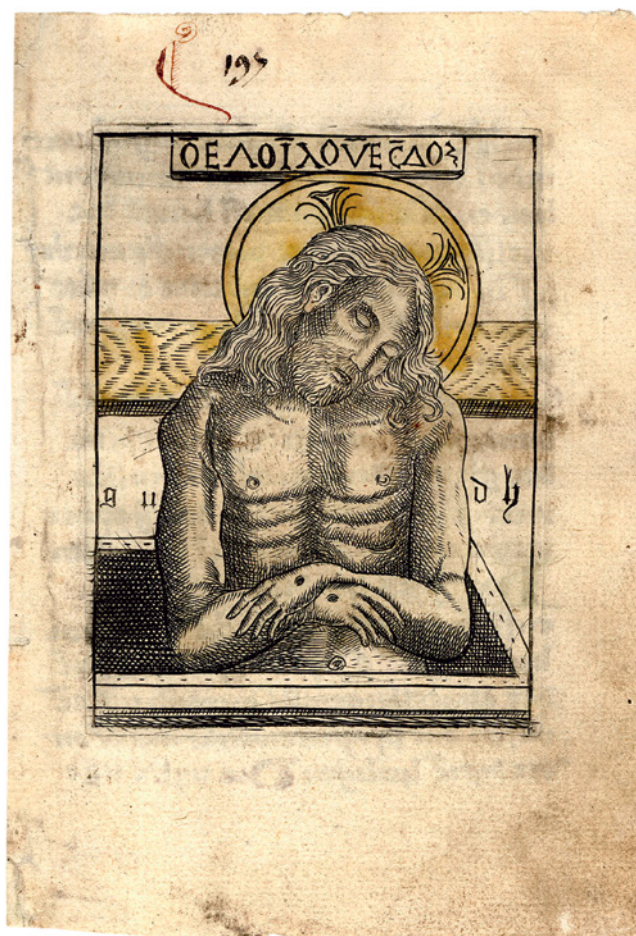


FIGURE 66 After Israel van Meckenem, Gregorian Man of Sorrows, c. 1510–20, hand-coloured engraving on paper, formerly used as a page in a prayerbook.

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, INV. 1868, 1114.79.

the Pantheon. Suddenly Gregory's miracle was not occurring in a single Roman church, but in all churches in Roman Christendom. Through a process that Hans Belting names 'Kultpropaganda', the multiplication of the image and its popularity were closely dependent on the promise of indulgence, through which the image spread and became known, a situation that the Carthusian order promulgated because they possessed the mosaic icon.¹² Rubrics instrumentalized the image, in that they closely associated the image with the indulgence, and the Kultpropaganda depended on the image being able to be used, rather than just depicting important people and events. The proliferated images suggested that every church is a Gregorian church, filled with this miracle administered by the Church hierarchy.

The mosaic changed from a singular miniature icon in Rome to thousands of copies throughout Western

12 Belting 1981, p. 66.

Europe, from a devotional image depicting Christ suffering to a narrative describing Pope Gregory the Great's vision of the image depicting Christ suffering. Along the prayer's trajectory, it flung out new devotional images as if by centrifugal force. They appeared in greater varieties and permutations in proportion to their distance from the Roman original. Not one of the copies preserved a reference to the icon's medium, and all concentrated only on the central image in the middle of the nested frames, and then reframed it, adding a new context. It was as if the frame around the image were seen with an ever-wider lens, so that the viewer moved from close intimacy with a tiny micro-mosaic to being present bodily in a chapelful of witnesses to Gregory's vision. In Ringbom's famous formulation, the image was transmuted from an icon into a narrative.¹³ For the most part this meant that the iconic image was given a more populous historical framework; for example, a fourteenth-century audience might have been satisfied with a painted image depicting Christ on the Cross, but in the fifteenth century preferred an image of Calvary, bustling with hundreds of figures. A similar set of forces was at work with the icon of Christ as Man of Sorrows, but the historical narrative into which it was set was not from the time of Christ but from that of St Gregory. If there is a progression—a history—of these images, they move towards being more narrativized, more populated, and more explicit about the indulgences to which they are tied.

Over the course of the late Middle Ages, the changes in the image of the Mass of St Gregory played no small role in the myth-making around his Legend. As noted earlier, it was around 1400 that the earliest images of the Mass of St Gregory were made, possibly in preparation for receiving pilgrims coming to Rome for the Jubilee. The Mass narratives helped to broadcast the idea that the mosaic 'replicates' Gregory's vision of the wounded Jesus standing on the altar in place of the Eucharistic species. In the second half of the fifteenth century, varieties of the image multiplied, so that at the end of the century there were more varieties in circulation than in the middle. Of those varieties some are small and minimal, while others are large and filled with dozens or even hundreds of characters. They depict a vision taking place at an altar and might also depict witnesses, the *arma Christi*, the heads of the characters from the Passion, the liturgical objects for performing mass, souls in Purgatory being released by Christ's blood, bishops, cardinals, and popes, other onlookers, a patron, an indulgence plaque or another notice of an indulgence, or a barking dog.

Rubrics played a key role in proliferating the image: rubrics promoted a prayer in tandem with the image, such that they grew together. While the Mass of St Gregory is well known as an image, this twin genealogy is not. Because in the north the image was associated with prayers, rather than a particular site, its success was specifically around indulgences. That is, multiplication of the image paralleled multiplication of the rubric-cum-prayer *Adoro te in cruce pendentem*. Rubrics indicate that votaries were to read this prayer while looking at an image of Gregory's famous mass. Painters in Northern Europe were not promoting the image for the same reason as the Carthusians in Rome. The northerners promoted it because the image promised indulgences and everlasting life. Unlike the Carthusians in Rome, they had no interest in promoting a site of pilgrimage. Rather, they had an interest in selling paintings (or in some cases, sculptures). Representations of the Mass of St Gregory made in Northern Europe often feature images of ecclesiastical officials, who buttress claims of rubrics that praying in front of such images would provide indulgences. Popes and bishops, who ratified those indulgences, are increasingly represented in order to incorporate the church hierarchy into the image.

In the next section, I consider the prayer *Adoro te in cruce pendentem* and the rubric that accompanied it, in its many variations. Representations of the Mass of St Gregory reflect passages in the prayers and their accompanying rubrics. Prayers and images moved each other—not in a simple, single track of influence but a complex hopscotch—that led to their intimate intertwining. Image, rubric, indulgence, and prayer together formed a bundle that penetrated the burgeoning vernacular prayer culture of the Netherlands. When it did so, it largely left the Carthusians' interests behind, as they were of little value or interest to the Dutch-speaking public, who desired remission from Purgatory and a glimpse of the miraculous altar, but had little tangible connection to the micro-mosaic. After considering the prayer and its rubric, I shall return to read the images of the Mass of St Gregory, made in the second half of the fifteenth century in and around the Netherlands, in the light of the prayers with which they were bound. In sum, the images took the shape of the prayers, from which they were in fact inseparable, rather than conforming to their origin story.

Adoro te in Multiple Lengths

Forming the kernel that appears in hundreds of Middle Dutch prayerbooks, the story of the Mass of St Gregory is retold in rubrics prefacing a prayer known as the Verses

13 Ringbom 1984.

of St Gregory; this prayer in Latin begins *Adoro te in cruce pendentem*. As Sanne de Vries has shown, in Netherlandish prayerbooks these rubrics became fuller and more detailed over the course of the fifteenth century. The size of the indulgence attached to the prayer became larger.¹⁴ Rubrics that accompany this prayer not only broadcast this indulgence, but also reiterated an origin myth of the prayer and promoted its recitation in conditions that recall Gregory's experience. However, instead of generating a miraculous vision him- or herself, which is difficult to achieve, the reader is to perform the prayer while looking upon either the crystallized image that Gregory saw (Christ as Man of Sorrows) or upon a narrative showing Gregory having his vision. In the course of the fifteenth century the image of the Mass of St Gregory, the rubric prefacing the *Adoro te*, and the *Adoro te* itself all attracted accretions. In this section, I consider the accretions to the prayer and its rubric that were driven by a social mania for the prayer and the indulgences it offered.

Gregory's Verses (the *Adoro te*) appear in manuscript prayerbooks, in Latin and in the vernacular, for lay and religious alike. That the prayer underwent many transformations throughout the fifteenth century indexes the degree of attention it received from medieval audiences, hungry for the prayer and for the indulgence it carried. While the authority of other prayers was contested, the papal testimony for this prayer remained firmly embedded in its textual reception, which nearly always accompanied an extensive rubric that chronicles the prayer's provenance, rooted in Gregory's vision and validated by subsequent popes. The prayer was directly connected to papal authority because of this process of validation. A central paradox of prayerbooks in this era is that while individual rubrics claimed authority from popes (an authority implicit in images of the Mass of St Gregory), production of prayerbooks themselves was not under the control of ecclesiastical authorities: any scribe could copy any version of any prayer, and there was no ecclesiastical procedure to censure it.

This prayer also had the flexibility, because of its always being accompanied by a rubric, to pick up authorial adaptations along the way. In other words, an important function of this prayer's success was perhaps its adaptability. Several were said to have added verses to the prayer and, with these textual additions, left their own marks of authorship and authority. Because of these continual additions, the prayer grew, and consequently the rubric also grew to explain the accretions. Whereas the earliest versions of the prayer of St Gregory consist of five verses,

more were added until seven, or nine, ten, or even eleven verses existed. Given the nature of medieval copying from an exemplar, this situation ensured that by the mid-sixteenth century, all the various versions were being produced simultaneously, with a corresponding panoply of rubrics to explain and verify them.

Five Verses

In its multifarious manifestations, the prayer consists of a fixed number of *Pater noster*s framed by a corresponding number of brief prayers, or verses. Throughout the prayer's emendations, the first verse remained *O, domine Jesu Christe, adoro te in crucem pendentem* (O, here Jesu Christe, ic aenbede u hanghende aenden cruyce; O, Lord Jesus Christ, I appeal to you, hanging on the cross).¹⁵ The version with five verses consists of the following:¹⁶

- a. O, Lord Jesus Christ, I appeal to you hanging on the cross and wearing a crown of thorns upon your head, and I bid you that your cross will protect me before the angel of wrath. Amen. *Pater noster*.
- b. O, Lord Jesus Christ, I appeal to you, wounded on the cross, given gall with vinegar. I pray that your wounds will be a salve to my soul. Amen. *Pater noster*.
- c. O, Lord Jesus Christ, I appeal to you lying in the grave, embalmed with expensive salve. I pray that your death may be my life. Amen. *Pater noster*.
- d. O, Lord Jesus Christ, good shepherd, protect the just, bring the sinner to righteousness, be merciful to all believers, and have clemency for me, a sinner. Amen. *Pater noster*.
- e. O, Lord Jesus Christ, I bid you by the bitterness of your suffering that you suffered on the cross, and most of all when your gentle soul separated from your body, be merciful on my soul when it departs. (BKB, Ms. 11059, fols 18r–19r)

Together, the Five Verses cut straight to Christ's martyrdom to evoke an image of Christ on the Cross. Having

¹⁵ Meertens 1930–1934, vol. 11, pp. 85–95 describes the three different versions; Axters 1946b, writing in the following decade, finds several more and traces the origins of the prayer to the Book of Cerne; Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, G 4, with additional references for the various versions. There is also an alternate translation of the *Adoro te* in Dutch, seldom copied but usually attributed to Thomas Aquinas, for which see Axters 1938.

¹⁶ Meertens 1930–1934, vol. 11, pp. 85–95, locates the five-verse version, *inter alia*, in Averbode Ms. 317; BKB, Ms. 11059; BKB, Ms. 11172; BKB, Ms. 12080; BKB, Ms. 21893. Most manuscript catalogues, including the BNM, fail to distinguish among the various versions. See de Vries 2012.

this image in her imagination, the reader then begs for clemency.

St Gregory himself did not write the verses; rather, the first three verses' earliest appearance comes in an English (Mercian) prayerbook compiled in the early ninth century, *The Book of Cerne*.¹⁷ The fifth verse is similar to the third and reappears in a different context—a sequence for Good Friday in a Passion play dated 1487.¹⁸ And the fourth verse seems, according to Meertens, to be an *oratio communis*.¹⁹ As the prayer grew, so it accumulated indulgence value.

In other manuscripts, extensive rubrics create a meta-textual narrative to justify the indulgence. These rubrics, including one in a prayerbook from South Holland, heap on specificity to support their authority:

*rub: This is the indulgence for the weapons of our lord Jesus Christ. When pope St Gregory was pope and was performing mass one time, our lord Jesus Christ appeared to him under the instruments of his passion, and when he saw that, he was overcome with devotion and gave anyone, who has confessed and performed heartfelt penance, who devoutly reads these following prayers with five *Pater noster*s and five *Ave Marias* on his knees in front of the above-mentioned image of the weapons of Christ, will earn 14,000 years of real indulgence. Thereafter many other popes have also given [indulgences], so that altogether it comes to 20,014 years' and 24 days'. Some popes have also confirmed this indulgence, such as Innocent IV and Clement VII. Item, in the year of our lord 1349 Pope Nicholas V also confirmed this, in the name of Brother Christopher of Sarlinio [sic: Sardinia], friar. Brother Dominicus of Rangia [sic: Ragusa] was also present in Rome in the palace of Pope St Peter. By the power of the apostles Pope Callistus III also confirmed this above-mentioned*

*indulgence in the year of our lord 1356 in the second year after he became pope, as one will find noted in his register in that 213th folio of the second book. *Pater noster*.*

COPENHAGEN, KB, Thott 129 octavo, fols 50r–51r

Rhetorically, this rubric's insistent tone is meant to impress the reader: roomfuls of popes over hundreds of years ratified this prayer by making their mark upon it. Seen from one perspective, by adding his name to it, each pope ensures his place in history alongside Gregory the Great. Seen from another perspective, the copyists who embroidered the list of popes augmented the value of their wares. From the beginning, the prayer began to acquire hangers-on. This reflects the acquisition of witnesses in the images.

Seven Verses

While the origins of the prayer and its alleged authorship were unstable, what was constant was its association with an indulgence. In many rubrics, Gregory is given as the author of the verses, yet in others he is listed as having given the indulgence. As the prayer grew in length when verses were added to it, the indulgence one would earn by reciting the prayer also grew in magnitude.

The next stage in the elaboration of the prayer involved the addition of two more verses after the short version's third verse (1, 2, 3, A, B, 4, 5). This development destabilized the authorship. A rubric in a French manuscript copied in Latin describes the origin of the seven verses:

*rub: Our Lord Jesus Christ appeared to St Gregory in the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme while he was celebrating in the form described below. After that he gave anyone who reads five *Pater noster*s, with true penitence and devotedly genuflecting, all the indulgence available at that church, that is, 20,000 years' and 30 days' indulgence. Pope Nicholas IV composed the following five prayers and anyone who says them after the *Pater noster*s earns an additional 3000 years' indulgence. Pope Sixtus IV composed two more prayers and doubled the indulgence. Anyone who says them—or, if he cannot read but says 15 *Pater noster*s and as many *Ave Marias*—will therefore earn in total 12,000 years and 60 days.*²⁰

Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 1072, fol. 120

¹⁷ Among other texts, the *Book of Cerne* (Cambridge, University Library, L1.1.10) includes an Old English exhortation to pray, an acrostic abecedarian prayer-poem woven around Christ's body to ask for protection of the penitent's body; several loricant pleas; a Breviate Psalter, Gospel readings, and a liturgical drama about the Harrowing of Hell. For the texts, see Aethelwald ed. Kuypers 1902, p. 116, no. 19. For codicology, reception, and related manuscripts, see Brown 1996.

¹⁸ According to Meertens 1930–1934, vol. II, p. 86, the *Adoro te* drew upon the *Ordo Augustensis*, a Passion play copied into a manuscript dated 1487, but in fact the play may have drawn upon the prayer, which was in wide circulation by then. For a transcription of the Passion play, see Milchsack 1880, app. III, 126, pt 1 sub 4.

¹⁹ Meertens 1930–1934, vol. II, p. 86.

²⁰ See *ibid.*, p. 90, n. 25; Leroquais 1927–1929, vol. I, p. 50 and vol. II, pp. 25, 54; in vol. II, p. 346, he transcribes the Seven Verses of St Gregory, based on a book of hours of the Use of Rome from the end of the fifteenth century (Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 1363, fol. 122).

While both the attribution of the 'original' five verses to Nicholas IV (r. 1288–1292), and that of the two interpolated verses to Sixtus IV (r. 1471–1484) are fallacious,²¹ the putative addition of two verses justified a corresponding increase in the value of indulgence awarded; once again, however, the arithmetic is wrong ($[20,000 + 3000] \times 2 = 46,000$). The flexibility in adding and multiplying reinforces the idea of the expansion of indulgences as an end in itself, regardless of arithmetical correctness. Taking over the indulgences available at Sta Croce, and subsequently embroidering them, is therefore similar to arbitrarily adding verses. It is also, again, an accretion that the rubric is picking up along with the image—more people, more symbols—because surely nothing in history has ever demanded as much authorizing as the real presence of Jesus in the host.

Nine or More Verses

A version to which two or three prayers were appended, which thus totals nine or ten verses, first appears at the very end of the fifteenth century.²² The ennead of verses is the most common version of the prayer in Middle Dutch prayerbooks and accompanies rubrics of every length and degree of narrative.

Finally, an even longer version came into circulation around or shortly after 1500; this has ten verses and a space-filler. Few examples of this version survive, probably because their appearance coincided with the Reformation, but a somewhat corrupted example appears in a manuscript copied around 1550 by a certain Katrine from the convent of Poor Clares-Urbanisten in Leuven; the rubric proffers a generous indulgence of 185,000 years (Paris, BnF, Ms. néerl. 40, fols 95v–97r).

The later the manuscript, the more likely that its Verses of Gregory will be numerous and heavily indulgenced. As the rubric chronicled the development of the prayer, the length of the rubric itself grew. The longest rubric for this prayer, which appears in a Southern Netherlandish prayerbook dating from the second decade of the sixteenth century, narrates the entire story of how the prayer and its indulgence came into being (New York Public Library, Ms. MA 72, fols 78v–82v).²³ After the usual enumeration

of the history of the papal inflation, the rubric announces that Pope Leo X (r. 1513–1521) added an eleventh verse and granted the prayer a plenary indulgence, in addition to all the indulgences that previous popes had given it. This represents a leap from the previous versions, because the reader would earn a plenary indulgence, which is infinite, as well as countable indulgences.

Some versions of the prayer were personalized to include a collect adjusted to the reader's gender. One of these appears in a manuscript postdating 1513 that probably came from the Fraterhuis (also known as the St Gregoriushuis) in 's-Hertogenbosch (BKB, Ms. IV 410). The prayer is offered in the nine-verse version, supplemented by a collect, which is written as a final plea to Jesus to grant the speaker pardon from his sins. As the collect refers to the speaker as an unworthy sinner in the masculine form, *sundaer*, this male noun substantiates the manuscript's origin in the Fraterhuis. Likewise, the nine-verse version I mentioned earlier, from the Poor Clares-Urbanisten in Leuven, has a feminine form, *arme sondaerse*, in the analogous position (Paris, BnF, Ms. néerl. 40, fol. 97r).

A book of hours dating from 1500–20 (BKB, Ms. IV 190) has a version of the *Adoro te* adjusted for its female owner, a certain Katherine Thomaes, who appears with her confessor in a full-page miniature (fig. 67). A note on folio 1r confirms her ownership ('Dit boec behoert toe Katherinen Thomaes wonende tot Antwerpen'), and entries added to the calendar in the same hand mark the deaths of her father, mother, and brother. A miniature prefacing the prayer depicts the Mass of St Gregory taking place at the high altar of a church, attended by a monk in a choir stall and a number of acolytes, one of whom drops a burning ember into the censer. Looking down the north transept and then onto the exterior of the Antwerp street, one sees people making their way to view the miracle. In the historiated initial on the facing folio, Christ as Man of Sorrows appears again, this time from the perspective of St Gregory or one of the other witnesses standing in front of the altar (fig. 68). Its accompanying prayer is unusual: it has eight verses, a versicle, and two collects. In the seventh verse, the reader implores, 'have mercy on me, poor [female] sinner' (*arme sondersse*), emphasizing that the prayer, image, and entire book are vehicles not for the salvation of just anyone, but for that of K. Thomaes, who paid for this book specifically for her own benefit. The short rubric offers an indulgence of 92,024 years and 80 days. Clearly, the size and content of the rubric were as variable as the prayer during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The image therefore remained connected to its creation myth and accompanied a large indulgence, and both the original image and the original indulgence

21 These verses appear in the *Book of Cerne*: Brown 1996, p. 116.

22 Meertens opined that the nine-verse version only appeared at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but I believe it occurred a few years earlier. See Antwerp, PM, Ms. 47, fols 216r–218r; BKB, Ms. 12079, fols 108r–111r; Leuven, UB, Ms. D-380, fols 136r–137v (destroyed); Leuven, UB, Ms. G-7 (destroyed); BKB, Ms. 21893, fols 213r–216r (written by a later hand); Leroquais 1927–1929, vol. 1, p. 336.

23 I thank Jim Marrow for bringing this manuscript to my attention.



FIGURE 67 Opening in the Hours of Katherine Thomaes, with a full-page miniature depicting Katherine Thomaes, accompanied by her confessor and St Katherine, opposite a prayer to St Katherine. Made c. 1500–1520 in Antwerp.

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. IV 190, FOL. 96V–97R.



FIGURE 68 Opening in the Hours of Katherine Thomaes, with a full-page miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory and a historiated initial depicting Christ as Man of Sorrows. Made c. 1500–1520 in Antwerp.

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. IV 190, FOLS 88V–89R.

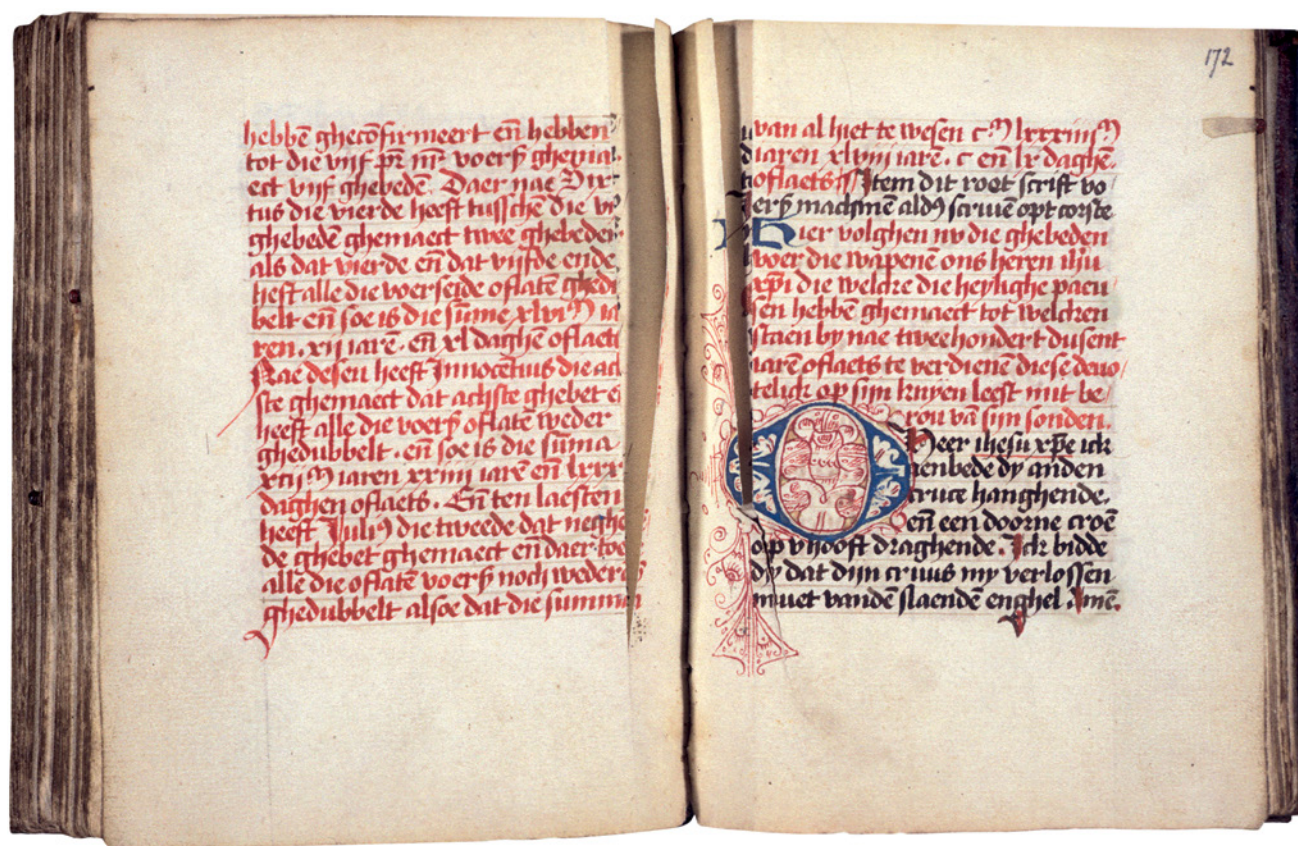


FIGURE 69 Opening in a prayer book, with a rubric prefacing the Verses of St Gregory, in long and short forms. Made c. 1505–1515 in the Northern Netherlands.

TILBURG, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 641 (=KHS 13), FOLS 171V–172R.

became embedded in the disseminated content of the prayer. Readers adjusted the prayer to make it personally relevant.

Rubrics could be any length and contain as much or as little information as the copyist chose to write. One copy of the Verses of St Gregory even has a note indicating that alternative rubrics are possible: a long one and an abbreviated one (fig. 69):

*rub:...*After that, Sixtus IV wrote two prayers among the above-mentioned prayers, to make the fourth and the fifth, and he doubled all the indulgence just mentioned. Therefore, the sum is 46,012 years' and 40 days' indulgence. After that, Innocent VIII wrote the eighth prayer, and he, too, doubled all the above-mentioned indulgence. At that point, the sum became 92,024 years' and 80 days' indulgence. Finally, Julius II wrote the ninth prayer, and once again, he doubled the indulgence again, so that the total comes to 184,048 years' and 160 days' indulgence. Item, one may write this red foreword in a shortened form: here following are the prayers for the instruments of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which the holy popes made, attached to which are 200,000 years' of

indulgence to earn, for anyone who reads them on his knees with contrition for his sins.

TILBURG, UB, MS. 641 (=KHS 13), fol. 171r–172r

This is one of the few rubrics that calls attention to itself as a rubric, recognizing two qualities about itself, first that its own length may be burdensome, and second that someone is likely to use this very manuscript as an exemplar for a new copy. It therefore provides instructions for a reader reciting the prayer that follows, but also for any subsequent copyist. This writer/compiler realized that not all believers would want to read the authoritative 'footnoted' version, and therefore added another 'Item' with an acceptable summary version of the indulgence, apparently provisioning for readers who would take the value of the indulgence on faith alone. Consequently, the rubric acknowledges the mechanism of its own production: copyists generate new manuscripts from exemplars, and here the scribe is giving the next copyist a choice.²⁴ The short form of the rubric merely rounds up the value

24 Copyists may have been motivated simply to fill the available space and to lengthen rubrics accordingly, as Chavannes-Mazel 1990 points out in a different context.

of the indulgence to 200,000 years. Rubrics accompanying the nine-verse version often ‘drifted’ from the origin story surrounding St Gregory. A brief overview of the indulgence often replaced the narrative. Perhaps the story had become so much a part of the late medieval cultural fabric that repeating it became moot.

Parts of the origin myth of the *Adoro te* are rehearsed in rubrics, such as one contained in a book of hours from Delft, as evidenced by its distinctive penwork (fig. 70). It presents the Gregorian Mass as a highly emotional event that was offered in an algebra textbook of grace:

rub: In the time when St Gregory was pope in Rome, one day when he was performing the mass in the church called *Porta Crucis*, at the altar of Jerusalem, and when he was about to consecrate the body of Christ, Our Lord appeared to him in this image. From great joy out of real compassion that he had while looking on that pitiful body in actual flesh and in blood in such a terrible state, he sank to the earth in very ardent prayer and bequeathed all the Christians—who had confessed with real remorse and fully atoned for their sins, and who humbly and devoutly kneel while reading five *Pater noster*s and five *Ave Maria* *graci* while contemplating this great bottomless bitterness and deep pain—to them he gave 5000 years’ indulgence as well as all the indulgences that were available in Rome. Since then, there have been twelve more popes, who have each given an additional 300 years’ indulgence and 100 *carenen*. Pope Clement authorized all this indulgence, secured it, and added 500 years’ indulgence and 300 *carenen*, so that the bitter and valuable passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ is all the more honored and practised by us, and so that we all share the rewards of Our Dear Lord Jesus Christ. One should read *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* and all five of these following prayers with devotion to honour the passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

BKB, Ms. 12080, fols 100r–101v

This rubric refers to confusion regarding where Gregory celebrated the famous mass. Here it is said to have taken place at the church of ‘Porta Crucis’, a (deliberate?) misreading of Santa Crucis.²⁵ Most of the rubric, however, comprises its own authentication: dozens of



FIGURE 70 Folio in a book of hours, with the *Adoro te*. Made c. 1460 in Delft.

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. 12080, FOL. 101R.

popes reiterated the prayer, reconfirmed the indulgence, and added their own bonus indulgence to the total value, as if grace earned interest over time, and the original value compounded with the installation of each new pope to reaffirm the apparition and the indulgence. Rubrics authenticated the pope as much as the popes authenticated rubrics. Gregory rubrics were a kitchen sink. Because they were so closely associated both with the body of Christ and with the Church hierarchy, they pick up a range of other symbols and subjects as well as characters, ready to insert themselves here. The rubric was a vessel for interests and ambitions and ideology.

Rubricated Instructions Made Manifest in Images

Just as the prayer itself shifted from five to seven to nine or more verses, and rubrics evolved to embrace an ever greater variety of requirements and rewards, the images relevant to their recitation also changed over the course of the fifteenth century. The growing rubric and prayer populated the image with ever more characters, and this

25 A related copy of the rubric giving ‘Porta Crucis’ as the location of the original miracle prefaces a seven-verse version of the *Adoro te* in HKB, Ms. 133 E 19, fols 122v–124r, a book of hours copied in Delft with added miniatures by the Master of the Adair Hours.

in turn fed the rubric, forming a continuous loop. One design aesthetic motivating the Mass of St Gregory images was to make them as full as possible, to fill available space as far as the scale of the image and its medium would allow. Several of the motifs crammed in were to some degree opportunistic, as the fragmented *arma Christi* could fit into the spaces in an image like sand fills the interstices in a bucket of pebbles. But others—popes, bishops, and other people—stemmed from the prayer and especially its morphing rubric.

Rubrics propose that various kinds of images would activate their accompanying prayer or complete it. One strand, copied in many rubrics, emphasized reading the prayer in front of an image of the suffering saviour, in imitation of what Gregory saw. Another strand suggested reading the prayer before the *arma Christi*. Evidence from manuscripts themselves suggests that narrative images depicting the Mass of St Gregory were the images most frequently used to preface the prayer. Next I consider the textual and visual evidence to come to grips with the varieties of conditions for winning an indulgence. Rubrics and images both change in order to accommodate more conditions, sometimes even going so far as to demand that the reader kneel before the image. They specify the image, but then also shape/image the body in a kind of mirroring.

What Gregory Saw

Some rubrics specify that readers should see what Gregory saw. They indicate that the votary could replicate the conditions of the Ur-apparition by using the prayer in front of an image depicting Jesus bleeding and suffering above the altar, as some manuscripts instruct. In a book of hours with a calendar for the bishopric of Utrecht from around 1480, the rubric suggests what Gregory saw:

rub: Whoever reads this following prayer devoutly on his knees with repentance for his sins in honour of the instruments of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which St Gregory was shown during the mass, will be rewarded as often and as many times as he reads this following indulgence. Item, from Pope St Gregory, 30 years' indulgence. From Pope Clement, 6 years'. From Pope Leo, 100 days. From Pope Innocent, 4 years. From 40 bishops, 40 days and one careen from each. Item, Pope Sixtus IV authorized all the indulgences listed above, and he doubled all the indulgences listed above, so that all the indulgences that have been awarded and that are to be earned carry together in total 6000 years' indulgence and 6000 days' indulgence, given and authorized in the year

one thousand four hundred and eighty. Item, anyone who cannot read these prayers should instead recite fifteen Pater nosters and fifteen Ave Marias, and thereby earn the same indulgence. inc: Heere Jhesu Christe, ic aenbede dy hanghende inden cruce...

BKB, Ms. 19551, fol. 85v–86r, emphasis mine

Here the rubric implies that Gregory did not see the body of Christ, the mosaic, the icon, or a wafer of bread but, rather, the *arma Christi*. Most of the words in this extensive rubric gloss over this detail but explain the spiritual reward. Sixtus IV is the most recent pope mentioned, indicating that the prayer must have been copied after 1471. With this florid language, the writer of the rubric builds up the tension to the climax, involving Sixtus IV's doubling of the indulgence, the date of which the scribe writes out completely in grandiloquent style, rather than in lapidary roman numerals. The *Adoro te* was so closely connected to spiritual rewards that the rubric refers to the text that follows not as a prayer (*gebed* or *innicheid*), but as 'this following indulgence'. As with many of the rubrics presented in Chapter 1, those who cannot read can opt for a memorized alternative—the repetition of *Pater nosters*. The lettered person would have a fairly large task to explain to his or her friend what indulgence to expect from the prayer. This rubric in BKB, Ms. 19551 is so long that it nearly fills the entire opening (fig. 71). It is by no means the longest rubric of this type but represents a trend to lavish materials (ink, parchment) and time in order to convey this information. It was thought necessary because it fulfilled so many utilitarian demands.

A panel painting by Simon Marmion depicting the Mass of St Gregory addresses the discrepancy between what Gregory saw and what the fifteenth-century viewer sees (Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario).²⁶ Gregory stares intently at the round host that his hands aggrandize and frame. His hands in turn are framed by the chalice, framed by the crisp white cloth designed to protect it from foreign matter. In the middle distance, however, Gregory sees, possibly in his peripheral vision, the naked torso of Jesus, with his side wound, his frail body. His loincloth, slipping just past his pubic hairline, reiterates the white cloth over the chalice and the carefully ironed cloth over the altar itself, which stands as a canvas against which all the other objects, isolated, appear in contrast. Gregory's papal tiara rests on the altar just behind his head as if to

26 Simon Marmion, *The Mass of St Gregory*, c. 1460–1465, oil on panel, 45.1 × 29.4 cm. Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario (P-2006-55709-MC). For a discussion, see Kren et al. 2003. For images, see Wikimedia Commons.

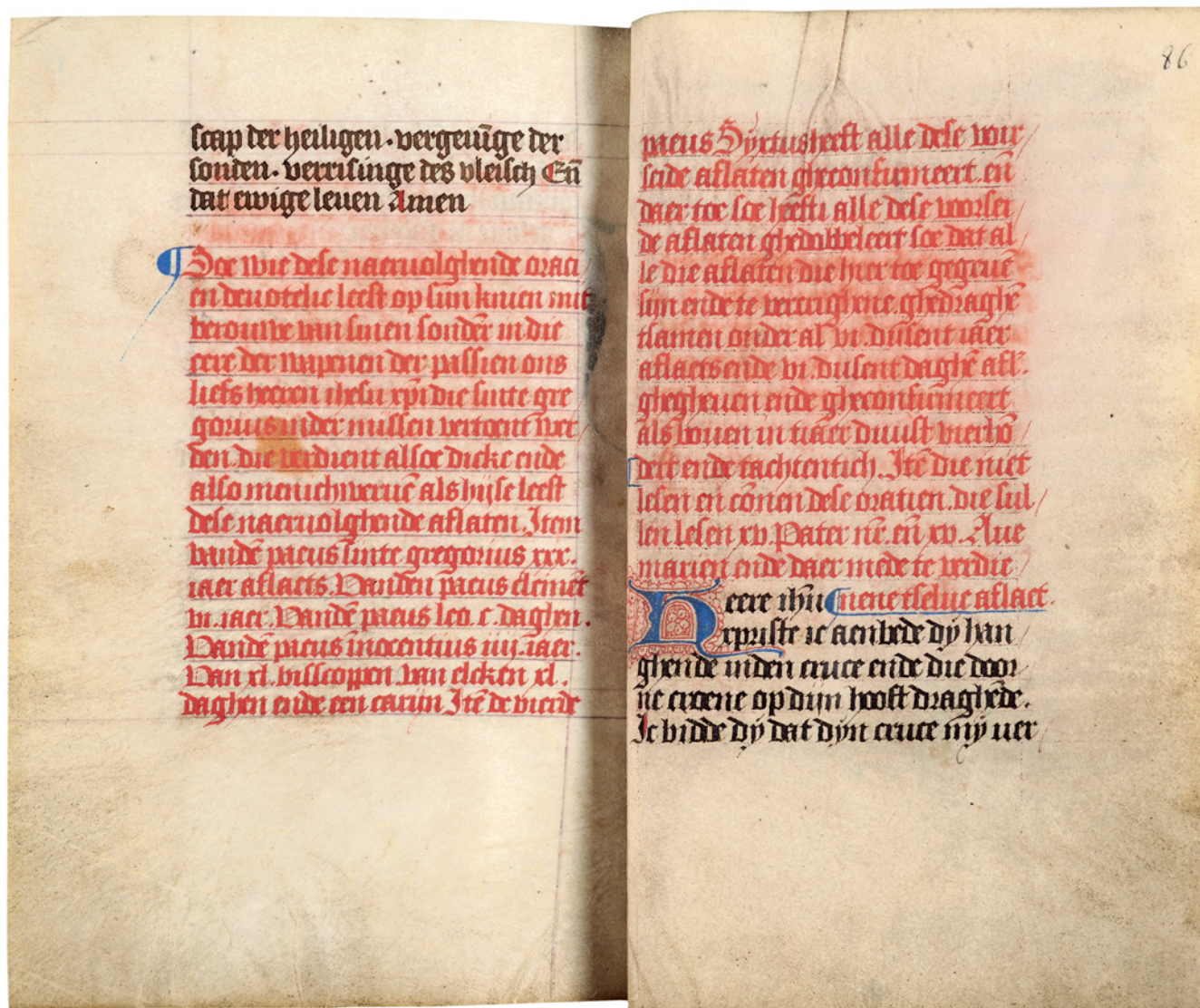


FIGURE 71 Opening in a book of hours, with a rubric before the Adoro te. Made c. 1450–1480 in the bishopric of Utrecht. BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. 19551, FOLS 85V–86R.

suggest that it comes from a different moment in time, that he will be pope in the future.²⁷ Compositionally, the tiara frames and silhouettes Gregory's face, with its gaze of absorption. He, Jesus, and the wafer are fixed in a continual loop. Because they are represented obliquely and intensely absorbed, they are therefore oblivious to the other reality on the back wall, which is presented frontally to the painting's viewer. This consists of the individual *arma Christi* arranged against a gold wall, which defies spatial fixity. The gold ground defies spatial recession, and the objects themselves appear as flat, in sharp contrast to the hyper-reality of the altar and its furnishings. The acolyte who holds Gregory's cope bridges the world

of the intense mass with that of the things, the levitating still life. His lighted candle stakes the claim of ritual and suggests that the Holy Spirit is present and aglow. But the candle also doubles as one of the *arma Christi*, especially as it is situated right next to the lantern (used by the soldiers to find Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane). Thus, Gregory and Jesus form a perpetual cycle of the miraculous, while the acolyte with his candle forms a bridge between the fifteenth-century mass and the instruments of the Passion. And Simon Marmion comprehends the two requirements for the indulgence–rubric–prayer (the body of Christ and the instruments of the Passion) by employing two different representational techniques within the single painting.

Of course, the bottom sixth of the painting, which represents the plane of reality closest to the viewer, presents

²⁷ See Acres 1998 for ideas about how spatial layers in a painting can communicate past, present, and future.

yet another kind of 'space': the space of words. This area bears an inscription identifying the church where the miraculous event took place as the Pantheon.²⁸ Clearly, the mythology around the miracle drifted (and expanded) each time it was copied. Iterations of approximations yielded a statement quite far from the original premise. One of the useful jobs of such a rubric was to negotiate a relationship between a votary and an image. In the Simon Marmion painting, the words stand between the painted narrative in recessionary depth and the viewer's space outside the picture plane. In unillustrated prayerbooks, the votary would have to take the book to a church or chapel, or otherwise find an image that would activate the prayer, and thus the space of prayer was mutable.

In some cases the rubric specifies that the votary must read the prayers in the presence of an image of the suffering Christ, but it does not indicate why he or she is to do so: the legend of the Mass of St Gregory had become separated from the image. That is the case in a manuscript with this rubric (which follows, rather than precedes the prayer):

rub: Pope Gregory gave anyone who devoutly reads—with bent knees and with contrition and who confesses in the presence of the passion and wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ—the prayer written above with five Pater nosters and with five Ave Marias, 14,000 years' indulgence. Pope Innocent IV and Pope Clement VII²⁹ authorized and added to this, so that the sum now comes to 20,000 years' and 24,000 days' [indulgence]. Pope Nicolas V also confirmed this in the year 1449, as did Pope Callistus III in 1456.

BKB, Ms. 11059, fol. 18v

This rubric implies that the votary should perform in front of an image, although which image is uncertain from the text, since the 'passion and wounds' of Jesus describes nearly every late medieval image of Jesus, except those depicting his infancy and miracles. It is clear that votaries had tremendous leeway in interpreting this instruction and could use a variety of images to satisfy the requirements. The rubric in BKB, Ms. 11059 referring to the Mass of St Gregory is cumulative in every way: it adds one authority onto the next, accumulating a snowballing indulgence as the prayer careens through the fifteenth century. Callistus III (r. 1455–1458), however, was not the last to

mark his notch on this particular prayer, and his date of death probably marks a *terminus ante quem* for the book.

Jesus and the *Arma Christi*

If the first strand running through *Adoro te* rubrics was to replicate Gregory's vision, the second was to pray before the *arma Christi* and thereby earn indulgences. These two strands become twisted into a single rubric in many prayerbooks. Although the *arma Christi* could include any number of elements between approximately five and twenty, they often contained some selection of the following: the thirty pieces of silver that Judas earned when he betrayed Christ, the lantern that helped the Romans find their way to the Garden of Gethsemane, the column to which Jesus was tied during the flagellation, the whip and scourge with which he was flagellated, the hands of the tormentors who pulled his hair (often represented as disembodied fists clutching clumps of hair), the cock that crowed before Peter denied Christ three times, the ladder, nails, hammer, and pincers used during the Crucifixion, the Cross itself, the lance that Longinus used to pierce Christ's side, the sponge soaked in vinegar and gall that was offered to Christ to drink, as well as the bucket that transported these fluids, the dice that the executioners threw when they cast lots for Christ's garment.³⁰ Each of the *arma Christi* corresponds as a synecdoche to a vignette from the Passion narrative, culminating in Christ's death on the Cross. They stood *pars pro toto* for the events of the Passion. For a viewer without a basic understanding of the Passion narrative, the *arma Christi*, appearing as a conglomeration of levitating still life objects, would make little sense. It is unlikely that such a viewer existed in the Christian community in the Low Countries of the late fifteenth century. Everyone was steeped in the Passion narrative. Venerating the *arma Christi* had an older and separate tradition that predates their being swept into the Mass of St Gregory, and such veneration penetrated culture quite deeply in the form of rhyming vernacular prayers dedicated to each instrument, found in both English and Netherlandish manuscripts.³¹

30 Berliner 1955, 62ff. The *arma Christi* had a somewhat different iconographical tradition in England: the elements are often arranged in a grid and are aligned with a set of promises to prevent bodily harm (fire, flood, difficulty in childbirth); see Kamerick 2002, esp. pp. 172–186. I consider them individually and as an ensemble in more detail in the next chapter.

31 For the English *arma Christi* rolls, see esp. the excellent compilation of essays Cooper and Denny-Brown 2014; for the Middle Dutch tradition, see Rudy 2006—both with many further references.

28 Ainsworth 1992, esp. 248–249; DeLeeuw 1995.

29 Pope Clement VII mentioned must refer to the antipope.

Because prayers demanding that the votary look at the *arma Christi* had been indulgenced well before 1400, when they were swept up into the Mass of St Gregory, they brought their indulgences with them. *Adoro te* rubrics with both strands—mentioning Gregory’s mass and the *arma Christi*—appear in many prayerbooks, including a book of hours from the second half of the fifteenth century:

rub: St Gregory the holy pope and various other popes after him have charitably given 2024 days’ indulgence to all the Christians who are standing in the state of grace (that is, without mortal sin) and reading these following prayers with a Pater noster and an Ave Maria after each prayer, with contrition for their sins while kneeling in front of an image of Our Lord Jesus Christ and his weapons. It should be noted that in the year of our Lord 1350, at the request of some devoted Minorite Friars, 61 years’ indulgence and many carenen were added to this. Furthermore, Pope Nicholas V [r. 1447–1455] further added an indulgence from pain and guilt above and beyond the indulgence that St Gregory had given, which is proclaimed and authorized by the same Pope Nicholas and by many other popes and bishops.

New York, MLM, M. 485, fols 179v–180r

Here the rubric specifies that the votary must read in front of an image of Jesus as well as the *arma Christi*. There is no more indication that the votary is replicating Gregory’s experience, but only that he or she is enjoying the indulgences that Gregory had initiated. Indeed, the bulk of the rubric is given to describing the indulgence, and it is not Gregory or even Jesus who is the champion here, but the Franciscans, who are commended for the extra indulgences. It is clear that the desires behind this rubric no longer reflect only the public relations message of the icon’s keepers in Rome, but are more interested in the mechanics of the indulgence. In so doing, they reflect a competing sense of values promulgated by Franciscans. With another type of accretion, the copyist has embellished the prayer, as well as the rubric. Instead of ‘O, Lord, I worship you, hanging on the cross’, the prayer has been filled in to read ‘O, Lord Jesus Christ, I, a poor sinner, worship you, naked and hanging from the beams of the cross’. Not only are the rubric, the indulgence, and the image cumulative, but so too is the prayer, which modifies the lowliness of the speaker and the pathos of the putative audience. This lowliness finds its most palpable form in the request that the reader kneel, that is, to form his body in a powerless posture.

The *Arma Christi* Alone

Still other rubrics push Jesus out altogether and demand only the presence of the *arma Christi*. Thus, the cult image of the mosaic in Sta Croce drifted further and further from view. What took on increased importance were the size of the indulgence and its authenticity. Both the clerics and the instruments of the Passion were cumulative and list-like. They undergirded the indulgence, which was the culmination of an added-up list of grace. Adding the *arma Christi* justified increasing the indulgence.

Swallowed up by the *arma Christi* and the massive indulgence, St Gregory nearly disappears. Such is the case in a manuscript copied shortly after 1503 by a certain Pierre Paludanus for a female recipient. This manuscript contains various prayers, nearly all of which are indulgenced. A rubric preceding the ten-verse *Adoro te* describes the complicated indulgence rewards for saying the prayer:

rub: Just as these following ‘St Gregory’ prayers were increased in number by various popes, they were also increased many fold in true and precious indulgences, so that the sum of this indulgence is 92,000 and 24 years’ and 80 days. A true Christian who is in the state of grace earns this indulgence as often as he reads these little ‘St Gregory’ prayers with as many Pater nosters and Ave Marias while kneeling in front of the image with the weapons of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Pope Julius II [r. 1503–1513], with his prayers, has doubled this indulgence. inc: O, heere Jhesu Christ, ic aenbede u hanghenden...

BKB, Ms. II 6907, fol. 9r

This wording suggests that the prayers themselves are so famous, or ubiquitous, that they are simply called the ‘St Gregory prayers’. All that remains of the original story is the title, which connects it to St Gregory but without mentioning why. What the rubric must accomplish is to establish the value of the indulgence reward, to cut through the red tape. As specified, the reader is to kneel in front of the image and can do so as often as she wishes.

Rehearsing the legend of St Gregory fell away from the *Adoro te* rubrics, which had become more firmly bound to the image of the *arma Christi* than to its origin myth. However, Gregory’s legend, along with the vision he had, returns in a different form, on folio 25v of the same manuscript:

rub: St Gregory spoke this prayer when he saw Our Lord with all his bloody wounds, and he gave the same indulgence to it as he gave to the weapons of

Our Lord. *inc:* O, dear Lord, I sink into the depths of your Holy Wounds...

BKB, Ms. II 6907, fol. 25v

This prayer is not the *Adoro te* but a meditation on Christ's wounds; its rubric, however, clearly refers to the famous Mass, and even attributes the same indulgence to a different prayer. The rubric implies that the indulgence belonged not to the prayer *Adoro te in cruce pendentem*, but to the *arma Christi*, as if the instruments of the Passion themselves held the power of grace. In some ways, this model must reflect how believers thought about their images, and especially about the image of the *arma Christi*. It was the coupling of the miraculous vision with the *arma Christi*, authenticated by St Gregory, that justified the indulgence. The *arma Christi* were fungible.

The *arma Christi* are often mentioned in rubrics prefacing the nine-verse version, whose rubric had drifted from the 'original' story. For example, a large indulgence embedded in a simple version of the rubric appears in a book of hours, which, according to a note of ownership, was commissioned by Lijsbet van Steengracht, a sister at Onze-Lieve-Vrouwgasthuis in Geraardsbergen in 1497. The prayer for the *arma Christi* merely notes that 'Innocent VIII gave 92,024 years' and 80 days' [indulgence] for the praying of these nine verses while in a state of grace before the *arma Christi*' (BKB, Ms. II 2348, fol. 125v). Here the rubric remains silent about Gregory's legend and the image of Christ as Man of Sorrows, but clearly specifies that the prayer be read in front of an image of the *arma Christi*. The large quotient for the indulgence as well as its arbitrary strangeness suggest that the writer multiplied this sum from one of the complicated mathematical formulas sometimes given with indulgences, and then cited only Innocent VIII (r. 1484–1492), the last link in a concatenation of indulgence authorizers, before arriving at a grand total for the cumulative indulgence. Due to the ubiquity of the prayer, its connection to a large-scale indulgence, and the numerous claims that various popes staked in authenticating it, the prayer often accumulated either a very long rubric, or else a brief, summarizing one. Whether the accompanying rubric painstakingly described the original Mass, or prescribed the conditions under which the votary should read the prayer, the rubric never omitted the mention of a large-scale indulgence. Even when the rubric was pared down to its briefest form, the text still enumerated the mechanics of grace.

While many rubrics, as I have shown, list the indulgence in the most precise and specific manner possible, citing the authority of popes and bishops and books of indulgences, the opposite response to the controversy

regarding the indulgence was to describe it in the vaguest possible terms. Such is the case in a prayerbook made in Zeeland, datable to 1523:

rub: Ten prayers to read before the *arma Christi*, to which St Gregory and many popes after him gave many thousands of years of indulgence to readers in a state of grace.

BKB, Ms. II 5573, fol. 76v

Several years into the Protestant Reformation, this scribe had simply given up trying to nail down the exact value of the indulgence and offered instead a summary.

Depicting Ecclesiastical Authorities

As one would expect if the images of the Mass of St Gregory were illustrating rubrics, rather than the narrative as told by Jacopo da Voragine, they pick up another element recounted in the rubrics: a depiction of the authorizing ecclesiastical authorities. Indeed, an element of the *Adoro te* rubrics that dramatically expands, even doubling, the length of the rubric, is the cumulative list of authorizing popes. An example appears in an unillustrated manuscript made in the second decade of the sixteenth century in the Southern Netherlands, probably copied by a regular canon:

rub: Anyone who stands in the state of grace and devoutly reads the ten following prayers on her knees in front of the *arma Christi* with repentance for her sins will earn many indulgences from many popes, such as Gregory I, Innocent IV [r. 1243–1254], Nicholas V [r. 1447–1455], Callistus IV, Clement VII,³² Sixtus IV [r. 1471–1484], Innocent VIII [r. 1484–1492], and Julius II [r. 1503–1513]. The total is 100,000 and 84,000 years, 48 years, and 160 years days. *inc:*...

BKB, Ms. 12079, fol. 108v

This list includes eight popes, more or less in chronological order as if to buttress the historical accuracy. Evidently, the great sums confused the scribe to the point that she made a mistake and had to cross out 'years' to insert 'days' at the end of the rubric; furthermore, she must have made an error for Callistus III (r. 1455–1458), since there was no late medieval Callistus IV. With the total value of the indulgence given here as 184,048 years and 160 days, this sum represents twice the amount—plus 48 years—of the 92,000-year and 80-day indulgence given in previous

32 Either the Pope (r. 1523–1534) or the Avignon Anti-Pope Clement VII (r. 1378–1394).

calculations for the ten-verse version. That, in turn, is twice the earlier sum, 46,000 years and 40 days, which may have been doubled when the tenth verse was added. The validity of the indulgence is of major concern to the readers, or at least to the copyists. Pronouns reflect the prayer's female reader, who is to 'kneel in front of the *arma Christi*' (a point to which I return later).

Illuminators responded to these rubrics by bringing the ecclesiastical authorities into the picture. For example, a full-page miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory appears in a manuscript made in the Southern Netherlands (HKB, Ms. 71 G 53; fig. 72).

Gregory appears at the altar, along with Jesus, and the *arma Christi* arranged around him. Some of the other space in the area in front of the altar, however, is filled with deacons, a tonsured official, and a cardinal wearing a distinctive red hat, whose job is to hold Gregory's tripartite crown. Here the illuminator has limited the *arma Christi* to the largest and most visually arresting ones, and

has therefore omitted the thirty pieces of silver but kept the cock. The otherwise blank wall behind Jesus provides a space that the miniaturist fills with the *arma Christi*. Visual legibility was a challenge in this size and medium, especially when the illuminator used more than fifty per cent of the available space to represent robed officials and had to squeeze the rest of the elements into the remaining space.

The image became one about the authority of the church hierarchy via its imposition of rituals, and as such became populated by images of bishops, cardinals, and acolytes. St Gregory accumulated an entourage who attested to the reality of his vision. Images only ever represent one pope, however, as if the tiara, which is often depicted on the altar rather than on St Gregory's head, stands in for future popes. Images of the Mass of St Gregory always have at least two characters (Jesus and St Gregory), and often have more, including an audience (sometimes wearing contemporary garb), and a bevy of bishops and cardinals,



FIGURE 72 Opening in a book of hours, with a full-page Mass of St Gregory with a cardinal and other officials, opposite the Adoro te in Middle Dutch. Made c. 1500–1510 in the Southern Netherlands (Mechelen?).

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 71 G 53, FOLS 32V–33R.

and they sometimes also feature the *arma Christi*, disembodied and floating above the altar. Like the prayer and the indulgence and rubric that accompanied it, the image of the Mass of St Gregory grew over the course of the fifteenth century. The presence of these figures re-affirmed Church hierarchy and made a visual argument for the authenticity of the indulgences proffered.

Whereas the torturers were usually depicted on the fictive back wall of the image, the witnesses mostly fill the foreground. In this way they communicate layers of time, whereby the *arma Christi* represent the time of Jesus, the altar itself represents the time of Gregory (the sixth century), and the ecclesiastical authorities in the foreground approved and ratified the indulgence after the era of Gregory. They also stand for the authority of the Church and legitimate it. In other words, ecclesiastical time occurs on the near side of the altar (within the church), and sacred time occurs on the far side (within the space of representation).

Accretions to the Arma Christi

Illuminators populated the image in another way as well: the *arma Christi* were expanded to include people rather

than just things. These people were the torturers of Christ. One can imagine that an early appeal of the *arma Christi* was that scribes and those untrained in representing the human figure could depict it (as with the images in Park Abbey, discussed later). When artists who were trained in representing the human figure got their hands on the motif, they populated it with the likes of Judas, Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate and his wife, and those who spit on and beat Jesus. In keeping with the condensed and abbreviated nature of the *arma Christi*, they showed only the heads of these figures. Including them gave painters the opportunity to represent some of the more psychological torments (betrayal, handwashing, the degradation of being spat upon) rather than just the physical ones rendered by metal tools on flesh.

In the Netherlands, audiences needed help to understand these new motifs. HKB, Ms. 135 E 40, a manuscript with burnished gold 'rubrics', was made in Utrecht around 1460; its Mass of St Gregory is one of the earliest paintings of that subject in a Northern Netherlandish manuscript (fig. 73 and detail fig. 74). Across the full opening the illuminator has divided the items in the Mass of St Gregory,



FIGURE 73 Opening in a book of hours, with a full-page Mass of St Gregory, and a historiated initial with the *arma Christi*. Made c. 1455–60 in Utrecht.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 135 E 40, FOLS 110V–111R.



FIGURE 74 *Miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory, detail of fig. 73.*
 THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 135 E 40, FOL. 110V.

with Gregory, Jesus, and the heads of all the wrongdoers on the left, and the *arma Christi* filling the initial on the right. In this way, the planner introduced an image little known around 1460 in the north. That the illuminator felt compelled to label each of the items suggests that the motif was novel in the Northern Netherlands: the illuminator was instructing the viewer how to use the image, or at least what to make of it. He has identified 'Cayfas', 'Pylatus', 'Roi Herodie', 'Annas', 'S Peter', and the 'Spewer' (the spitter) who is positioned in profile with parted lips as he spits towards Jesus. The illuminator anticipated that his audience would not understand the meaning of the heads and has therefore labelled them.

Another illuminator in South Holland found a different, albeit clumsy, solution to depicting these figures in a miniature that has landed in a prayerbook (Copenhagen, KB, Thott 129 octavo, fig. 75). This patron thought it necessary to add a single full-page miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory to the Verses of St Gregory, probably because

it fulfils the requirement in the long rubric that he should read the accompanying *Adoro te*. One senses that representing the *arma Christi* challenged the illuminator. He or she has pushed most of the *arma Christi* to the left side of the background and brought the sepulchre, winding cloth, pots of ointment, and the ewer and basin (presumably signifying Pilate washing his hands) to the foreground so that the entire altar area seems cluttered. All this has made room for a group of disembodied heads—Pilate, Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate's wife—which appear in rows across the back wall as 'instruments' of Christ's torture. Instead of labelling the images, the illuminator has given them distinctive attributes: Pilate was a 'king' of sorts, so receives a crown and appears next to his wife, who wears a wimple appropriate for a fifteenth-century wife. Annas, as 'high priest', wears the bishop's mitre of the Roman church. The figure in the red cap may be the 'spitter' to judge from his distended cheeks and his proximity to Jesus. The tonsured figure with a halo in the top row must be Peter who denied Jesus. Jesus himself appears in the form of the Veronica, which seems to be tacked to the back wall. Three disembodied hands appear in a column. The pointing one might refer to the *Ecce Homo*, when Jesus was pointed out to the jeering crowd. The open hand represents the buffeting. And the object clutched in the third hand is a fistful of Jesus' hair. With these hands and heads, the illuminator is able to flesh out the series of stories that the image conveys, not in chronological or narrative order but according to how closely the signs are packed.

The illuminator of Copenhagen Thott 129 may have used a print as a source for the image, such as one by the Master of the Berlin Passion, but then simplified it. Nuns (or religious women living together without a rule) in the eastern part of the Netherlands were early adopters of new print technology and incorporated small engravings into manuscript prayerbooks. Printers realized that they would have an eager market in women and nuns who transcribed texts, were untrained in representing the human figure, but strongly desired images to enhance the meaning and functionality of their manuscripts. An example of their mixed-media projects is BKB, Ms. 11059, folio 17v, with an image of the Mass of St Gregory printed on paper and then pasted to the parchment book (fig. 76). With a fine burin, the engraver has filled every available space with figures' heads, instruments of the Passion, and pattern. This density of elements has created overlap on the right side of the image, where the acolyte holding the tiara touches the head in the bishop's mitre. Does this head belong to the ecclesiastical authorities or to the torturers of Christ? Given that he has no body and is only a floating head, he must belong to the latter.



FIGURE 75 Folio inserted into a prayer book, with a full-page miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory. Manuscript copied c. 1440–1460 in South Holland; miniature painted c. 1440–1460 in South Holland.

COPENHAGEN, KB, THOTT 129 OCTAVO, FOL. 49V.



FIGURE 76 Folio in a book of hours, with a hand-painted engraving depicting the Mass of St Gregory glued on and painted border decoration around it. Made c. 1475–90 in the eastern Netherlands.

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. 11059, FOL. 17V.

Book owners were desperate to include an image of the Mass of St Gregory in order to meet the demands of rubrics. They did so even if the image quality was poor. Many prayerbooks, including Copenhagen Thott 129 have only one image: the Mass of St Gregory. One can see how painters struggled with figurative representation in a manuscript made in the Fraterhuis in 's-Hertogenbosch; this book contains only that one miniature of the Mass of St Gregory (BKB, Ms. IV 410, fol. 45v, fig. 77). Inserted before the artist finished it, its presence suggests that the book's owner was desperate to include an image of this subject, even one of extremely poor quality. Figurative images confounded the painter, who struggled with the representation of volume. She or he was able to suggest the instruments of the Passion hovering above the altar with a series of crude shapes in black paint.

Purgatorial Remission

Depictions of the Mass of St Gregory in the Netherlands were expanded late in the fifteenth century with yet another element corresponding to the advanced culture of rubrics and indulgences: images of Purgatory. A few Netherlandish miniatures depict the souls engulfed in flames next to the altar where Gregory performs his famous mass. One such image is preserved in a manuscript now in the Huis Bergh Castle in 's-Heerenberg (Ms. 18, fig. 78).³³ This image shows Christ standing up in his grave while Pope Gregory and an acolyte look on. Gregory is no longer performing a miraculous mass (that element of the story has fallen by the wayside in this example), but he kneels in veneration as the apparitional image comes alive and proves his fleshiness by bleeding torrents into the chalice on the altar, thereby bridging two kinds of imaginary space. This image has a full set of *arma Christi* displayed across the back wall, which is part of the visual syntax of this scene. What is new here is the mouth of a beast in the chapel floor, opening its maw to reveal naked sinners engulfed in flames. These sinners are positioned at the lower left of the frame, which is Christ's dexter side—the side of the saved. The way that the blood flows towards them suggests that even the most hardened sinners can be saved through Christ's salvation and just, as importantly, through the indulgenced prayer that it prefaces.

Release of souls from Purgatory as a motif also became incorporated in the Mass of St Gregory, an image that often appears before the *Adoro te*, as just discussed. Now I turn to another motif sometimes depicted within these images: publicly accessible notices of indulgence, which hung on church walls. For example, an altarpiece from Soest depicting the Mass of St Gregory includes a prominently placed indulgence plaque on the side wall.³⁴ Although the script on the plaque is illegible, it is clear the text presents

33 Collection Dr. J.H. van Heek, Huis Bergh Foundation, 's-Heerenberg, Ms. 18 (inv. no. 290): Book of Hours, c. 1500, 170 folios parchment, 178 × 121 (98 × 58) mm; 19 lines, made in North Holland and/or Delft. Although the manuscript contains a calendar typical of those copied at the convent of St Ursula in Delft, the manuscript lacks other codicological features associated with that convent, and it is not written in the St Ursula corporate script, but in a script more typical of North Holland. It seems to be a North Holland copy of a Delft exemplar. Contains 4 full-page miniatures with border decoration typical of that from Delft; painted initials and border decoration; other decoration in a North Holland style. See Korteweg 2013, cat. 79, pp. 137–139.

34 Master of 1473, *Mass of St Gregory*, 1473, painting on panel (Westfalian). Soest, St Maria zur Wiese. For an image, see <http://gregorsmesse.uni-muenster.de/objektanzeige.php?ID=33389&-skip=150&logi=and&q=Suche+starten&von=1400> (accessed 27 May 2016); Bynum 2002.



FIGURE 77 Opening in a book of hours, with an inserted leaf bearing an image of the Mass of St Gregory (unfinished), opposite the incipit of the *Adoro te in cruce pendentem*. Manuscript copied c. 1513–25 in 's-Hertogenbosch (?); image roughly contemporary.

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. IV 410, FOLS 45V–46R.

a few lines of rubricated indulgence, followed by verses of a prayer, each line break beginning with an *O*: this is the structure of the *Adoro te in cruce pendentem*. In the minds of late medieval viewers, the Mass of St Gregory became so indelibly connected with indulgences that painters began representing plaques hanging on the fictive walls of Gregory's chapel, as if to signify 'indulgence'. Plaques such as these were hung in public places in order to broadcast prayers with indulgences.³⁵

Such plaques appear less frequently in manuscript illuminations, where artists had to use the space available within the frame more economically. An example does appear in a full-page miniature by Lieven van Lathem, an artist who delighted in representing minute detail.

Incorporated in the Trivulzio Hours, made in or around 1469, this miniature shows the Mass of St Gregory taking place at an altar in a Gothic church (fig. 79). A framed text inscribed in two columns hangs on the side wall of the chapel. Although it is too small to read, one might propose that an original fifteenth-century viewer would have recognized the object as a written plaque that would juxtapose the Mass of St Gregory with its available indulgences.

Of course, the features that I have outlined here did not appear consecutively and neatly, as I have arranged them, but in a more haphazard, messy, and piecemeal way. Factors influencing the selection of features might include the skill of the artist, the availability of models, and the size of the parchment or panel to be filled in. One large oil painting depicting the Mass of St Gregory made around 1510 accommodated all the features discussed (Utrecht,

35 Morris 2011 considers media that broadcast indulgences in Germany in the fifteenth century.



FIGURE 78 Opening in a book of hours, with a full-page Mass of St Gregory, opposite the Adoro te in Middle Dutch. Made c. 1475–1500 in Delft. COLLECTION DR. J.H. VAN HECK, HUIS BERGH FOUNDATION, 'S-HEERENBERG, MS. 18, FOLS 153V–154R.

Catharijneconvent; fig. 80).³⁶ With respect to the picture plane, the altar has been turned to an oblique angle so that viewers do not see what Gregory saw but are present among the crowd at the drama. While the body of Christ is not central in the picture, it is framed by the white altar-cloth, which highlights it against a sea of darker swirling colours. Gregory, although kneeling and therefore shorter than the other figures, is also visually enhanced through his garments: his ornate and highly embroidered and gilt cloak is made larger and more visible, because an acolyte stands behind him, fanning it out. Through this play of textiles at the centre, Gregory and his miraculous vision command the centre of the picture.

The viewer is situated just outside a chapel that overflows with activity in different layers of time. In the middleground, St Gregory expresses his astonishment as a fully animate and three-dimensional Jesus appears on the altar in front of him. Jesus not only acknowledges Gregory's presence, but also directs part of the flow of blood

from his side wound into Gregory's golden chalice. He directs a secondary rivulet sideways so that the blood leaps over the missal on the altar (open to the canon page, with its full-page miniature of Christ on the Cross) and then showers the souls that are languishing in Purgatory. With his animated gesture and his variously directed streams of blood, Jesus asserts his physical presence at the event.

Most of the middleground is taken up with various ecclesiastical figures dressed in the garb they would have worn around 1510, thereby emphasizing the continuity between Gregory's historical mass with those performed in the present. All these figures take part in ritual action. An acolyte (deacon?) in the foreground, wearing a green stole, rings his bell, which was rung at the moment that the Eucharist was raised. The artist has silhouetted the bell against a plain background in order to draw attention to it in the visual melee. One wonders whether late medieval believers had a Pavlovian response and imagined the body of Christ when they saw a disk of bread and heard the bell. Deacons in the foreground who ring the bell signal the mystery of the mass. They further frame Gregory by triangulating their attention upon him. These deacons

³⁶ The painting is attributed to the Master of the Fountain of Life. Defoer et al. 2003, cat. 14, pp. 69–72.



FIGURE 79 *Folio in the Trivulzio Hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory. Manuscript written and assembled c. 1469 in Ghent.*

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. SMC 1,
FOL. 103V.

also provide a buffer between the patron, located in the first plane of depicted space, and the middleground, where the miracle is taking place. As representatives of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the deacons mediate between historic time and present time and therefore signal the continuity of the Church and its rituals.

Purgatorial space lurks behind a column, and its entranceway is the mouth of a beast. One soul, having just escaped the fiery red environs, reaches up and steps away. Christ's blood has therefore redeemed him. As he witnesses Gregory and his miraculous vision, the donor gazes over the fiery mouth, from which a naked soul is being disgorged. Wearing a black cloak and a mop of hair that contrasts with the tonsures of the ecclesiastics, the donor aligns himself with these souls in Purgatory. In fact, the soul looks a bit like the patron himself, and one might suspect that he is praying for his own purgatorial remission. This painting puts redemption on display, and St Gregory has set into motion the operations of redemption by transforming the bread into the body.

The patron kneels in the left corner of the depicted space, within the church and witness to the miracle. His position also signals his investment in indulgences, for hanging from a column immediately above his head is a notice board with text. This plaque seems to comprise a piece of parchment. Although the text is not legible, it clearly begins with a red rubric and some black prayer text. It is, in other words, an indulgence displayed in a simple frame and thus made public.³⁷ The beholder would certainly have identified it as an indulgence and prayer from its combination of red rubric-like marks followed by black prayer-like marks, in the same way that the viewer would recognize the open missal on the altar. These marks signify the prayer text-cum-rubric that I have been discussing in this chapter, from which sinners could be freed as a result of the generous indulgence offered. The plaque hangs just above the patron's head and near the entrance of the chapel, suggesting that a votary would read the plaque upon entering the chapel in order to absorb its instructions. One wonders whether new indulgenced prayers circulated in this manner and then were taken up eventually into prayerbooks. The painting forms an inversion of a prayerbook. Whereas a prayerbook is a matrix with text that sometimes has miniatures to enhance the text or make it easier to find or to shape readers' behaviour, this painting is a visual matrix that contains a scrap of prayer text. As the viewer would have already associated the event of the Mass of St Gregory with an indulgence, the presence of this plaque visually reaffirms the association.³⁸

Moreover, the presence of all the ecclesiastical officials buttresses the claims of the indulgence. As this chapter has demonstrated, the many versions of the Verses of St Gregory, which grew in tandem with the Mass of St Gregory image, presented their readers with an indulgence. According to rubrics, Gregory himself ratified that indulgence, seconded by various bishops and cardinals. This and other paintings collapse time so that all the church officials who supported or even increased the indulgence appear together, even though they did not live simultaneously. Yet the painting does not really specify their identities, but shows them as general types belonging to the class of bishops, popes, and cardinals. The prominent position of the papal tiara in this and many other images of the Mass of St Gregory suggests the presence of a succession of popes who ratify Gregory's vision.

Larger, busier, and packed with more iconographical elements than most, this painting made shortly before the Reformation represents the culmination of visual features.

37 I thank Helen Wüstefeld for pointing this out.

38 I discuss these notice boards more fully below in Ch. 8.



FIGURE 80 Attributed to the Master of the Fountain of Life, Mass of St Gregory, c. 1510, oil on panel, 92 × 78 cm.
UTRECHT, MUSEUM CATHARIJNECONVENT, INV. S194.

In his foregrounded position, the patron himself embodies a final clause that appears in many *Adoro te* rubrics: that the votary kneel before the image of Christ in pain or the *arma Christi*. Just as rubrics shape the body into a penitent state, images respond by reflecting that shaped body, thereby visually demonstrating the instructions in many rubrics.

Demonstrating the Instructions

As several examples discussed earlier attest, rubrics prefacing the *Adoro te* often assume an embodied reader: they end with an instruction that the reader perform the prayer while kneeling. That is yet another element that painters responded to and used to flesh out the narrative image. As often happens in Netherlandish painting, early adopters

of new motifs were denizens of court, who had access to new ideas. Philip the Good was a devotional enthusiast and adopted a devotion to the Mass of St Gregory early on. He had inherited a large prayerbook from his grandfather, Philip the Bold, and subsequently had the book disbound, expanded, and rebound in two volumes. Among the items he added to the manuscript were many single leaves painted and inscribed with new devotions that had come on the scene since his grandfather's day. These included a Mass of St Gregory, painted on a separate leaf (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 3–1954, fol. 253v; fig. 81).

Gregory's chapel is open at the side so that the image is not just about the viewer witnessing the elevation of the Eucharist and the ensuing miracle, but about viewing the patron who is in turn witnessing the miracle. The patron therefore appears showing his faith in the True Presence, and venerating the Eucharist, but also and perhaps more importantly, in the place that has been graced by a miracle. Like the other figures represented, Philip is kneeling. Unlike the other figures, he has his prayerbook before

him, and his prie-dieu both serves as a little table for the book and also demarcates Philip's space by forming a physical barrier. In his modern, secular clothes, he is also witnessing the historical drama. In this way, his clothing, his bodily posture, his access to the altar and to the divine, all define his spiritual persona.

The prayer below the image, however, is not the *Adoro te*, but rather a prayer to the *arma Christi*, which are also painstakingly arrayed in visual form above the altar. Another early image of this subject (in the manuscript with the gold rubrics, HKB, Ms. 135 E 40; fig. 73) similarly has the image paired with a prayer other than the *Adoro te*. It took another decade for the image of the Mass of St Gregory to be paired consistently with the so-called Verses of St Gregory.

Later in the century, less distinguished patrons often had their portraits included as witnesses at the Mass of St Gregory. Nouveaux riches and social climbers imitated the tastes of the nobility, but in a louder, rougher way. An example appears in a book of hours illuminated by the Masters of the Dark Eyes, artists who were active in the decades flanking 1500 in several locations, with much of their activity centred in South Holland (HKB, Ms. 135 E 19, fol. 2v, fig. 82).³⁹ They produced books of hours with full borders and extensive cycles of imagery for wealthy urbanites who desired colourful books and who appreciated quantity of decoration over quality. Two such donors kneel in the border below the miniature. From their position, the patrons—the female donor in particular—look at the apparition in the main miniature, where Christ is directing attention to his wound to a surprised and enthusiastic group of clerics.⁴⁰ Although the patrons appear in a lower and more earthly register, the green cloths of honour behind them provide a continuous visual segue with the green carpet before the altar in the central miniature. Like Philip the Good, these kneeling donors appear outside the chapel where the miracle is taking place. Also like Philip, they have their books and their clasped hands in front



FIGURE 81 *Mass of St Gregory with Philip the Good kneeling at a prie-dieu, painted on a loose parchment leaf and inserted into his prayerbook. Leaf made and added c. 1450 in the Southern Netherlands.*

CAMBRIDGE, FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, MS. 3–1954, FOL. 253V.

39 Although the Masters of the Dark Eyes illuminated the entire manuscript, this miniature was executed somewhat later than the other images. That the patrons never had their coats of arms painted into the spaces provided on each prie-dieu complicates the identification of the original owners. Elsewhere in the scholarly literature, the patron of this manuscript is sometimes identified as Anna Geperts who was the daughter of Petrus Bogaerts de Leffinge. As I explain in Rudy 2015a, this assertion is based on tenuous evidence.

40 Working primarily in South Holland, the Masters of the Dark Eyes copied both subject matter and styles from illuminators in the Southern Netherlands, including 'strewn flowers' borders associated with Ghent-Bruges illumination. See Broekhuijsen 2009.



FIGURE 82 Folio in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory, with donors in lower margin, painted by the Masters of the Dark Eyes. Manuscript (bound out of order), made c. 1500–1510 in South Holland. THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 135 E 19, FOL. 2V.

of them, as if to demonstrate that books were the medium for the prayer that their postures signify. Indeed, the prie-dieu is a piece of furniture that forces the body to its knees. Unlike a chair or a bed, the prie-dieu does not allow the body to relax or slouch, but forces it into an upright and painful position, and to view the world with a book in the immediate foreground.

That their coats of arms were never filled in suggests several things. First, some painters may have specialized in representing coats of arms, and the Masters of the Dark Eyes intended to send this leaf to such a person, but did not do so in the end. Or it might suggest that the book was made on speculation, and the couple portrayed stand for a generalized bride and groom. As many books of hours were made for women, or couples, upon their weddings, the artists here may have speculated that such a buyer would be imminent. The bigger issue, however, is that the couple—either representing real patrons or generalized buyers—have their portraits below the Mass of St Gregory at all. In an earlier era, a couple (or just the wife) would appear alongside the Annunciation, which would preface the Hours of the Virgin, often the first major text in the book.⁴¹ The Annunciation, with its message of fecundity, was one with which couples wanted to associate themselves, since childbearing was the goal of marriage. But in this book of hours, portraits do not appear elsewhere, only at the Mass of St Gregory. Something has fundamentally shifted. Being present at the primary indulgenced image has trumped witnessing the Incarnation.

In fact, this concern occupies more monumental paintings, as well. A triptych attributed to the Master of the Aachen Altarpiece, painted around 1505, has the Gregorian Mass on its outer wings (fig. 83).⁴² In most altarpieces that took the form of triptychs in the fifteenth century, an Annunciation in grisaille would appear on the outer wings, visible whenever they were closed. But here, when the triptych was closed, viewers would see not a grey image of the Incarnation that had taken place during the time of Jesus, but a full-colour image of a mass in a space that resembled an extension of the church itself, with the donors witnessing from the right wing. The floor is continuous across both panels, as if Gregory were perpetually performing in their church in Cologne. Time is further complicated by the fact that the donor, Hermann Rinck, the burgomaster of Cologne, had died in 1496, and

thus his wife Gertrud von Dallem or other family members must have commissioned the painting. It presents a continuous present, in which the living donors seem to witness a miracle in perpetuity.

This discussion has demonstrated that the rubric, the prayer, and the imagery associated with it were, during the fifteenth century, all subject to accretion but also to abbreviation. They could all grow with enthusiasm, but could just as easily shrink to fit small spaces, or to fit the limited skill of a painter. What all these images do, regardless of painterly skill or degree of accretion, is to present an unimpeded view of the altar. The family of images known as the Mass of St Gregory have in common another element: they all present an idealized Mass.

An Idealized Mass

Before about 1450, patrons often had their portraits painted in one of three situations: next to a narrative image from sacred history, kneeling in prayer before an image of Jesus, Mary, or a saint, or occasionally witnessing the mass. That is: before a narrative (taking place in sacred history), before an iconic image (which could be timeless), or at the mass (occurring in the time of the patrons themselves).⁴³ Access to the mass had been the prerogative of the nobility because nobles underwrote masses by paying for churches and buying furnishings for altars, such as chalices, patens, paxes, antependium cloths, and missals. Money bought access, and the nobility had a clear view of the mysteries of the faith and the otherwise murky goings-on at the altar, for after all, the priest performed the mass—the central ritual in the Christian church—while muttering in Latin sub-audibly, while projecting his voice away from the audience, as he had his back to them. The congregation would see the event only from a distance, glimpsed through a rood screen. To have unfettered access to the mass was a Christian's desire, which is why donors start having themselves represented watching the mass.

Arnold of Oreye, Lord of Rummen and Baron of Quaerbeke, and his wife are probably the couple who had themselves represented in a missal made around 1350–1366 in the bishopric of Luik (The Hague, MMW, Ms. 10 A 14, fol. 139r, fig. 84). The patrons are shown with

41 HKB, Ms. 135 E 19 has been bound out of order; therefore, I am not making the argument that the Mass of St Gregory and the *Adoro te* were the first elements of this book of hours.

42 The central panel is now in London, National Gallery, and the wings in Liverpool, Walker Art Centre.

43 Within these categories the patron can be smaller and in a separate world; he or she can be the same size and fully within the sacred world (the most extreme case in which the donor is represented as one of the three Magi, for example), or can overlap between this and the sacred world.



FIGURE 83 *Master of the Aachen Altar, outer wings of the Crucifixion Altarpiece, with the Mass of St Gregory and donors, Hermann Rinck and his wife Gertrud von Dallem, c. 1505, for the Church of St Colomba in Cologne. Oil and tempera on panel; panels 109 × 54 and 106 × 54 cm. LIVERPOOL ART MUSEUM, ACCESSION NO. 1225, 1226.*

front-row seats before the altar, where the priest with his enormous hands is changing the bright white wafer into the body of Christ, as the couple, hands clasped in prayer, kneel. Images of the Mass of St Gregory present a further democratization in visual access to the altar and the mass. They take an event that many desired to see, and put it on display in a large, visually clear, idealized form. Just as modern sporting events are often clearer on

television than they are in person, so the mass was visually more accessible in painted (and sometimes sculpted) representations.

Modern scholars often claim that images of the Mass of St Gregory represent what happens during transubstantiation. They say that the images reiterate a debate about the nature of the Eucharist: did it remain bread or did it physically become the body of Christ? Images of the miracle



FIGURE 84 Folio in a missal, with a historiated initial depicting donors kneeling at an altar where the priest is performing mass. Made c. 1350–1366 in the Southern Netherlands. THE HAGUE, MEERMANN MUSEUM, MS. 10 A 14, FOL. 139R, DETAIL.

clearly show the latter, they say. But this was a debate from the eleventh century, and the physicality of Christ in the Eucharist had long been settled by the fifteenth, when images of the Mass of St Gregory were actually made. Seeing the images in terms of this debate does not, in my opinion, answer the larger question: why should many images of this subject suddenly appear in the Netherlands in the mid-fifteenth century? I propose a different explanation for their popularity: first, of course, these images were necessary for fulfilling the requirements of *Adoro te* indulgences, as I have argued throughout this chapter. Second, they presented a clear view of the altar, with its activities at the pinnacle of the mass ritual. They made the mass visible and showed the elements of the ritual more clearly than churchgoers could actually see it when attending the service in the flesh. These images presented an unobstructed, idealized view of the priest with his vestments, the Eucharist, the altar with its furnishings, and gave these

sights to a public hungry to see them. This happened as Eucharistic piety was rising all over Northern Europe and taking new forms that would make it more visible and more tangible.⁴⁴

Shortly after the matter of Real Presence was settled, the host became an object of intense worship, especially among women. Among these was Juliana de Cornillon of Luik, who belonged to an order that especially venerated the host. She encouraged her bishop to institute an official feast for the *corpus Christi*, another term for the host. He did this in 1246 and other diocese followed suit. Jacques Pantel on of Troyes, the archdeacon of Luik, was elected as pope in 1264 (as Urban IV), and he instituted the feast of Corpus Christi for the entire Roman Church. Corpus Christi processions made the feast more visible, as such processions ringed entire towns. Another force that brought the Eucharist to public attention was the violent and widespread campaigns against Jews. Such campaigns usually began with an accusation that a Jew had desecrated a host, for example by stabbing it, causing it to bleed. Such stories not only reinforced ideas about the real presence of Jesus within the bread but also elicited a scapegoat mentality that justified pogroms. Intensely anti-Jewish cults dedicated to bleeding hosts appeared across Northern Europe. The shrine of the Bleeding Host of Dijon was a favourite of French aristocrats, while the cult of the miraculous hosts of Wilsnack (in Germany) drew nearly as many pilgrims as did Rome. These forces—from scholastic debate at universities, to female devotion in convents, to papally ratified feasts, to aristocratic shrines, to popular anti-Jewish campaigns—brought constant attention to the *corpus Christi*, so that its veneration was emphatic and universal by the fifteenth century.

New focus on Eucharistic piety played a significant role in the content and design of prayerbooks in the mid-fifteenth century. They began routinely, including a bundle of prayers to be said before, during, and after communion. These acted like a drum-roll that heightened the importance of the event and set it off from the other events of mass. Most books of hours made after approximately 1440 contain a cluster of prayers dedicated to the sacrament. Their inclusion also confirms that people were taking their books to church and using them during mass, because rubricated instructions indicate when to read which prayer at which point during the celebration, or before/after taking the Eucharist. The *Adoro te* often appears in the context of such prayers.

When Philip the Good had himself depicted at a prie-dieu as witness to the Mass of St Gregory around 1450, he

44 Rudy 2016b.

was giving himself unfettered access to the miracle of the Eucharist not because he doubted the miracle but because he believed in it fully. To be privileged was to be close to the altar and to be able to demonstrate this belief publicly. Likewise the female donor of the Québriac Hours, made in Brittany around 1430, has herself depicted as a witness at the Mass of St Gregory rather than at any other place in the codex (Boston Public Library, Ms. q. med. 81, fol. 143r, fig. 85).⁴⁵ Various laypeople are behind her, framed by the architecture, but the artist has singled out this woman to be represented closest to the miraculous event.

The *Adoro te* Rubrics as Models for Other Rubrics

The large number of images depicting the Mass of St Gregory reveals the strong pressure that the prayer–indulgence–image combination exerted on the visual culture of the late fifteenth century. Another way in which these elements exerted force was through adaptation to other uses. I have already shown how the image was adapted to emphasize its role in the economy of indulgences. In this section I consider rubrics that borrow the language of the rubrics discussed in this chapter, but appear before prayers other than the *Adoro te*. To put it simply, in borrowing that language they tap into the most authoritative and large indulgences available. To make this point, I shall cite just four examples.

First, a prayerbook probably from a Franciscan convent in Maastricht, made in the 1520s, has this rubric:

*rub: Anyone who reads this prayer in honour of the suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ, which the angel brought to Pope St Sylvester, in front of the figure of the martyrdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, will earn 10,000 years' indulgence. The angel also noted that this [indulgence] would be *pena culpa*, that is, from both pain and guilt. Anyone who reads this prayer with devotion in his heart on Fridays on his knees before the martyrdom of Our Lord will earn this indulgence from pain and guilt. Read one *Pater noster* and an *Ave Maria* after each *Pater noster*. inc: O, most loving lord Jesus Christ, I thank you and bid you by your unfathomable mercy...*

BKB, Ms. 11231–11236, fol. 132r

This rubric sounds familiar because it borrows elements from the *Adoro te* rubrics: a celebrity pope, an enormous indulgence, and the requirement that it be performed in front of an image of the martyred Jesus, which could mean a crucifixion or even an image of Christ as Man of Sorrows. However, it prefaces a different prayer to Jesus. This rubric would not have been possible without the high-value, image-driven indulgence culture made normal by the *Adoro te* rubrics.

A second example is a fairly common 'Prayer to the Five Wounds of Christ'. A typical rubric prefacing this prayer is as follows:

*rub: St Gregory the first pope wrote these five following little prayers to honour the five wounds of our lord, to which he gave 500 years' indulgence and seven *carenen*. They are also good to read to prevent sudden death. inc: Hail, right hand of our lord Jesus Christ, which was pierced with a hard nail...*

BKB, Ms. 12079, fol. 117vb

This prayer still addresses the wounded Christ and would be appropriate to read before any one of a number of image types with Jesus showing his wounds. Elements borrowed from the *Adoro te* rubrics include featuring the great celebrity pope, Gregory, and attributing the prayer to him, as well as the ample indulgence.

A third example is a prayer from Copenhagen Thott 129, a manuscript from South Holland that I introduced earlier. It has a single full-page miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory and a particularly long-winded rubric before the five-verse version of the *Adoro te*. One unusual quality of the *Adoro te* in this manuscript is that it is called 'The indulgence of the *arma Christi*' (fol. 50r), and the emphasis on the *arma Christi* is reiterated in the miniature (see fig. 75). In keeping with the emphasis on the *arma Christi* and indulgences in this manuscript, there is a second prayer with these themes. According to the rubric:

rub: Many popes have given indulgences to the weapons of our Lord, and it all adds up to an indulgence of 3 years, 3000 days and 200 days.

COPENHAGEN, KB, Thott 129 octavo, fol. 38r

Although this sounds like an indulgence that could preface the *Adoro te*, in fact it prefaces a different prayer altogether, a prayer to the *arma Christi* that has nothing to do with the *Adoro te*. This unusual prayer instead treats in chronological order the objects and instruments that touched Jesus over his lifetime, beginning with the knife

45 For a description, see Lisa Fagin Davis's catalogue entry in Hamburger 2016, forthcoming.



FIGURE 85 Folio added to a French book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory, witnessed by the female donor presented by a saint with a bannered cross staff. Manuscript made c. 1430 in Brittany; leaf added slightly later.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, MS. Q. MED. 81, FOL. 143R.

that performed his circumcision, and ending with the clean linen cloth in which Joseph of Arimathea buried him. It tells the story of Jesus through forty-six individual objects, including the hand that hit him and swords and sticks that broke him. One could imagine performing this devotion in front of an image of the Mass of St Gregory such as the one in Thott 129, whose every empty space has been filled by *arma Christi*. Such a prayer would not be possible without the advanced indulgence culture, plus the visual currency of the Mass of St Gregory, the main carrier of *arma Christi* imagery. It is as if the more common prayer–indulgence–image combination with the Mass of St Gregory and the *Adoro te* gave way to a new prayer that was also heavily indulgenced but satisfied votaries' desires for a coherent prayer narrative.

Fourth, some rubrics make clear that the Verses of St Gregory had such a famous indulgence that it became a yardstick for others. That is the case in a prayer to be read before the *arma Christi*, which has this rubric:

rub: Item. Our most holy father Pope Leo gives any one who reads the five psalms written below with antiphon, verse, and collect the same sized indulgence that one would earn from reading the Verses of St Gregory before the instruments of the passion of our Lord. These five psalms begin with the five letters of the sweet name of our lord: JESUS. inc: Psalm. Jubilate deo omnis terra, etc...

BKB, Ms. IV 410, fol. 47v–48r

Because the selected psalms form an acrostic for the name 'Jesus' in Latin, the scribe gives the beginning of each psalm in Latin but then continues in the vernacular. This prayer therefore draws upon the power of Jesus' name for its strength, but matches the indulgence for the *Adoro te*, which was the gold standard for spiritual rewards.

Conclusions

Images of the Mass of St Gregory were formed of a pastiche of pre-existing components whose selection owes far more to rubrics for their iconographical elements than they do to the story recorded by Paul the Deacon. The late medieval visual motif(s) recycled older components, including Paul the Deacon's account, coupled with existing images of Christ as Man of Sorrows, indulgenced images of the *arma Christi*, and imagery from the cult of St Bridget. All these elements together would have once promulgated the cult image in Sta Croce and

the Passion relics housed there. When the motifs traversed the Alps, they lost their immediate connection to the church of Sta Croce and took on a life of their own whose meaning was inflected by what the northern audiences desired most: indulgences. The reworked visual motifs, plus the emphasis on indulgences and the mechanics of authorization, became the stuff of rubrics, which in turn provided guides for painters. Rubrics not only instructed votaries how to pray but also inadvertently instructed painters to make images (narrative images of the Mass of St Gregory) that would reiterate and enhance the indulgenced rubric-cum-prayer. Paintings of the Mass of St Gregory were both descriptive (reiterating the content of rubrics) and prescriptive (showing votaries what they should see). This worked on another level as well: another element that images of the Mass of St Gregory absorbed, magnified, and projected was the image of the mass itself. They gave viewers an idealized view of an event that might have taken place daily but was still remote, hard to see. They made the mass more visible. Images responded to rubrics, and to the need to flesh out the space, to populate the narrative with characters and events (pain, suffering), and to visualize the Church's authority.

If the Carthusians in Rome had cobbled together the 'original' story and did so as a public relations ploy, others recombined the elements of the Mass of St Gregory to advance their own interests. Franciscans touted their accomplishments by emphasizing their role in increasing the indulgence. Book-makers and printers also played a role individually, as it was advantageous to them to stimulate a market for their wares by including the Mass of St Gregory along with its legendary indulgence. In effect, the Carthusians produced something that was so attractive that it became popular beyond their own circles of control, and others harnessed the power of the image–rubric–indulgence system for different aims. But in its rapid dissemination and multiplication, many of the copies lost touch with the original icon in Rome around which the tale had been spun in the first place.

The Mass of St Gregory presents a paradox: increasingly in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the image represents the Church hierarchy, as reflected in the rubrics and the names of popes and bishops who granted an indulgence to those who say the words of the prayer while meeting other conditions, usually including being 'before' an image of the suffering Christ and/or his instruments of torture. However, a praying subject could in fact perform the prayerful ritual, earn the indulgence, without having any recourse to

members of the hierarchy at all. The ecclesiastical officials in the images replaced the flesh-and-blood officials, who were out of sight, or otherwise inaccessible in Rome or behind a screen. While the ritual of the Eucharist could turn the bread into the body of Christ, the rituals around 'private prayer' could turn flesh-and-blood priests into paper dolls.

I admit I am being a bit glib here. Priests were still necessary, in the eyes of late medieval Christians, to carry out the mass and regularly re-make the *corpus Christi*. But many of the elements in books of hours and prayerbooks circumvent their rituals. As I discussed earlier, lay people were taking their books to church and reading them during mass. There they were engaging in rituals, part of whose purpose was to demonstrate publicly their own piety, and part to earn indulgences, which had become the measure of spiritual purity.

Why did images of the Mass of St Gregory multiply in the second half of the fifteenth century? The success of its dissemination occurred not because the debate between reason and faith had flared up again, but because the images made the mysterious goings-on at the altar more visible to a widening public that was eager to see a ritual that had been accessible only to the nobility. They still sought the mysterious celebrations at the altar, even when private prayerbooks and widespread literacy were eroding the relevance of the Latin Mass. What laypeople also cared about was that the story and its accompanying images became umbilically connected to an enormous indulgence.⁴⁶ And what better way to earn them than in front of images that made an idealized mass present?

46 Endres 1917.

PART 3

Marian Images and Prayers

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Introduction to Part 3



FIGURE 86 *Appearance of the Virgin and Child to a group of Dominicans in a church, early 16th century, Northern Netherlands. Painting on panel, Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, ABM s71.*

In a small panel now in the Catharijneconvent in Utrecht, two neat columns of Dominican friars are having a group vision of the Virgin, who stands as if in a receiving line (fig. 86). Although every friar wears a white habit and has a tonsure, each is individuated like a portrait. Acknowledging the presence of the friars, the Christ Child lunges towards them. The Virgin's attendance, made palpable to both the friars and the viewers of the image, authenticates the vision itself. Her presence is registered on the friars' faces as thrill and awe. A subgenre of Marian rubricated prayers promises that, without a doubt, the reader will experience a vision as a result of praying a particular prayer. If Middle Dutch rubrics are any indication, votaries prayed for a vision of the Virgin, which would confirm that the visionary had received grace.

Marian piety overlapped with Christocentric piety but had somewhat different aims. Like Christocentric piety, devotion to Mary was expressed frequently and in many varieties. It often took animism as a given, as many prayers forged intimate connections with images, so that sculptures and pictures might come alive. Many rubrics in Middle Dutch prayer books specify that votaries were to perform in the presence of an image. As relevant images were often absent in the manuscripts themselves, such rubrics imply that votaries would take their books with them to church. Many, if not most, churches would have housed a miracle-working image of the Virgin. Some of these became more famous than others, which leads to another way in which Marian piety stands apart from the Christocentric: Mary had many manifestations and just as many personalities, while Jesus remained Jesus. Rubrics in prayer books sometimes ask the votary to pray not in front of an image of the Virgin, but in front of a particular image of her.

Many Marian prayers have rubrics that promise a future vision of the Virgin to those who perform devoutly now. Most often, such visionary visits would happen on one's deathbed. It was usually Mary, not Jesus, whom the devout practised calling upon for the final hour. A great many miracles relate stories of the Virgin Mary who would appear at the eleventh hour to save a soul in peril, or would appear with an entourage of angels to those suffering anxiety at the ends of their lives. These stories, which often tell how 'the following prayer' saved someone who was desperately praying, also made their way into

devotional literature by way of rubrics. As such, rubrics testified to the tried and true nature of the prayers they prefaced. Miraculously summoning the Virgin through prayer was tantamount to being saved, and bypassed the regular mechanics of Purgatory. Thus, while some devotion to the Virgin followed the same models as devotion to Christ, as far as certain fixed prayers yielding fixed amounts of purgatorial remission, another strand of devotion—which drew from miracle stories—certified salvation. The Virgin was good not only for averting Purgatory but also for all-around comfort.

While some Marian prayers promised visions, others offered indulgences. There was one kind of image, the Virgin *in Sole* (the image of Mary clothed in the rays of the sun and standing on the moon), which paralleled the Mass of St Gregory as an image–prayer–rubric package with a papal imprimatur. This indulgenced image of Mary began replacing other kinds of images in the mid-fifteenth century and became one of the most frequent images in votaries' visual landscapes. Just as rubrics prefacing the Verses of St Gregory grew in length and offered ever larger indulgences, those before the analogous Marian prayer also increased in length and value. Devotion to the Virgin *in Sole* became bound up with another form of devotion, a highly countable and mechanical form: the rosary. One of the main aims of the rosary was to generate indulgences, and entire brotherhoods arose to chant the rosary. I treat these issues in Chapter 7.

Marian prayers and imagery partook of the same kind of logic as indulgences, which involved counting, calculation, intercession, and ritual centred on particular indulgenced images. Particularly, images of the Virgin *in Sole* rivalled those of the Mass of St Gregory for the quantity of the indulgences they offered and the ubiquity with which they appeared in manuscripts. Rubrics that mediated relationships between (images of) Mary, the votary, and the praying subject had a different history from those to Jesus. Some Marian rubrics grew out of the literature of miraculous *exempla*. Others carried a papal imprimatur, similar to the rubrics before 'Gregory's vision'. Still others seem to be a response to the embodied votary encountering a physical object—a representation of the Virgin. These facts weave in and out of the rubrics, prayers, and indulgences that enmeshed Marian piety at the end of the Middle Ages.

Prayers and Miracles before the Virgin's Image

A psalter-breviary probably made by the Augustinian canonesses of Delft in the 1460s contains an unusual litany in Latin that suggests the breadth of Marian piety in the period under question (Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.1.75, fol. 197r, fig. 87).¹ Litanies are standard prayers in books of hours and in other prayerbooks. They usually list saints, starting with Mary, then continuing with archangels, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and finally virgins. Through the litany, the reader asks each saint individually to 'Pray for me!' (*ora pro me*), or sometimes for the collective, 'Pray for us!' (*Ora pro nobis*). What is different about the litany in the Delft prayerbook is that it petitions only Mary, again and again. 'Sancta Maria qui totum mundum illumines: ora pro nobis! Sancta Maria qui tuos serventis exultas: ora pro nobis!... Sancta Maria illuminatrix cordum: ora pro nobis!' The list is

modelled after the litany of the saints, except that instead of listing the names of the individual saints—Agnes, Catherine, Agnes, and so forth—it lists the different names of the Virgin. Each of the seventy-two names appears as if it were a separate person. It is structured as a litany, but each name begins on a fresh line with a decorated capital and ends with the refrain, *ora pro me*. Furthermore, this litany of the Virgin begins with the 'Kyrie eleison' and ends with 'ut' and 'per' statements, just as the litany of the saints does. As this list makes plain, the medieval votary considered Mary to have seventy-two separate personalities, each of which could be implored separately for intervention. Mary was all things to all (Christian) people. Lists of her names lurking in various forms enumerate her manifold ways of displaying compassion.



FIGURE 87 Opening in a psalter-breviary, with the seventy-two names of the Virgin written as a litany. Manuscript made in the 1460s in Delft (convent of St Agnes?).

CAMBRIDGE, TRINITY COLLEGE, MS. O.1.75, FOL. 197R.

1 Morgan and Panayotova 2009, p. 70, cat. 29.

A related Psalter of Our Dear Lady, also copied into a manuscript from Delft, emphasizes her intermediating roles:

rub: Our dear lady's Psalter of the blessed virgin Mary and of the real mother of God, who is a queen of heaven, a woman of the angels, glory of the saints, and loving spokesperson to all her servants, was written by the sweet-sounding instrument of divine love, the mellifluous teacher St Bernard. It is very good to read this with devotion, because one becomes absorbed in great sweetness. She also helps the souls in purgatory when this is read for them. Anyone who reads an *Ave Maria* after each psalm, as it is intoned in the heavenly bedroom of the holy Trinity, will receive from Pope John XIII [sic] 24 years of indulgence and 240 days, according to a real bull seen in France in a convent of Regulars.

AUB, Ms. I G 15, fol. 1ra

This rubric also participates in the rhetoric of authenticity by citing a particular bull in an unspecified convent somewhere in France, and also by attributing the prayer to a famous champion of Mary. It demonstrates the lengths to which votaries would go to feel reassured that their prayers would be effective, by connecting it with such authorities and indulgences. Moreover, it sets up a relation implicit in much Marian devotional literature: that Mary is a great communicator, someone who can petition various heavenly beings on behalf of the earth-bound votary.

Mary, supreme intercessor between penitent sinners and Jesus, was often favoured over her son as the more approachable being. She was a projection of all that was good, beautiful, and compassionate. One could count among her personae Mother of God, Queen of the Saints, Chosen Virgin, Queen of Heaven, Mother and Bride of Christ. Ever since Proclus in the mid-fifth century had begun praising Mary by stringing together her appellations, prayers to individual manifestations of the Virgin remained among the most common and spiritually fruitful prayers in the Middle Ages.² The cult of the Virgin was ubiquitous in Northern Europe and south of the Alps, in the Catholic as well as the Orthodox confessions. Her cult was far-flung, but at the same time she was emphatically local: one did not necessarily pray to the Virgin so much as one prayed to a particular Virgin, whose aspect

was concretized in a locally recognized image.³ In this way, the Virgin remained as local and accessible as saints did, and individual images of Mary adopted the roles of caretaker, miracle-worker, and prayer respondent. Several collections of Marian miracle legends circulated after the thirteenth century.⁴

The particular manifestations of Mary's general practice of intercession were often associated with images, particularly sculptures. An *exemplum* about Mary reveals some of the character traits medieval believers ascribed to her (or her image). It appears in a manuscript that a monk copied for his friend, who was a monk in a different monastery (AUB, Ms. I G 18, fols 133v–136r). Four characters appear in the story: a sinner, the devil, and the Virgin and Child, the latter two taking the form of a talking sculpture. According to the *exemplum*, there was once a cleric who squandered his riches by living a sinful life, then felt depressed about his newly impoverished state. Approaching the cleric, the devil wanted to know why he was so dejected. When the cleric told him, the devil promised him all the riches he could want if 'you forsake your God and his mother'. The cleric forsook God and, reluctantly, Mary as well. For his part, the devil rewarded him with many riches, and the cleric lived for a long time in great sin. God then sent him a message, warning him that he would be damned for ever if he were to die in that state. 'He fell onto his knees in front of the image of the true queen Mary who had her child on her lap', and he begged her to have mercy upon him, but Mary told the sinner that she could not help him, since he had forsaken God and her. Thrice he asked her for help and forgiveness, and thrice she refused him. Finally he asked her how he should address her, and she told him that some call her the 'woman of the angels' or the 'queen of heaven and earth', but the sinner reminded her, 'You have another name, which is written in the *Salve Regina*'. Mary agreed that she was indeed called the 'merciful mother of God'. The sinner argued that her name meant that she should not abandon him, and he begged her to help him, lest she tarnish her good name.

² For an overview of the role of Mary in the Middle Ages, see Warner 1976; Rubin 2009, pp. 44–48, 66–67, and *passim*.

³ Freedberg 1989 describes Marian pluralism, esp. p. 120. J. Toussaert, *Le sentiment religieux en Flandre à la fin du Moyen-Age: civilisation d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1960), 286–287, defines Mariology as 'polytheism de demi-dieux', and describes the competition between the different Marys. For an overview of Marian devotion, see Rubin 2009.

⁴ For an overview of medieval miracles, see Poncelet 1902; Ward 1982; Duys 2007; Rubin 2009, pp. 228–242. For a facsimile of a courtly copy of the *Miracles of Our Lady*, see Laborde 1929. Hens et al. 1978 edit the 's-Hertogenbosch miracle book, which lists 480 miracles, mostly healing.

Mary capitulated and turned to her son Jesus, saying, 'Dear child, have mercy on this sinner'.

And Jesus answered, 'Dear mother, he has forsaken me, and he does not deserve my grace'.

Then 'the graceful Mary took the image of Jesus and placed it on the altar and knelt in front of the altar next to the sinner and said, "Dear child, have mercy on this sinner"'. Jesus, however, refused his mother's request, saying, 'The door to heaven is closed to him'.

And Mary replied, 'If the door to heaven is closed to him, then let me be his window, so that he may enter everlasting life through my strength'. Finally, Jesus capitulated, and the Virgin told the sinner to go and sin no more. With great joy, he left and threw all his riches away and entered a monastery, where he served Jesus and Mary, 'who brought him with great joy from this life to eternal life'.

This *exemplum* reveals that the names of Mary were so powerful that uttering one of them—which forms part of the *Salve Regina*—could reverse the course of the narrative. Secondly, the story demonstrates that ecclesiastical statuary occupied a liminal space that bridged the earthly and supernatural worlds, as when the sculptures come to life and talk. While the sculpture of Jesus talks only to his mother, the sculpture of Mary talks to both the sinner and the sculpture of her son, making Mary and/or her sculptural avatar an animated intermediary with the divine. Although the story begins with a common Faustian bargain, ultimately it is about abandoning sin and entering a monastery, and perhaps that is why the male scribe included it in the manuscript that he wrote for his 'best friend in Jesus'. This *exemplum* is a testament to not only the power of the images but also of the *Salve Regina*. It reaffirms the monk's choice to be in a monastery.

Beginning in the thirteenth century, and flourishing after the mid-fourteenth, books of hours were primary tools of Marian devotion for the lay public.⁵ Their defining text was the Little Office of the Virgin, based on the monastic breviary and containing prayers to be read at the eight canonical hours: matins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, compline. As a general rule, the lay community received its new devotions from those developed in monastic settings, which were then repackaged for broader use.⁶ From the monastic walls exited the core of the breviary in the form of books of hours, which the laity enthusiastically consumed. Books of hours dominated late medieval manuscript production, and the Little Office of the Virgin

was probably the most widespread lay devotional scheme in Christendom. Much has been written about the Hours of the Virgin, their decoration, and their use.⁷ The current study, of course, treats manuscripts written in Middle Dutch, which can nearly all be localized to the Low Countries.⁸ These developed with standard iconography, which almost always included an image of the Annunciation to mark matins of the Hours of the Virgin. Thus, the image depicting the incarnation of Christ became the premier image of Marian devotion. This was the case until an indulgenced image—the Virgin *in Sole*—began to usurp it, as I discuss shortly.

Marian imagery also functioned in more abstract ways, which were by-products of shifts in technology. While measuring time in terms of canonical hours—which changed with the seasons and were intimately connected to the available daylight hours—continued as a feature of monastic life, an alternative was found in urban centres in the mechanical clock.⁹ A concomitant form of prayer and imagery emerged with this innovation. In a manuscript copied shortly after 1503, a prayer to the Virgin begins with a rubric indicating that 'Pope Julius II has given an indulgence of 80,000 years to anyone who reads these prayers when the prayer clock strikes' (BKB, Ms. II 6907, fol. 120v). A related rubric in a manuscript possibly from Mechelen around 1500 indicates that 'Anyone who reads these three following prayers in the evening and morning when the Ave Maria clock strikes will earn indulgences' (HKB, Ms. 71 G 53, fol. 78v). These rubrics refer to a mechanical clock installed to remind votaries to pay homage to the Virgin. A reference to such a device appears in an engraved roundel by Israel van Meckenem, who as an engraver came from a tradition of goldsmiths, the makers of early clocks (fig. 88).¹⁰ Reading the text round its periphery requires the beholder to rotate the print 360 degrees. A votary's manipulation both reveals a text praising the Virgin Mary and makes the clock turn. Inside the

5 For an introduction to the earliest books of hours, see Donovan 1991. The *De Brailles Hours* was written and lavishly illuminated in Oxford around 1240 (now London, British Library, Add. Ms. 49999).

6 Scheepsma 1995.

7 For an excellent general overview, see Wieck 1988, esp. the intro.

8 For Dutch books of hours, see Marrow 2007, with further references.

9 North 2005.

10 London, British Museum, inv. 1888,0619.31. The engraving measures 112 × 105 mm. The inscription reads 'Ave potentissima et humilissima virgo maria. Ave sapientissima et humilissima virgo maria. Ave benignissima et humilissima virgo maria gratia plena doniminus tecum'. See *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700*, vol. XXIV: *Israel van Meckenem*, text by Fritz Koreny, ed. Tilman Falk (Amsterdam, M. Hertzberger, 1954–), nos 191 (print in London), 192 (print in Berlin). For the reception of van Meckenem's prints depicting clocks, see Hoffmann 1995.

image a series of events also functions like clockwork: as an angel presents the clock on the hour, the Virgin extends her child towards the mechanism with one hip so he can strike it with his mallet; at the same time, she leans in the other direction to hand the monk his breviary so that he might pray for souls. This mirrors a new, mechanized system of indulgences, whereby a votary's devotional acts earned indulgence credits to be applied against temporal punishment, which was also quantifiable.¹¹

Van Meckenem's print itself draws a relationship between repeated devotional performance and salvation. Two banderols flutter against the backdrop, animating the image with a playful line and form that characterizes this master's work. Meyer Schapiro noted that text need not be filled into the banderol in order for it to signify a speech act.¹² Here the banderol at the left clearly emanates from the lips of the tonsured monk, and it swirls around his face before winding up towards God, thereby suggesting that the prayers he reads will reach a divine audience. The other banderol, however, does not emerge from the lips of the angel or of Christ, but transports the clang of the

ringing bell upwards. This bell is therefore making an audible statement, a call to prayer. Audiences who could afford an engraving (an art form that emerged from the industry of goldsmithing and may have attracted a somewhat wealthier clientele than the woodcut) must have owned—or at least seen—a small table clock such as the one pictured for the image to make sense. Israel van Meckenem thereby refers to the trappings of his own clients.

Other prayers to the Virgin also concern saving worldly time and ensuring salvation in otherworldly time. One, for example, offers an extremely abbreviated version of the Hours of the Virgin, copied into a prayerbook that belonged to a house of Franciscan (later Augustinian) sisters in Hoorn (AUB, Ms. I F 14, fols 164r–170v). This highly condensed version fits onto only six folios. Rubrics summarize the main event from each canonical hour; for example, '*Tercie. Hoe si nam die gruet/ vanden engel wel zuet*' (Terce. How she received greetings/ from the sweet angel). Reading (and memorizing) the rhyming rubrics alone would provide a scale model of the story of the incarnation and Mary's life. In that way, the rubrics are not dissimilar from series of miniatures, which serve as mnemonics by distilling and ordering the same events. Whereas the rubrics flagging the seven hours are set into rhyming couplets that can only be described as doggerel, the short prayer texts themselves do not rhyme. One wonders, therefore, whether the reader might have further reduced the burden of this devotion by reciting only the rhyming rubrics, which could easily be memorized. It is often the case in late medieval prayer that one finds a tension between terse prayers and those that delight in verbiage.

Despite these attempts at time- and labour-saving devotions, all but the simplest books of hours contain several extra prayers dedicated to the Virgin. The *O intemerata*, the *Obsecro te*, and the *Salve Regina* are the most common.¹³ These, along with other prayers to the Virgin, often appear grouped together, where, flagged by rubrics, they were often connected with images and promised indulgences.

The prayer *O intemerata et in aeternum benedicta*—which had several Middle Dutch translations in circulation by the mid-fifteenth century—frequently accompanied the Marian Hours, but it had unstable rubrics and was only sometimes indulgenced. It treats the love of Mary and John the Evangelist for Jesus as they are



FIGURE 88 Israel van Meckenem, *Virgin and Child with a clock*, c. 1490, engraving, signed at the upper part of the vegetal design 'IvM'.

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, INV. 1888,0619.31

11 That late medieval votaries tallied their own punishments as well as tallying the pain from the Passion of Christ is the subject of essays in MacDonald et al. 1998.

12 Schapiro 1996 (based on a lecture given in 1976).

13 For the *O intemerata* and the *Obsecro te*, see Leroquais 1927–1929, vol. I, pp. xxxii–xxxv (regarding the user's gender), xlii–xliv; vol. II, pp. 346–347, for a transcription of the *Obsecro te* in Latin. Deschamps and Mulder 1998– list the *Obsecro te* as G6; the *O intemerata* as G 7.

standing under his Cross and Jesus utters a few final words to them. This prayer asks Mary to intercede on the reader's behalf, to allow the Holy Spirit to live in his or her heart so that he or she may also burn with as much love as Mary burns for her son. Occasionally attributed to St Augustine, the prayer often has a significant indulgence attached to it, even though it asks for love, not for the release of souls.¹⁴ There was no consensus regarding the appropriate image to preface this prayer. The Prayerbook of Margaret of Croy includes the *O intemerata*, complete with a portrait of the donor kneeling with her book open before the Virgin holding the dead Christ in her lap (fig. 89).¹⁵ In contrast, another manuscript made in the Southern Netherlands prefaces the same prayer with an image of the Virgin *in Sole* (HKB 76 G 22, fig. 90). While the first of these emphasizes the physical presence of the Virgin and the donor's proximity to her, the second one emphasizes an otherworldly quality.

In many prayerbooks the rubric for the *Obsecro te* in Middle Dutch translation indicates that it was indulged; furthermore, it was a common prayer around which miracles and visions sprouted.¹⁶ The *Salve Regina*, of which numerous Middle Dutch translations were in circulation by the middle of the fifteenth century, was often involved in miracles, and was used by desperate people seeking them, as is clear in miracle stories, which became condensed as rubrics.¹⁷ I will return to the themes of miracles and miraculous visions associated with these prayers.

More ubiquitous still was the *Ave Maria*. That medieval children memorized the *Ave Maria* in Latin alongside the *Pater noster* guaranteed the prayer's inculcation from earliest childhood across a wide social swathe. *Ave Maria* appears often as a refrain, repeated multiple times within complex Marian prayer sequences. Its continual repetition stemmed from its composition, which encompasses two parts. The first part putatively captures the 'angelic



FIGURE 89 Folio in the *Hours of Margaret of Croy*, with a column-wide miniature depicting Margaret of Croy kneeling before the Virgin with her dead son in her lap. Made c. 1450 in Utrecht or Bruges.

CHICAGO, NEWBERRY LIBRARY, MS. 56, FOL. 151R.

greeting', the words the angel Gabriel uttered when he informed the Virgin of her miraculous pregnancy (*Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum*). The second part records the words uttered at the Visitation, when Mary bearing Jesus was visited by her cousin Elizabeth, who was bearing John the Baptist. Elizabeth was said to have uttered a greeting when they met (*Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus*). Both parts of this prayer therefore purport to record a monologue from sacred history. Believers understood that these words so pleased the Virgin that hearing them would transport her to a state of bliss. To utter the *Ave Maria* was to let a beautiful mnemonic rain over Mary. To shower her repeatedly with aural pleasure drove the logic behind the rosary, whereby the votary uttered a set number of *Ave Marias* while counting them on a string of beads or knots. The concept of having the fingers count while the mind prays with a simple mnemonic counting device predates Christianity, but this devotion became extremely popular in the late Middle Ages. Worshippers collected beaded jewellery made from all manner of material so that its form and preciousness would echo the beauty and

14 Augustinian authorship is attested in e.g. BKB, Ms. 19575, fols 96–99, for which see Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, vol. II, p. 15.

15 Chicago, Newberry Ms. 56. See Saenger 1989, p. 105, according to whom, part of the manuscript was made in Bruges c. 1430 (fols 1–6 and 13–107), and the remaining parts were made in Utrecht c. 1450.

16 The translation usually reads: 'Ic bidde u, heilige Maria moeder godes vole ende overvloedich van genaden des oversten conijcks dochter ende moeder der wesen'. For an overview of the *Obsecro te*, see Wieck 1988.

17 For versions of the *Salve Regina*, see Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, G 47; Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, no. 24. There was also a rhyming Dutch translation, for which see Lievens 1994–1995.



FIGURE 90 Folio in a book of hours in Latin, with a column-wide miniature depicting the Virgin in Sole, prefacing the O Intemerata. Made c. 1450 in the Southern Netherlands. THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 76 G 22, FOL. 22R.

structure of the devotion.¹⁸ Consequently, a large number of prayers to the Virgin provide a structure that frames the recitation of a fixed number of *Ave Marias*. Multiple recitations of *Ave Marias* punctuate nearly all other Marian prayers, and usually also mark their termination: a *Pater noster* to end Christological prayers, an *Ave Maria* for Marian ones.

Sometimes also called the Canticle of Mary, the *Magnificat* comes from the Gospel of Luke (1:46–55) and is said to record the Virgin's response to Gabriel's announcement that she will bear the son of God. It therefore purports to transcribe the Virgin's joyous words. These prayers were believed to have a divine origin, having been composed by Mary herself. Reciting the words of the prayer, beyond the sentiment or meaning they hold, could therefore bring a believer into close relationship with their author.¹⁹ Thus

they offered the ideal nest for indulgences and rubrics, which tried to capitalize directly and quantifiably on that opportunity.

Although the 'typical' manuscript book of hours is an elusive creature, because they were hand-crafted and therefore variable, a glance at an example, HKB, Ms. 74 G 3, a book of hours made in Leiden and illuminated by the Masters of Hugo Jansz. van Woerden in the last decade of the fifteenth century, can expose some elements of a common thread running through Marian devotion. This manuscript contains a calendar, followed by a full-page miniature depicting the Annunciation to the Virgin (fig. 91).

Facing this, the rubric on the recto, written in burnished gold in a frame circumscribing the text block, reads: 'The Hours of the Virgin begins here. Domine. In honour of the most blessed Virgin Mary, let us experience complete joy' (fol. 14r). Gilt text—which is a call to joy—circumscribes three sides of the text block, literally framing the prayer. A drop of wax, which has left a brown translucent stain near the capital *H*, suggests that an early user did, in fact, read the text at the dark hour of matins by candlelight, thereby making the gilt text shimmer. At the end of, or as part of, the Hours of the Virgin, there are several extra Marian prayers, including the *Magnificat* and the *Salve Regina*. Finally, at the end of the quire, the scribe has added a prayer with an indulgence of 40 days (fol. 43v). Thus, indulgences are packed in around the official texts.

These texts emphasize the Virgin's various roles as the mother of Jesus, God's chosen vessel, the most pure woman, the celebrated Virgin, the seat of compassion, and, by extension, the one who is able to shorten a votary's purgatorial sentence. The combination of versatility of forms and unique power of intercession meant that the Virgin was a veritable magnet for indulgences and indulgenced images. In the next two chapters, I present a selection of devotions to the Virgin, with special attention to indulgenced devotions and those requiring an image of the Virgin. Marian miracles often provide the material for narrative rubrics, which in turn, preface many other sorts of Marian prayers.

Milk Bath

In an engraving by the Master IAM of Zwolle depicting the Lactation of St Bernard, the Virgin rewards Bernard's devotions by grasping her milk-laden breast with which she had been suckling the infant Jesus, and redirecting a powerful squirt of milk onto Bernard's

18 Winston-Allen 1997, As-Vijvers 2007, who describes the gendered nature of rosary beads, and the various materials used.

19 Graef 1985, pp. 10–12, details the origins of the *Magnificat*, which may be an example of ancient hymns composed in thanksgiving for a first-born child.



FIGURE 91 Opening in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Annunciation, and the incipit of the Hours of the Virgin. Made shortly before 1497 in South Holland (Leiden?).

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 74 G 3, FOLS 13V–14R.

forehead (fig. 92).²⁰ This baptism by milk testifies to the power of prayer to the Virgin as well as to her physical presence. If the miracle that proved the reality of Christ's blood and flesh upon the altar was the Mass of St Gregory, the parallel Marian miracle that proved that she was sustaining, protecting, and providing sustenance for mortal believers—even suckling them—was the Lactation of St Bernard. According to the story, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), the most celebrated member of the early Cistercian order, had doubted the presence and veracity of Jesus, so he prayed to the Virgin, 'Monstra te esse matrem' (Show thyself to be a mother), the words that appear emanating from Bernard on the print. Uttering the words 'Ecce Ber[nar]de' (Behold, Bernard), the Virgin appeared to him and confirmed that she was, indeed, the Virginal mother of God, by squirting breast milk at him.²¹ With one

gesture, she pledges to use her influence on her son, whom she had nursed, and also silences Bernard as if he were a nursing babe.²²

The correspondences between this story and that of the Mass of St Gregory are several: in both cases the doubtful votary became convinced of an elusive point of dogma after a physical encounter with the holy, in both cases manifested as showers of effluvia. Both in this print and in most fifteenth-century representations of the Mass of St Gregory, the artist emphasizes the tangible rather than the visionary qualities of the respective events. Master IAM's interpretation is unusual and, as Henk van Os points out, Bernard's lactary anointing was more commonly depicted using the conventions of a vision, with the Virgin

20 Lehrs 1908, vol. VII (Vienna, 1930), pp. 165–218; Filedt Kok 1990, esp. 352, points out that the print stems from the engraver's mature period; Os 1994, pp. 52–53, 178.

21 Conrad of Eberbach included the story of Bernard and the lactating sculpture in his *Exordium magnum*, a collection of

Cistercian miracle stories, for which see McGuire 1991, pp. 196–202. Rubin 2009, pp. 149–157, recounts the central position of Mary in Cistercian spirituality.

22 I have enjoyed and greatly benefited from conversations on the Lactation of St Bernard with Alison Altstatt, Eugene, Oregon, 2004.



FIGURE 92 *Master iam of Zwolle, Lactation of St Bernard, c. 1480–85, engraving, 320 × 241 mm.*

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSPRENTENKABINET, INV. RP-P-OB-1093.

appearing to the saint from a cloud, for example.²³ But here, remarkably, the event takes place inside a crowded church and is witnessed by a monk entering the chapel at the left. A dog, with its paws on the step before the altar, confirms the reality—as opposed to the visionary or imaginary quality—of the strange miracle by barking furiously. In the print the ‘vision’ has crystallized into the physical. An insistently present and hefty Virgin appears enthroned on an altar in a tangible, spacious church. An acolyte has just lighted the candles flanking her. This both ‘illuminates’ the vision and sets it firmly in a church interior, amid ecclesiastical trappings and rituals. Both the Mass of St Gregory and the Lactation of St Bernard therefore depict personal visionary experiences of spiritual leaders, whose visions are made visible to an audience. Both involve images. What differentiates the two events, however, was their degree of popularity afterwards, their cultural saturation. Whereas the micro-mosaic in Rome was proffered to pilgrims as the image that St Gregory saw, there was no corresponding image of the Virgin that was presented as the one that had squirted milk. Whereas Gregory’s

vision became bound up with the machinery of Roman pilgrimage, Bernard’s virgin was not an international destination. And, most important for the two images’ distribution and imagery, whereas the Mass of St Gregory became instrumental in the large indulgence culture, the Lactation of St Bernard had no indulgences attached to it. Bernard’s milk-squirting Madonna became fixed in an oral tradition but did not swell in popularity, because it had no indulgences. Without the thrust of indulgences behind it, the image did not land in devotional situations across Europe, as Gregory’s Mass had, but instead appears only in a few illuminations and prints.

St Bernard is, in effect, instructing the votary on how to use an image—to interact with it and endow it with speech and action. He is doing what many rubrics do, but he is showing votaries rather than telling them how to stand before an image of the Virgin and animate it with his fervent emotions combined with faith, hope, and doubt. It appears as if St Bernard were making his devotions in front of a miracle-working image of the Virgin in a church. As discussed earlier, Bernard emphasized the tangible qualities of his first-hand experience with the holy, and his prayer addressing Christ’s body parts is often illustrated with a miniature depicting Christ loosening himself from the Cross to embrace Bernard. This seeking of the tangible was therefore associated with St Bernard across several narratives.

As the engraving suggests, Marian piety often took place in the public space of the church. It drew upon a culture of miracle-working images, and therefore in oral, written, or imaged testimonies to miracles that would inspire hope among miracle-seekers for repeat performances. In that way, votaries would conform their behaviour, their physical stance, and consequently their mental attitude and thoughts, to those of a model. Outward appearances would conduct a votary toward correct mental attitude, and eventually, toward salvation.

Dozens of copycat legends circulated in Middle Dutch books of the Virgin’s miracles. These most often occur in the presence of an image, which ‘comes alive’ and releases a jet of milk into the mouth of the votary, thereby nourishing him both physically and spiritually. Miracle legends in fact demonstrate that conforming to Bernard’s model brought about a requested effect, and in several stories the Virgin appears to votaries with mouth problems and offers them her breast milk, obviously in imitation of Bernard’s experience. In subsequent miracles, which were collected and produced in Middle Dutch versions, the Virgin’s lactation cures a cleric with lip cancer, the milk repairs a certain Bishop Fulbertus of an oral problem; it soothes another man’s throat condition; and it even manages to sweeten the breath of one monk who had suffered

23 Os 2000, p. 78. See also Ringbom 1980.

interminably from halitosis.²⁴ Reprises of Bernard's 'baptism', which only occur to men, always couple male mouths with female breasts. This genre emphasizes the physicality of the Virgin in the world. Unlike Christological piety, Marian piety is more sanguine and hopeful, since the Mary of the legends responds to prayer and usually concedes the bidder's request, or even his fantasy. *Conformatitas* was not just something votaries did when imitating saints, but was also something people did when imitating those who had previously received grace.

Cults of the Virgins

Miracle-working images of the Virgin Mary adopted individual characteristics and particular personalities in order to distinguish themselves from a large field of competitors. Within the cult of the Virgin were thousands of images, which often competed for attention by outperforming similar images. Compilations of miracles recorded the results of prayer to cult images, albeit through a thick gauze of convention and hearsay. Such a miracle book was preserved at the shrine of Our Dear Lady of 's-Hertogenbosch. This manuscript contains the cumulative transcription of the miracles that the sculpture began performing shortly after it was installed in the Sint-Janskathedraal in 1381. The earliest entry takes the form of a versified encomium, while subsequent entries are written in prose. For the purpose of caring for this image, the Brotherhood of Our Dear Lady (Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Broederschap) expanded, eventually growing large and wealthy. They preserved the poem chronicling these early days of her newly found fame, and continued to add subsequent miracles to it through the seventeenth century.²⁵ Hieronymus Bosch, the painter of dystopian fantasies, was counted among the Brotherhood's members in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁶ Although the cult was temporarily suppressed during the French occupation in the late eighteenth century, it now continues to thrive, and the image is processed annually and performs miracles.

Most of the 480 miracles listed in the sculpture's miracle book are healing. According to the long rhyming

text describing the earliest miracle—performed shortly after the sculptor first delivered the image of the Virgin to the townspeople of 's-Hertogenbosch—the image had originally been poorly received. In fact, the people hated the new Virgin and considered her ugly. In response to her unsightly features, they went so far as to take reprisals, including making her even less comely by smearing her cheeks with yellow paint. This conflicted sharply with the red and white cheeks that conformed to the ideal of pulchritude, so that the defacement not only gave the Virgin a touch of jaundice, but it also deliberately flew in the face of an idealized aesthetic. Needless to say, no one would pray to such a repulsive statue. As the story goes, one local woman finally deigned to petition the sculpture, and the image unexpectedly performed a miracle. To show her thanks to the Virgin, the miracle's recipient had the sculpture repainted so that she would have red lips, white skin, and golden hair. Once she was painted, the Virgin attracted more attention (and authority) from sufferers, she granted more favours, received more paint and decoration, until—in a self-reinforcing spiral of miracle-granting and beautification—she glistened with new clothes, gems, and gifts. Her pulchritude, in other words, was commensurate with her healing power. Of course, these spurred a chain reaction by increasing her fame and reputation, which in turn drew ever more pilgrims to her shrine.

Descriptions of the Virgin's miracles such as this one are instructive for understanding how late medieval votaries prayed and what they expected from their prayers. The beauty of the particular cult image of the Virgin and her reputation as a miracle worker were closely entangled. Beauty and power were mutually reinforcing. To notice and to praise all the Virgin's body parts, and to laud their conformation with aesthetic ideals, was to curry favour with the Virgin and increase the likelihood that she would perform. Of course, this was most effectively done in front of the sculpture itself.

This brings us back to an important issue: unlike compilations such as the *Miracles of Our Lady of 's-Hertogenbosch*, prayers in prayerbooks were not written for just one cult image; rather, they were to be used in conjunction with any image of the Virgin. Some prayers to the Virgin are grouped in manuscripts with prayers to be read in a church, which suggests that petitioners who completed these devotions would do so in front of the images there, which would often be polychromed devotional sculptures.

The miracle genre chronicles cures performed on the living by a powerful and compassionate Mary. Some of the hallmarks of the genre appear in the story of St Bernard's Lactation: a votary directs a prayer at the Virgin

24 De Vooy 1903–1904, vol. I edits the extant Middle Dutch miracle legends. The miracle of the lip cancer is CIX, p. 226; the monk's halitosis, L, pp. 99–11; CVII, 224; Bishop Fulbertus is CXIII, pp. 230–231.

25 Hens et al. 1978 transcribe and edit the poem, as well as 480 accounts of miracles that the Virgin performed, mostly healing.

26 Dijk 2012.

(especially at an image depicting the Virgin), in which he asks for a cure (in Bernard's case, he suffered from doubt), and the Virgin responds with beneficence and a miraculous solution to the problem, which also indicates that the Virgin has heard and processed the request. One miracle legend, for example, copied into a Middle Dutch compilation of *Miracles of Our Lady* from the middle of the fifteenth century, recounts the story of a poor woman who could only go to church on Saturdays, where

she would kneel before the Holy Cross, which stood in the middle of the church. A rich man, who was standing far off at the end of the church, saw the old woman kneeling there, dressed in shabby clothes. As he watched, a bevy of angels issued from the cross, and each one took a beautiful rose from the woman's mouth. With these roses, the angels braided a crown for the cross. When the crown was finished, the blessed cross bent down, nodding its head downward, and thanked her. Suddenly, the woman stood up and went to kneel in front of an image of the Mother of God. The Christ child loosened himself from his mother's arms and took the roses from the old woman's mouth, and with them, he braided a crown for his mother, which he then placed upon her head. The Virgin thanked the old woman.²⁷

As the story continues, one of the roses cures the rich man of an illness from which he had suffered interminably. These roses mediate between earthly flesh and divine sculpture, and between rich and poor. Implicit in the legend is that women and men of all stations came to the church to perform devotions directed at images of the suffering Jesus and of Mary-as-mother. In the course of performing their prayers, votaries interacted with images, which came to life, spoke, engaged physically with

worshippers, mediated between the earthly and heavenly realms, performed miracles, and did so in a way that was public enough to capture the attention of an audience. Devotion, in other words, was on display, just as the images themselves were. In performing their devotions, votaries connect both vertically (with a blessed figure above them) and horizontally (with souls of the departed, sisters, brothers, onlookers, and other pilgrims).

These miracle stories, often recorded at the shrine to authenticate its power, certainly changed the course of prayer, since the success of a local shrine featuring a miracle-working relic or image would draw large crowds seeking their own cures in turn. It was a closed-loop system stoked by auto-feedback, where popularity begat miracles begat popularity. Less tangible than cult images working their power upon the living were prayerful acts that yielded spiritual rewards to benefit a soul. It is primarily spiritual, and not physical, health that manuscript prayerbooks—and therefore this current study—address, although these boundaries were not always clear, since physical sickness signified spiritual corruption.²⁸ The worship of cult images at the shrines often bypassed a fixed textual tradition, but records of such rituals sometimes entered written prayer culture through miracle stories, and then became incorporated into rubrics. In this study, I am chiefly interested in the confluence of devotional images and prayer texts designed to accompany them, and shall therefore leave miracle-working images of the Virgin for another study, but will make an exception for miracle stories that made their way into rubrics and thereby provided the impetus for prayer: those specifically addressed to Our Lady of Milan.

Our Lady of Milan

Among miracle-working images of the Virgin in the late Middle Ages, Our Lady of Milan enjoyed particular favour in Northern Europe and appears throughout central Europe and the Low Countries. Northern Europeans called her the *Ährenkleid Madonna*, or the Virgin of the Grain (Corn), because a motif abstracted from a sheaf of wheat decorates her defining blue garment.²⁹ Images depicting Our Lady of Milan probably appeared on many panel paintings, but few survived the Reformation. Many

27 'Doen sij knyelde voer dat heilighe cruce, dat int midden der kerken stont, soe sach eyn rijck man die daer verre aff stont in deynde vander kerken, dat daer knyelde eyn arme vroukijn mit quaden cleyderen an, dat vanden cruce neder quamen voele inghelen, ende namen elck een scone roese uut haren monde ende maecten den cruce eynen rosen hoet. Ende als die hoet volmaict was, soe neychde hoem dat gebenediede cruce mitten houfde nederwart ende dancte haer. Ende mit dien, soe stontse op ende ghinck knyelen voer dat bielde der moeder gods. Ende dat kint quam uut haren armen ende nam die roosen uut haren monde ende maicte sijnre moeder eynen hoet ende satten op haer hoeft. Ende die moeder dancte haer'. The legend is transcribed in BKB, Ms. 11 112, fol. 81r, which is damaged and cannot be consulted. The BKB has no microfilm and no slides. I am relying on the edition of Vooy's 1926, p. 96.

28 Hayum 1989. As Marianne Elsackers writes, 'In the Middle Ages, spiritual and medical healing often went hand in hand'; Elsackers 2001, p. 180; I thank Monica Green for this reference. See also Paxton 1995.

29 Graus 1904.

churches would have had an altar dedicated to this cult image. For example, St Bavo's Cathedral in Ghent had an 'altar of Our Lady of Milan' by the end of the fifteenth century.³⁰

Philip the Good venerated the Virgin of Milan. She features prominently in a prayerbook he owned, which was made around 1450.³¹ Its unusual binding takes the form of a diptych: when the Duke was using the book, the binding would open to reveal the Trinity and the Coronation of the Virgin in the unchanging upper register, while he could turn the parchment pages in the lower register. (These images were probably painted around 1430 and then were incorporated into the binding twenty years later.) Philip probably used the book when travelling, since this unusual binding could serve as a miniature altar. It was considerably smaller than the enormous prayerbook he normally used, which he had inherited from his grandfather and namesake, Philip the Bold.³²

In one of the three miniatures in the brief manuscript (only twenty-four folios) Philip has himself represented kneeling in devotion at the cult shrine of the Ährenkleid Madonna. The French rubric accompanying this prayer, the longest in the codex, emphasizes that not just the Virgin's power is at stake, but the power of an image of the Virgin of Milan.³³ This rubric states:

This is the representation of the image of Our Lady as she was presented at the temple, which is also represented and painted in the city of Lausanne and in the great church of Milan, in which places—by the devout prayer of the people who, with true intentions and contrition, have revered her and asked for

her help with 15 *Pater nosters* and 15 *Ave Marias*—the said image has performed several great well-known and public miracles since the year 1410, by making the blind see and the deaf hear as well as alleviating the wounded and most of all setting the prisoners free. On the presentation of the holy lady.

VIENNA, ÖNB, cod. 1800, fol. 13v–15r

This sculpture's miraculous events were fairly recent—1410 is the date given in the rubric—so the compiler acted quickly to assemble the image–rubric–prayer trio for this manuscript. I do not know of earlier examples of this combination. But the final sentence of the rubric hints at the prayer's origins: this rubric is followed by a prayer that is actually a stanza from the rhyming office *De praesentatione Beatae Mariae Virginis*, which would have been read on the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple by her parents Joachim and Anna.³⁴ In other words, instead of composing a new prayer to use with this specific miracle-working image, the book's compiler has instead selected a pre-existing prayer deemed the most relevant for the occasion. Instead of being recited for the occasion of the young Virgin entering the Temple, it is recited in front of a sculpted and polychromed Virgin already in a 'temple'.

This rubric therefore connects an old prayer with a new image to forge a new context, one worthy of a powerful duke. The rubric specifically refers to the image, so that the words 'C'est la figure' fall directly below the Virgin's feet. The miniaturist has been careful to show the figure in an architectural setting, where the thin columns do not eat into the space reserved for the figures, but simply denote a setting: a white marble church in a foreign land, capped with two domes and an arch that extend into the top margin. Central and large is the Virgin herself, who unusually is represented head on, mostly symmetrically and quite confrontational, without the softening contrapposto with which she is usually represented. Furthermore, she lacks her main attribute—the Christ Child—on whom she often gazes demurely. Here instead she looks straight out in an arresting way, and her attribute has become her distinctive dress with the repeated sheaves of grain that identify her as not just any Madonna but the Ährenkleid Madonna. As the miniaturist would have it, she has embodied a set of instructions about how to pray—chin up and hands prominently clasped together—so that the duke copies her in pose. He, too, brandishes identifying features: his black garments (which were more expensive to dye than other colours and were reserved for the duke), his *toison d'or* insignia around his neck, and his

30 There are two fifteenth-century references to the altar of Our Lady of Milan given in Dhanens 1965. One describes a place 'bij den autaere van Ons. Vrouwe van Melanien, neffens der capellen van wylen Lauwereins de Maeck'. The other apparently refers to the same place, 'omtrent onser Lieve vrouwen altaer up den vloer, aldernaest de capelle van Lauwereyns de Maeck'.

31 Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1800. Facsimile in Thoss and Mazal 1991, vol. I, including the unusual diptych binding; vol. II comprises full transcription and translation of the texts (into French and German) and a commentary. A full description with high-resolution images is also online: http://manuscripta.at/m1/hs_detail.php?ID=11033. The opening with Philip the Good kneeling before the Virgin of Milan, and a rubric in French, is on, fols 13v–14r.

32 Rudy 2015a, with further bibliography; see also Vanwijnsberghe et al. 2013.

33 Thoss and Mazal 1991. The image is reproduced in the facsimile, fol. 13v; vol. II, pp. 66–68, provides a transcription of the rubric and prayer; Mazal (pp. 93–109) provides a complete description of the manuscript.

34 Ibid., vol. II, pp. 40–42.

prayerbook. By including the Madonna of Milan among the few prayers chosen for this brief codex, Philip is demonstrating that he is current with the very newest international cults and has the active forces of power on his side.

This conflation of the Virgin of Milan with the Virgin who as a child climbed the steps of the Temple trickled into further prayerbooks made for a less exalted readership. New forms of piety are often adopted at court, and then make their way into a broader usership throughout the territory under the court's influence. A version of the Virgin of Milan therefore appears in a book of hours made in South Holland around 1480. Its rubric reads:

rub: Item, whoever reads this following little prayer with 15 Ave Marias in front of an image of Our Dear Lady from Milan for 15 days, kneeling with a burning candle, in honour of the fact that Our Dear Lady Maria climbed 15 steps into the temple, that person will have one prayer fulfilled by the immaculate Virgin Mary. Pope Martin gave anyone who performs this prayer with devotion in his heart in front of the image of Our Lady of Milan 100 days' indulgence. inc: O, glorious soul of Mary, unburden me. O, noble trustworthy heart of Mary, care for me. O, true immaculate chaste body of Mary, protect me. In all dangers and needs, deliver me from all evil. Amen.

HKB, Ms. 132 G 38, fol. 100v

This codex does not contain an image of the particular Virgin, but the rubric preceding it directs its reader to view one: the reader was apparently supposed to seek a shrine to the Virgin of Milan in her local church. The rubric mentions the important image twice and presents two different results for doing so. First it choreographs a set of mental and physical actions: the votary must light a candle in front of the image each day for fifteen days to honour each of the steps the young Virgin climbed as she entered the Temple. Because they were involved in physical cures, wax candles were available in apothecary shops.³⁵ Second, the votary is to read the accompanying prayer in front of the image 'with devotion in his heart'. For the first of these processes, the Virgin grants the votary fulfilment of a prayer; for the second, Pope Martin grants an indulgence.³⁶ Combining a supernatural source and an earthly one, the rubric seems therefore to be a hybrid.

35 See Shaw and Welch 2011, esp. p. 167 for the relationship between apothecaries and religious sites.

36 This Pope Martin is probably Martin V (r. 1417–1431), although the manuscript was probably made half a century after his papal reign.

A rubric featuring the Virgin of Milan in a modestly executed manuscript suggests that the Virgin of Milan was thought to protect votaries from all kinds of unforeseen perils. Her image and prayer appear in an illuminated prayerbook in Dutch and Latin, made around 1550:

rub: Anyone who reads the following prayer in front of Our Dear Lady of Milan will be extradited from whatever danger he is in, as long as he is not in a state of mortal sin [salich]. inc: O, glorious soul of Mary, unburden me...

BKB, Ms. II 5443, fol. 79r

Such a promise of instant extradition to safety would have comforted pilgrims and travellers. It should be noted that this manuscript contains stains from flowers pressed between pages, perhaps a sign that the owner of this manuscript also brought the codex along for a pilgrimage or other form of travel.

Images of and prayers to Our Lady of Milan appear in both lay and conventual contexts, one example appearing in a manuscript probably made for a Poor Clare some time after 1516. Promising that the reader will 'get whatever she prays for' (BKB, Ms. 11237, fol. 74r), the rubric echoes the claim in the example just quoted, that the Virgin of Milan was prepared to answer one of the votary's prayers. An image depicting the cult figure was added by the Poor Clare (BKB, Ms. 11237, fol. 75r, fig. 93). This very simple image may have been drawn by the scribe/owner, possibly traced from a print. Its naïveté renders the exact identity of the figure difficult to determine, although context suggests that it depicts the Virgin of Milan kneeling in front of an altar, accompanied by a personal angel.³⁷

Devotion to the Virgin of Milan was widespread across the Low Countries and has left its trace in a manuscript made in an Augustinian milieu in the eastern part of the northern Netherlands (Wrocław [Breslau], Biblioteka Kapitulna, Ms. 716, fig. 94).³⁸ Similar to the miniature in the Brussels manuscript, this one also shows the Virgin of Milan at an altar. Other elements from this miniature seem to be related, however distantly, to the miniature in Philip the Good's manuscript: the architectural canopy with Romanesque arches, turrets, and small windows,

37 The same manuscript also contains a tipped-in print depicting the Virgin and Child opposite a prayer calling for the reader to read the prayer in front of that image, suggesting that its owner engaged in image-centered devotion to the Virgin.

38 All texts have been described and transcribed in Predota et al. 1998. The Virgin of Milan appears as fig. 3, where the image is misidentified as 'een biddende vrouw' (a praying woman).



FIGURE 93 Folio in a prayer book with an image of the Virgin of Milan before an altar drawn directly on the page. Made c. 1513–1519 in the Netherlands. BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. 11237, FOL. 75R.

a chequered floor, and a patterned cloth of honour behind the miracle-working figure. These derivative images all misinterpret the golden grains on the Virgin's blue dress as yellow stars, and abstract the interior architectural features beyond structural soundness. A feast of pattern decorates the Wrocław image: meandering diamond-shaped tiles, an altar cloth and cloth of honour with huge acanthus patterns woven into them, the Virgin's blue robe covered with yellow stars and edged in a busy pastel acanthus border.

As with the Poor Clare's manuscript (BKB, Ms. 11237), this one contains multiple manifestations of the Virgin Mary in various guises: inside a *hortus conclusus* (fol. 53v); standing on the moon within a rosary with a nun and a woman kneeling inside the area defined by the string of beads (fol. 71v); and at the Annunciation in a church interior (fol. 74v). It is clear that, while the manuscript's owner might have grouped all Marian devotions under one heading and put them together in one book, the Virgin's various guises remained distinct. This is reminiscent of the Litany of the Virgin with which this section began.



FIGURE 94 Folio in a prayer book, with a full-page miniature depicting the Virgin of Milan. Made c. 1500 in the eastern part of the northern Netherlands. WROCŁAW [BRESLAU], BIBLIOTEKA KAPITULNA, MS 716, FOL. 67V.

In no other manuscript that I have encountered do so many different personalities of the Virgin Mary appear as in one made in the Duchy of Cleves shortly after 1500 (BKB, Ms. IV 263). Ninety folios of Marian prayers and images remain in the fragment in Brussels. Internal evidence suggests that its owner especially venerated Our Lady of Milan among the manuscript's numerous manifestations of the Virgin (BKB, Ms. IV 263, fol. 42r, fig. 95).³⁹ Mary, in her corn-covered blue gown, appears in the margin

39 Broken up in the nineteenth century, this manuscript is now divided among Brussels, Berkeley, the University of Toronto, and many private collections. What is unusual about the illumination of this manuscript is that it has ornate and heavily gilt initials—which are typical of the region in Arnhem and the eastern Netherlands—but the most important imagery is relegated to the marginalia. Unlike most manuscripts, in which marginalia are intertwined in ivy or acanthus designs, the marginal figures in this manuscript are set against a plain parchment backdrop. Many of these figures are copied from prints. James Marrow and I are preparing a study of this manuscript.



FIGURE 95 Folio in a prayer book, with a prayer to and an image depicting the Virgin of Milan. Made c. 1500–10 in the Duchy of Cleves.

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. IV 263, FOL. 42R.

immediately below the rubric and incipit of the prayer to the Virgin of Milan. She stands before an altar with two candlesticks, as if the book's owner had made an offering of candlelight to her.

rub: Herewith one shall greet Our Dear [Lady] of Milan in front of her image. *inc:* May God hail you, holy Mary, highly honoured temple of the holy Trinity of God...

BKB, Ms. IV 263, fol. 42r

In the highly unusual marginal imagery a small rosary of five beads of different colours hangs from a pin illusionistically inserted through the parchment. These five beads, which may signify five flowers, accompany the rosary devotion that finishes at the top of the folio, in which the Virgin is compared to a red rose, a white lily, and a violet. Someone has commented on the represented nature of the hanging beads by drawing a fly near the rosary's tassel. Imagery that accompanies the

prayer to Our Lady of Milan fills the bottom half of the folio, and includes a nun in white habit who kneels in devotion, while beneath her, three angels witness the Ährenkleid Madonna at an altar. Devoid of colour, the image of the nun was added later, and may indicate that the manuscript's owner was a woman who belonged to one of orders that wore white habits. Furthermore, of all the manifestations of the Virgin to be found in this manuscript, the owner chose to have herself represented near Our Lady of Milan.

The image of the Virgin of Milan therefore found devotees in the Low Countries, from Delft in the west to Cleves in the east, and south to Leuven and the court of Philip the Good in Bruges. This is an odd case of the image being both somewhat uncommon and at the same time geographically widespread. And it had an audience among lay and religious alike, both a highly crafted courtly audience and a naïve home-made one. Rubrics that mention the Virgin of the Milan show that she was quite a versatile figure. Her rubrics promise that you shall get whatever you want, or that this Virgin will alleviate some vague threat, or fulfil any request. She is both a highly specific miraculous image with a distinctive attribute of a corn-covered blue dress, but at the same time a rather general set of expectations. With her prayers and rubrics cobbled together from other sources (the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, the *anima Christi*), hers was a makeshift cult, but nonetheless a powerful one. Devotion to her bridged the miracle culture based round images housed in shrines, and a bookish culture preserved between parchment pages.

Salve Regina

As the rubrics for the Virgin of Milan suggest, prayer provided a powerful interface to the world of miracles and favours. Among the thousands of surviving medieval prayers to the Virgin, a few were considered especially efficacious in conjunction with images or when asking for miracles. Chief among these was the *Salve Regina*, a Marian antiphon purportedly authored by Bernard of Clairvaux.⁴⁰ As an antiphon, it often appears as a part of other prayers; for example, it comprises part of the prayer to the Virgin of Milan in Philip the Good's manuscript discussed earlier (ÖNB 1800). Its text characterizes Mary as the mediatrix, the supreme intercessor. It was integrated into the mass in various monasteries, beginning with Cluny around 1135,

40 Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, G47.

and it was often recited after the rosary.⁴¹ The *Salve Regina* was also often instrumental in miracles that implicated images. It goes like this:

Salve Regina, mater misericordiae, vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, Salve.

Ad te clamamus exules filii Evae. Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.

Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte, et Jesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis post hoc exsilium ostende.

Virgo mater ecclesiae, aeterna porta gloriae, esto nobis refugium apud Patrem et Filium.

O clemens, Virgo clemens, Virgo pia, Virgo dulcis, O Maria, exaudi preces omnium ad te pie clamantium.

O pia, funde preces tuo nato crucifixo, vulnerato, et pro nobis flagellato, spinis puncto, felle potato.

O dulcis Maria, Salve.

Hail, Queen, Mother of mercy, life, sweetness and our hope, Hail.

We cry to you, we exiles, children of Eve. To you we sigh, groaning and weeping in this valley of tears.

Hail, therefore, our advocate; turn those merciful eyes on us, and show us Jesus, the blessed fruit of your womb, after this exile.

Virgin mother of the church, everlasting gate of glory, be a refuge for us before the Father and Son.

O merciful and pious Virgin, sweet Virgin, O Mary, hear the prayers of all the people who cry piously to you.

O pious one, pour prayers on to your crucified and wounded Son, scourged and pierced with thorns for us, who drained the gall for us.

O sweet Mary, Hail.

This prayer is one of supplication. From the prayer's words a desperate plea goes out to the mother who understands suffering. A body of legends has the Virgin as their heroine, whom believers summoned by uttering the words of the *Salve Regina*. Upon hearing the words, the Virgin often intervened on behalf of believers to protect them from forces of nature: sculptures depicting the Virgin became animated, ships lost at storm found safe harbour, and anxious souls felt suddenly consoled. Many narratives around the *Salve Regina* imply that the Virgin held sway

over forces of nature that threatened human progress and safety. One strand of these related stories describes a priest who had always read the *Salve Regina* after reciting his canonical hours. Caught in a field by a lightning storm one day, he found shelter in a nearby church and crawled under the altar for protection. Appearing to him, the Virgin requested that he read *Salve Regina* with devotion, and if he did so, he would be harmed by neither thunder nor lightning.⁴² Reading the *Salve Regina* would achieve results like those associated with carrying talismans.

Votaries who relied on the prayer might be literally sheltered from natural disasters. According to another *exemplum*, two cloistered Virgins had raised a beautiful field of grain, but a hailstorm threatened to ruin it. Running to the church, the nuns began singing *Salve Regina* to beg the Virgin to save their grain. Hail destroyed all the grain in the countryside except that of the convent, which the Virgin saved because the nuns had sung *Salve Regina*.⁴³

Repeatedly, the miracles surrounding the *Salve Regina* reiterate the effectiveness of the prayer and, indeed, promulgate the prayer's value by illustrating its benefits. A third example of this phenomenon dissects the prayer line by line, and demonstrates the cumulative power of the iterated words:

Once it happened in a monastery that the brothers were standing in the choir singing *Salve Regina*, and a holy woman, who was there in the church, saw that Our Dear Lady was coming into the church. When the brothers sang *Et Spes nostra*, she greeted all the brothers, and when they sang *Eya ergo advocata nostra*, Our Dear Lady Mary fell to her knees before her dear child and prayed for the brothers. When they sang *Oculos ad nos converte*, Our Lord turned his eyes to them and looked happy, and when they sang *Et Jhesum benedictum fructum ventris tui*, Our Dear Lady Mary took her child and held him up with both her hands and showed him so that they should see him. May Mary, the mother of mercy, grant us that we may see him, too.⁴⁴

Each successive phrase from the prayer brings on a new act of appreciation from the Virgin. Her appearance confirms the efficacy of the monks' chanted prayers; moreover, she falls to her knees to pray to God on their behalf.

⁴¹ Graef 1985, 229; Schier 2005 discusses the history of the *Salve Regina* and its integral role in memorial donations.

⁴² The Middle Dutch edition is published in de Vooy's 1903–1904, vol. I, CXXIX, p. 278. Another thunder and lightning *Salve Regina* legend is transcribed in *ibid.*, p. 295.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, CXXX, 278.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, CXXVIII, p. 277.



FIGURE 96 *Spes nostra*, with four canons and Sts Augustine and Jerome by an open grave, with the Visitation, in a courtyard, c. 1500, oil on panel, 88.7 cm × 104.3 cm.

AMSTERDAM, RIJSMUSEUM, INV.NO. SK-A-2312.

Although monks, as professional petitioners, uttered particularly efficacious prayers, the Virgin's prayers are even more powerful than theirs. In addition to demonstrating the benefit of the *Salve Regina*—which sets into motion a chain reaction of ever more powerful prayers—this *exemplum* provides an aetiology for envisioning Jesus: the Virgin herself held him up and put him on view, as if she wanted the monks, and by extension the readers, to behold the image of Jesus.

As if crystallizing such a vision, an early sixteenth-century Dutch panel painting depicts the events from a *Spes nostra exemplum* (fig. 96).⁴⁵ In it a group of four

Augustinian canons kneels beside an open grave, which disgorges an enshrouded cadaver. Each of the canons with clasped hands recites words over the corpse, symbolized by the words of the *Salve Regina* that are written in gold paint on the surface of the painting itself, just below the corpse, so that the corpse is laid on a bed of prayers. This event takes place in an enclosed garden, where the monks and corpse occupy a space that is very much in the earthly realm. Details of the monks' figures suggest that they were painted from life, and the artist has depicted clods of dirt, rocks, and weeds in the first picture plane, emphasizing the earthly quality of the foreground. A low garden wall, which surrounds the gravesite, marks a border between the earthly and paradisiacal realms. Two male saints, Jerome and Augustine, as well as Mary and Elizabeth are pushed towards this wall, as they occupy a space that

45 The painting may have hung in the Augustinian convent in Lopsen outside Leiden. For an overview of the literature, see Lamertse and Giltaij 2008, cat. 53, pp. 287–290.

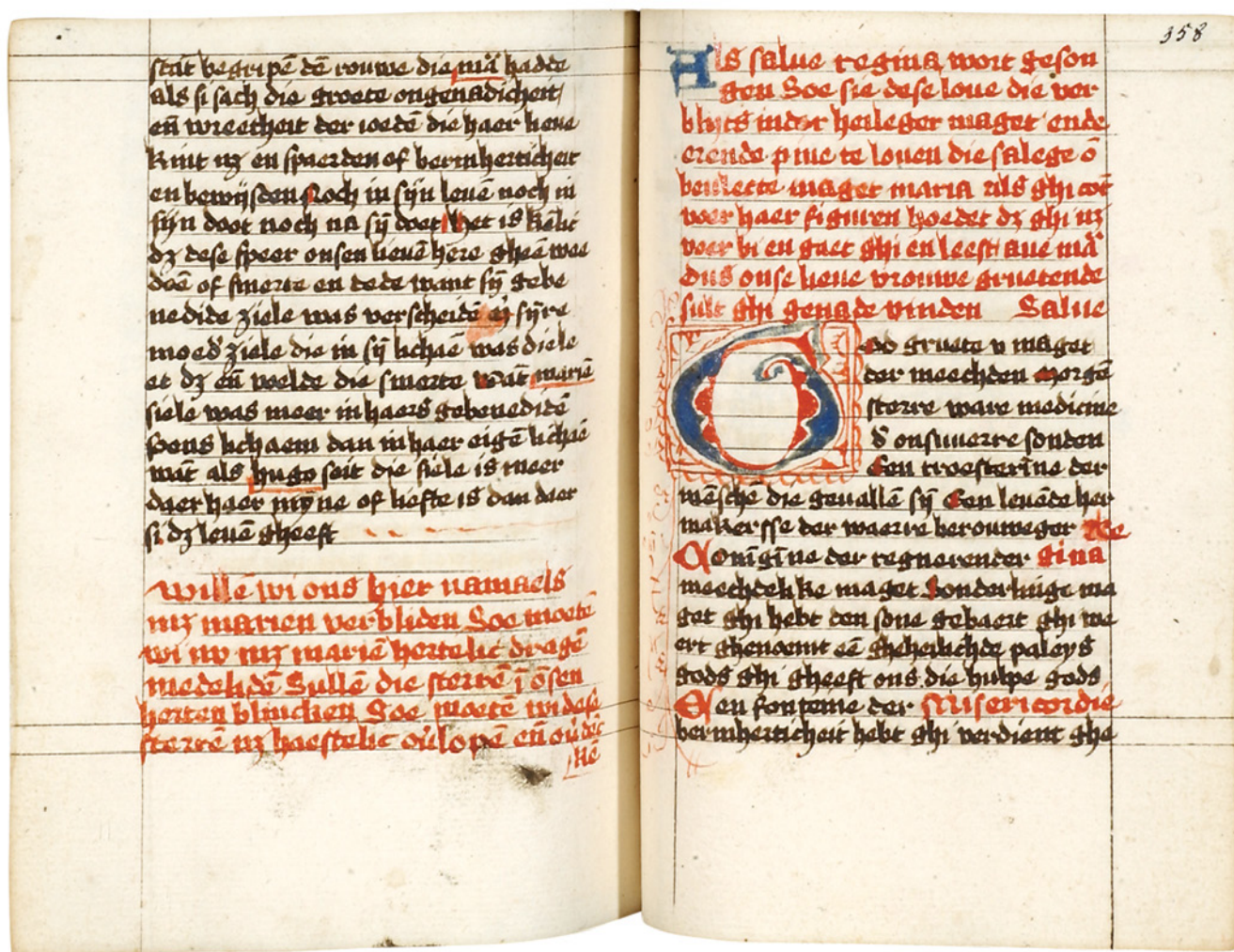


FIGURE 97 Opening in a prayer book, with a rubric for the glossed *Salve Regina*. Made 1450–1500 probably a tertiary of Sint-Catharinadal in Hasselt. BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. 21953, FOLS 357V–358R.

bridges the two realms. Behind the wall, in something resembling an idealized, enclosed, monastic garden, winged angels, babies, and peacocks frolic to the tunes of stringed instruments played by an angelic orchestra. This is a garden of heaven rather than of earth, a journey navigated in just a few feet of pictorial space. The mood in this slice of paradise forms a strong contrast with the funereal foreground, but the compositional arrangement suggests that the dank hole in the earth is a conduit to the vista beyond.

Various prayer texts further elucidate the power of the *Salve Regina*. A manuscript from the end of the fifteenth century, probably copied by a Limburger nun, contains several prayers to be said in front of images of the Virgin (BKB, Ms. 21953). One of these comprises a gloss on the *Salve Regina* (fig. 97):

rub: If we want to rejoice with Mary in the hereafter, we must now ardently carry compassion along with Mary. If the stars of our heart shine, we must

*not run over and think over these stars too quickly. When the *Salve Regina* is sung in praise of the joys of the holy Virgin and honouring her suffering to praise the blessed immaculate Virgin Mary, as you walk in front of her image, make sure that you do not pass it by without reading *Ave Maria*. That way, our dear lady, having been greeted, shall find mercy for you.*

BKB, Ms. 21953, 357V

While most rubrics are written in the second person singular, this one is written in the voice of the nun herself, writing as a member of a community in the first person plural. She has internalized various preachers and masters, and now utters directives in the language of 'we should', which then slips into a more authoritative informal 'you should'. Language in this prayer implies a female reader living in a religious community that possessed a relevant image of the Virgin. Instructions in this Middle Dutch rubric refer to two prayers in Latin: the *Salve Regina* and the

Ave Maria. When the reader hears the *Salve Regina*, she is to walk in front of an image of the Virgin. The votary 'reads' the *Ave Maria*, or more likely recites it from memory, while face to face with the image. These common prayers take on new meaning when recited as the rubric directs, since they are offered in the context of pausing and reflecting, with the image of the Virgin providing a mnemonic for just that.

Images and Miracles

Implicit in many of the rubrics and prayers featured in this chapter is the idea that images ripen the space for miracles. Medieval believers went to great pains to document such miracles at shrines, but this idea must also have been operative when votaries added images to their manuscripts, thereby bringing the Virgin's presence into the book. Returning to BKB, Ms. 11237, I note that this manuscript has had four prints added to it, which bring the image of the divine into the book.⁴⁶ A Marian prayer in the manuscript requires recitation before an image:

rub: If we read this following prayer every day from one Saturday to the next before an image of Our Dear Lady, without a doubt, in the eighth day of prayer we will be consoled by Our Dear Lady for whatever we have prayed for, and be assured of our salvation for ourselves or for another. inc: I bid you, holy virgin Maria, through the great mercy that God has given you...

BKB, Ms. 11237, fol. 50v

As if to ensure that she does read this 'before an image of Our Dear Lady', the owner has tipped in a hand-coloured woodcut to the beginning of the prayer (fig. 98). Cheap woodcuts such as this may have been available at shrines housing miracle-working images. The three pilgrims in the background of the woodcut suggest that the figure pictured is the object of a journey. By including such an image in her prayerbook, the owner could make the miracle-working image present in her immediate reading space.

The image of the Virgin has a different function in relation to a prayer that appears in AUB, Ms. I G 35:

rub: Here begins The cries that Our Dear Lady made under the cross. Anyone who reads them for 30 days in a row before her image will earn a favour from



FIGURE 98 Folio inserted into a prayer book, with a hand-coloured woodcut depicting the Virgin and Child. Woodcut made c. 1500 in the Southern Netherlands.

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. 11237, FOL. 51V.

our dear sweet lady. inc: O, my one and only dear son!...

AUB, Ms. I G 35, fol. 46v

This prayer therefore presents the script of the words the Virgin spoke. Perhaps by reading them in front of an image of the Virgin, the reader could more easily perform the act of puppetry that the devotion demands, as she put words into the mouth of the Virgin. The nature of the favour (*bede*) that the Virgin will grant is vague, perhaps purposely so.

While most of the rewards I am discussing in this book are indulgences, there are also psychological rewards. A long text that appears in many prayerbooks made for cloistered women contains this rubric, which provides insight into the difficulty some women must have had when they quit their friends and families to enter a convent:

46 Stock 2002, nos 002, 006, 075, 088.

rub: There was once a virgin who entered a convent and promised her virginity to God. This upset and disturbed her friends a great deal. Then because she was so distraught, the angel Gabriel appeared to her and said: 'Anyone who speaks this prayer will do Our Dear Lady a most thankful service, and this person's soul will be consoled in all tribulation. It is more likely that heaven and earth would disappear than that this person would remain unconsoled. A person shall speak the 100 Ave Marias that are written below, and keep herself from sinning as best she can, and then she will become happy and shall receive what she desires. It is impossible that the person who reads this prayer devotedly would remain unconsoled. When you want to read this, you shall go to stand in front of Our Dear Lady's image, and set a burning candle before Our Lady's image, and speak ten Ave Marias while standing between each oration, but you should read the oration while kneeling.' *inc:* O Mary, sweet virgin...

BKB, Ms. 11231–11236, fols 338r–338v

This rubric mentions Mary's powers of consolation three times. What better activity for a homesick and unhappy young nun than to involve herself in a ritual that requires her full corporeal participation and complete concentration? It shapes her body, provides her something on which to concentrate, and helps her to exteriorize her sadness.

Like many other prayers to the Virgin recorded in Middle Dutch prayerbooks, this one assumed that the reader perform it in a church and that she light a candle before a sculpture that is on display for that purpose. Of course the candle has metaphoric significance, and the smoke and flame carry the prayer towards the heavens, while the light of the candle literally illuminates and glorifies the object of devotion. But at another level, the candle is a beacon directing attention to the votary, who is publicly highlighting her own devotional behaviour. The entire devotion demands standing up and kneeling down ten times, which would make a votary's performance more theatrical and visible. The long intricacy of the performance would give others an opportunity to see the nun in her display.

One of the themes of this study is that prayers are often clustered thematically in prayerbooks, so that one might read a whole series of them in the same environment. So it is with this Marian prayer, for the manuscript provides another prayer to be read in front of Mary's image:

rub: Those who reads this prayer for 30 days in front of an image of Our Lady on their knees, will be made

happy from their prayers if they have confessed. *inc:* O, most glorious Virgin...

BKB, Ms. 11231–11236, fol. 345v

Happiness is offered almost as a miracle. It is a happiness created by the reader's actions and words, and mediated by the image of the Virgin.

Finally, saints themselves often offer a model for prayer, as had St Bernard, for example, before the lactating Virgin. Less common, however, is another Marian prayer that appears in a manuscript copied by a certain Sister Katrine, who was probably in the convent of Clarissen-Urbanisten in Leuven. Her rubric reads: 'Whenever Pope Leo went in front of an image of the Virgin, he read these words: *inc:* Hail, Virgin...' (Paris, BnF, Ms. néerl. 40, fol. 172r). It offers no indulgences, no promises, just a chance to imitate a pope.

Conclusions

Images might be tangible, either included within manuscripts or external to the manuscript but in use alongside it, or they might be assumed to be mental images derived from those physical ones but available to be called up by the votary at will. And in all these cases there was a close relationship between the prayers to the Virgin and the image of the Virgin's body.

Images such as the miracle of St Bernard receiving a squirt of breast milk from the Virgin Mary underscore the intimate, tactile, and comforting relationship that believers sought from Mary. The cult of the Virgin was immense and varied, and the Virgin herself came in all sizes, shapes, and media. Prayerbooks give us hints about how people used images of the Virgin, for example in the prayer to her body parts. Mary emerges as supremely compassionate: she could not turn down anyone who uttered the *Salve Regina* with heartfelt need, plus a dose of panic, to which she also responded.

The promise of miracles forged a bond between the Virgin, the devotee, and image, with the rubric instructing how to keep that bond strong and functioning. The repetition of similar stories reiterated the point that similar miracles would befall those who had prayed as the exemplars had. Elaborate miracle stories were sometimes simmered and reduced into rubrics, whose descriptions transformed into prescriptions.

Some Marian prayers shaped readers' interactions with images, both specific cult objects such as the Virgin of Milan or Our Dear Lady of 's-Hertogenbosch. Cult images such as these claimed responsibility for miracles and cures, as did the words of certain prayers, especially

the *Salve Regina*. The Virgin, therefore, was credited with preserving the living and restoring health. She also played a growing role in providing comfort to the dying and the already dead, by shepherding souls to the other side, and by helping them achieve enough indulgences to mitigate purgatorial punishments. Prayers were choreographed in their use by rubrics. Since the prayers were by convention often associated with images, with which they might even co-develop, rubrics played a role in directing that relationship.

Images stood central in the veneration of Mary, and prayers instructed their readers how to behold the images for maximum effect. In this way, prayers such as that to the Virgin's body parts can be compared to the Colnish *Pater noster*. Each of these held an image central while guiding the reader/viewer through the *Ave Maria* and *Pater noster*, respectively. Holding Mary before the votary's eyes, either spiritual or physical, was often a prerequisite for gaining certain indulgences, as the next chapter will explore.

Marian Indulgences

As some of the miracles in the previous section attest, prayer often had to take place in front of an image in order to be efficacious. This chapter considers prayers and images that affirm the role of visualization, and in many cases true visions, in regulating and validating indulgences. Several prayers and rubrics even promised a miraculous visionary experience to their practitioners. Indulgences were often justified by visionary experiences and revealed in visionary visitations. Conversely, a visionary experience could confirm that the Virgin was rallying to save a votary's soul. Such salvation was ultimately the goal of indulgences. Rules for receiving grace could often be convoluted; but these rules, too, could be revealed (and simplified) in visions. Some rubrics expose the Virgin Mary as an agent of the Catholic bureaucracy, who helps souls work out what they must do to win salvation. Whereas rubrics before images of the Mass of St Gregory emphasized the indulgences connected to the prayer, rubrics before Marian prayers function somewhat differently and usually help the reader to negotiate a relationship with Mary through her image. Both visions and visualization allowed the votary to make present the body of the Virgin, whether by studying her at the micro level, as in prayer to her enumerated body parts, or by experiencing her as an overwhelming totality in a vision. Rubrics offered strategies for both. Likewise, rubrics helped readers to navigate the Pietà in order to visualize the bodies of both Christ and the Virgin as intimate physical experiences. In these cases, the physical image provided by the representation of the Virgin in art collaborated with a simultaneous mental image of a visualization or vision, but one that might or might not be identical with what was before the viewer's eyes.

One group of visionary prayers employs an image of the Virgin *in Sole*, whose iconography draws on several stories of visions. Among the most common images in late medieval prayerbooks from the Low Countries is the woman of the sun who stands on the moon and is cloaked in rays of light. Also known as the Apocalyptic Virgin, this visionary image has several sources, including the Book of Revelation and the legend of the Tiburtine sibyl encountering the emperor Augustus. A particular indulgenced prayer, which Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–1484) purportedly wrote for this image, launched the Virgin *in Sole* into stardom, and in the late fifteenth century, she increasingly appears as

the preface to the Hours of the Virgin, often alongside an image of the Annunciation. Not only are the origins of this image complex, but the uses to which the image was put are concomitantly numerous, and include the popular rosary devotion. The image of the Virgin *in Sole* became a model for other objects of devotion to be represented 'in the sun'. Similarly, the format of the rosary devotion with its repeated strings of *Ave Marias* was also transformed to accommodate other lesser saints.

The Virgin *in Sole*

Our Lady of the Sun—or *Virgo in Sole*—represents the culmination of several basic types of separately originating imagery. One strand of their origin comes from the *Ara coeli* legend, recounted in the Golden Legend (*Legenda Aurea*), which tells how a sibyl, an ancient prophetess, divulged a message to the proud and jealous Emperor Augustus, telling him that a king more powerful than he would be born.¹ In images of the event, the sibyl illustrates her point by revealing a vision to him. Often the narrative is depicted as the sibyl points to the 'vision', in which the Virgin and Child appear as a celestial phenomenon in the sky, radiating beams of sunlight, a convention that came to connote visionary experience.²

The earliest image depicting the legend of the Tiburtine sibyl and Augustus in the Low Countries may be a miniature in the Prayerbook of Mary of Guelders. This manuscript was written by Helmich die Lewe in the Mariënborn monastery in Arnhem, a house of regular canons. It was then illuminated in two campaigns of work, first in 1415 by the Passion Master of Mary of Guelders, who takes his name from this manuscript, and then by one of the Masters of Otto van Moerdrecht, who completed the illumination in 1423–1425.³ It was the Passion Master who executed the image depicting the sibyl revealing a vision of the Madonna in Heaven to the emperor (fig. 99). Wearing a fur-lined mantle, the emperor kneels before the sibyl,

1 Voragine ed. Ryan 1993.

2 Ringbom 1980.

3 Berlin, SPK, Ms. Germ. Quarto 42, fol. 50v. A related image also appears in the *Très riches heures* (fol. 22), in which the image is closely bound to that from the *Ara coeli* legend, as Gorissen 1973, pp. 242ff, points out.



FIGURE 99 Opening in the Prayerbook of Mary of Guelders, with a column-wide miniature depicting *The Tiburtine Sibyl and Augustus* attributed to the *Passion Master of Mary of Guelders*. Made in 1415 in the eastern part of the Northern Netherlands.

BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, MS. GERM. QUARTO 42, FOLS 50V–51R.

who, remarkably here, is given a gold halo: the visionary is sanctified. Her red, green, blue, and purple drapery is still wriggling, as if she had just conjured the image by performing a violent, hip-swivelling dance. A bowl containing a smouldering substance aids her in her task, as the smoke drifts up, forming a visionary cloud. Part saint, part oracle, part exotic dancer, the sibyl conjures an image that has the Virgin and Child bursting through the gold diaper background along with a radiant sunburst. At this early date, the image is used to preface the Mass to Our Dear Lady; it soon drifted to a different text, namely, the indulgenced prayer associated with Sixtus IV.

In fact, the motif of the Tiburtine sibyl and Augustus does not have regular currency in the illumination of the fifteenth-century Low Countries, except in the large stable of iconography collected and disseminated by the Masters of the Dark Eyes, who needed ample imagery to feed the extensive programmes of decoration that they developed in the decades before 1500. Augustus and the Tiburtine sibyl appear, for example, in a prayerbook probably commissioned by a couple represented among its folios (LBL, Add. Ms. 20859, fol. 40v, fig. 100), possibly

on the occasion of their marriage. The manuscript was probably made in 1498, which is the first date in its Easter tables.⁴ At the lower border, the sibyl guides the Emperor Augustus's attention to the framed image at the centre of the folio. He kneels reverently while looking up at the gleaming Virgin. His position parallels that of the male patron of the book, who appears in the lower border of the facing folio. The reader is confronted with an image within an image that simultaneously presents different layers of visionary experience, and prescribes devotional behaviour in front of images. The Masters of the Dark Eyes have used the motif to initiate a rosary devotion, which is an indication of just how conflated the strands of Marian devotion had become by the late

4 LBL, Add. Ms. 20859: Book of Hours with a calendar for Utrecht, c. 1490–1500, 89 fols parchment, 110 × 85 (62 × 84) mm; 17 lines. Contains illuminations by the Masters of the Dark Eyes: 8 full-page miniatures, 15 smaller miniatures, 13 historiated initials, 27 illustrations in the margin; decorated initials with border decoration. See Priebsch 1896–1901, vol. II, no. 222; Byvanck and Hoogewerff 1922–1925, no. 167, pl. 100; Broekhuijsen 2009, cat. 24, pp. 137–139.



FIGURE 100 *Folio in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Virgin in Sole with the Tiburtine sibyl and Augustus in the margin, painted by the Masters of the Dark Eyes. Made c. 1498–1519 in South Holland. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ADD. 20859, FOL. 40V.*

fifteenth century. A discussion of the rosary will be taken up shortly.

While the *Virgin in Sole* draws iconographically upon the sibylline legend, it also borrows from the Apocalyptic Virgin, as described in John's Book of Revelation: 'And a great sign appeared in heaven: A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars' (Revelation 12:1). John's vision was interpreted as a Marian image, and representations of the Virgin standing on a sliver of moon with her child in her arms, and wearing a crown with twelve stars in place of a nimbus, had become a separate devotional image by the twelfth century.

The image of the Virgin clothed in the sun and standing on the moon therefore long predates Sixtus's prayer, and such images were found in the Low Countries before his papacy. For example, a wall painting depicting the *Virgin in Sole* in the Church of St Walburgis in Zutphen dates from 1432.⁵ The *Virgin in Sole* also appeared in

⁵ For the earliest painting of the the *Virgin in Sole* in the Netherlands, see Hoogewerff 1936–1947, vol. I, pp. 200ff, fig. 85, where it is dated it about 1425.



FIGURE 101 *Suspended Virgin in Sole, 1533, polychromed carved wood. Zoutleeuw, Sint-Leonarduskerk.*

ecclesiastical settings as a large carved and polychromed sculpture. An account from 1446 concerning the altar of the Brotherhood of the Dominicans in the Convent of St Andreas in Utrecht names the woodcarver Ludolf Peters (Ludekiin Peterssoen), who was commissioned to make a sculpture 'of the sun and the moon, with two images of Our Dear Lady'.⁶ This commission probably describes a hanging *Virgin in Sole*, with one image of the Virgin on the object's verso, the other on its recto, to be suspended near the western entrance of a church. Sculptures such as these must have been quite common, although few survive today because they were appealing targets for iconoclasts. There is a well-preserved example in the Sint-Leonarduskerk in Zoutleeuw, which hangs in such a way that it is visible throughout the nave (fig. 101).⁷ In addition to presenting the *Virgin in Sole*, this image and many

⁶ 'van der zonne mitter mane en[de] van de twee beelden van onser liever vrouwen van den hemel en van alle die engelen en van allen dat daeraen dient XIII guld'. The account is transcribed in Bierens de Haan 1921, reissued 1977, p. 40. Ludolf Peters became a resident of Utrecht in 1426. See also Gorissen 1973, p. 242.

⁷ The garishly bright polychromy dates from the neo-Gothic era; see Engelen 1993.

similar to it are circumscribed by a ring of red and white roses, a motif that refers to the popular rosary devotion. Iconography of the Virgin of the Rosary overlapped with that of the Virgin *in Sole*, and consequently the rosary devotion increased the currency of the Virgin *in Sole*. That the Virgin *in Sole* and the Virgin of the Rosary were closely related to prayers that promised enormous indulgences undoubtedly contributed to the enthusiastic production of these images.

The Virgin *in Sole* and the Rosary Devotion

According to legend, Sixtus IV composed this prayer while he was ill:

Ave, sanctissima virgo Maria,
Mater dei, regina coeli,
porta paradisi, domina mundi.
Tu singularis pura es virgo;
[Tu concepta sine peccato]
Tu concepisti Jesum sine macula;
Tu peperisti Creatorem
Et Salvatorem mundi,
In quo non dubito.
Libera me ab omni malo;
Ora pro peccato meo. Amen

Hail, most holy Virgin Mary,
Mother of God, Queen of Heaven,
Gate of Paradise, goddess of the world.
You are a uniquely pure virgin
[You were conceived without sin.]
You conceived Jesus without sin;
You bore the creator
And saviour of the world,
In whom I do not doubt.
Free me from every evil;
Pray for me, a sinner.

Two versions of *Ave, sanctissima virgo Maria* circulated, one adding a line (here given in brackets) that refers to the Immaculate Virgin and the other omitting that line. They reflect a heated debate that raged in the late fifteenth century regarding the Immaculate Conception, the dogma that held that the Virgin was born without Original Sin.⁸ Sixtus IV, a Franciscan with a particular devotion to the Virgin, adhered to the doctrine of the Virgin's immaculate

state. Dominicans, in contrast, held that not even Mary could escape original sin, but that hers was cleansed in the womb of her mother, St Anne. Both positions advanced the cult of St Anne, who had made her debut in the previous century and whose cult was rising at the end of the fifteenth partly as a result of this debate. In 1476, Sixtus IV ratified the Office for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, extending an indulgence to anyone who attended mass on the feast day, 8 December. For those who celebrated this office, he promised indulgence. These benefits were published in bulls of 1476 and 1477.⁹

Sixtus IV was so devoted to the Virgin that he built a chapel in St Peter's jointly dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, St Francis, and St Anthony, which was consecrated on 8 December 1479. He intended to be buried there. What is remarkable is that he allowed female votaries to enter the chapel on the feast days of the saints to which the chapel was consecrated so that they could earn the plenary indulgences promised there. One chronicler wrote of Sixtus that 'he honoured the Virgin with such devotion that he ordered all her festive days and vigils to be observed and celebrated, before whose image he was accustomed to pray with his eyes and mind so concentrated that for the space of an hour he was not seen to blink'.¹⁰

Sixtus's devotion to Mary and his commitment to the prayer *Ave, sanctissima virgo Maria* is the subject of a miniature painted in a Southern Netherlandish book of hours illuminated by Gerard Horenbout around 1500 (LBL, Add. 35313, fol. 237r, fig. 102). Pope Sixtus appears at a prie-dieu in his bedchamber, praying with his own private devotional manual, but giving his full attention to an image depicting the Virgin *in Sole* with text underneath. He gazes at a framed image that mirrors the shape and structure of the image at which the viewer is also looking: an image in an arched frame with a prayer text underneath. To some extent, the Virgin *in Sole* occupies the place held by the Man of Sorrows in the Mass of St Gregory. The viewer is looking at an image of Sixtus, while Sixtus, in turn, is looking at an image of the Virgin. Sixtus's presence both authenticates the indulgence and also provides a model for proper veneration of the Virgin. Numerous images of the Virgin *in Sole* further attest to the popularity of the *Ave, sanctissima*

⁸ D'Ancona 1957; Warner 1976, ch. 16; Mayberry 1991; Rubin 2009, pp. 303–304.

⁹ Ringbom 1962; Ringbom 1984, p. 27.

¹⁰ 'Tam impense autem ipsam beatissimam Virgenem excoluit, ut omnes eius dies festos, atque profestos observari et celebrari iusserit, cuius ante imaginem ita intentis, et mente et oculis orare solitus erat, ut horae spatio nunquam connivere sit visus'; Sigismondo dei Conti da Foligno, *Le storie de' suoi tempi dal 1475 al 1510* (Rome, 1883), p. 205, quoted in Blackburn 1999, p. 180.



FIGURE 102 Folio in a book of hours with a full-page miniature depicting Pope Sixtus IV in prayer before an image of the Virgin, painted by Gerard Horenbout c. 1500 in Bruges.
LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ADD. 35313, FOL. 237R.



FIGURE 103 Gerard Horenbout, Pope Sixtus IV in prayer before an image of the Virgin, c. 1500. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ADD. 35313, FOL. 237R, DETAIL OF FIG. 102.

virgo Maria. The function of the prayer was intertwined with its image. On the same folio in LBL, Add. 35313 a rubric has been copied that specifies that Sixtus's prayer is to be read in front of an image of the Virgin *in Sole*. As if demonstrating correct procedure, Horenbout's miniature depicts the pope doing just that (fig. 103). In fact, most rubrics prefacing this prayer specify that it must be read before an image of the Virgin *in Sole*, and this is true of the Middle Dutch translation of the rubric and prayer which circulated widely in the language region.

Pope Sixtus IV and an Indulgence of 11,000 Years

In Add. 35313 the rubric specifies: 'Papa Sixtus concessit dicentibus hanc orationem ante ymaginem Marie virginis in Sole XI milia annorum indulgentie. Oratio'. Two elements of this rubric beg discussion: Sixtus IV's connection with the indulgence, and the requirement that the prayer be performed in front of an image.

The image's proliferation was entirely due to the promise made by the prayer with which it was associated. Although the authorship of the prayer is dubious and the indulgence of 11,000 years that generally accompanies it may be spurious, I know of no copy of the prayer that predates the papacy of Sixtus IV.¹¹ Regardless of the prayer's actual authorship, Sixtus's promotion of it should not be underestimated, for the number of copies of the prayer increases exponentially in the 1480s and 90s, when they suddenly appear in a great many prayerbooks and books of hours. Some rubrics that further specify the authentication of the indulgence by noting 'Pope Sixtus IV gave 11,000 years for this prayer...there is a beautiful bull about it in the city of Cologne'.¹²

Bonnie Blackburn remarks that the prayer appeared in numerous books of hours and prayerbooks across Northern Europe, but rarely in liturgical books.¹³ This fact further shapes our understanding of the prayer's spread: it did not stem from officially controlled books but found its way into books of hours through a different route. Given its rapid spread—fuelled by its brevity, power, and large indulgence—it may have circulated on loose single leaves. Such leaves, then, might have served as exemplars for copyists who worked them into books of hours. As evidence that the prayer was not copied from an existing manuscript but from some loose source, one can note that the prayer was sometimes used as a 'filler'. By this I mean that it appears squeezed into available space, either sandwiched between two unrelated prayers or tucked in at the end of a manuscript quire if there were some blank ruled parchment available there. For example, in HKB, Ms. 135

¹¹ This prayer is not to be confused with *Ave Regina Coelorum*, which does appear earlier, such as in the Van Hulthem Manuscript (BKB, Ms. 15589–15623), an important collection of secular and sacred rhyming texts copied in Brabant before 1410. Folios 195r/v give the prayer first in Latin, followed by a Middle Dutch translation, which begins 'Ghegruet bestu coninghinne der hemele/ ghegruet bestu vrouwe der ynghele/ ghegruet bestu heileghe wortele want...' All the texts in the manuscript have been edited in Brinkman and Schenkel 1999. In the literature, the Latin version of the prayer is sometimes called *Ave Regina Coelorum* rather than *Ave, sanctissima virgo Maria*. In Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, the prayer is listed as G 105 and appears in e.g. BKB 12081, fol. 96r; II 2923, fols 68r–69v; II 7237 (roll); IV 312, fol. 67r. See Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, p. 76 (18:14) and p. 200 (34bis:34). The Latin text appears in BKB II 6904, fol. 20, and IV 1250, fols 73r–73v (*Sixtus papa quartus concessit omnibus devote orationem hanc sequentem dicentibus ante ymaginem beate Maria virginis in Sole indulgentias XI milia annorum*), which is transcribed in Van Asseldonk 1954, p. 35.

¹² E.g., Munich, BSB, Cgm. 864, fols 216r–216v.

¹³ Blackburn 1999.

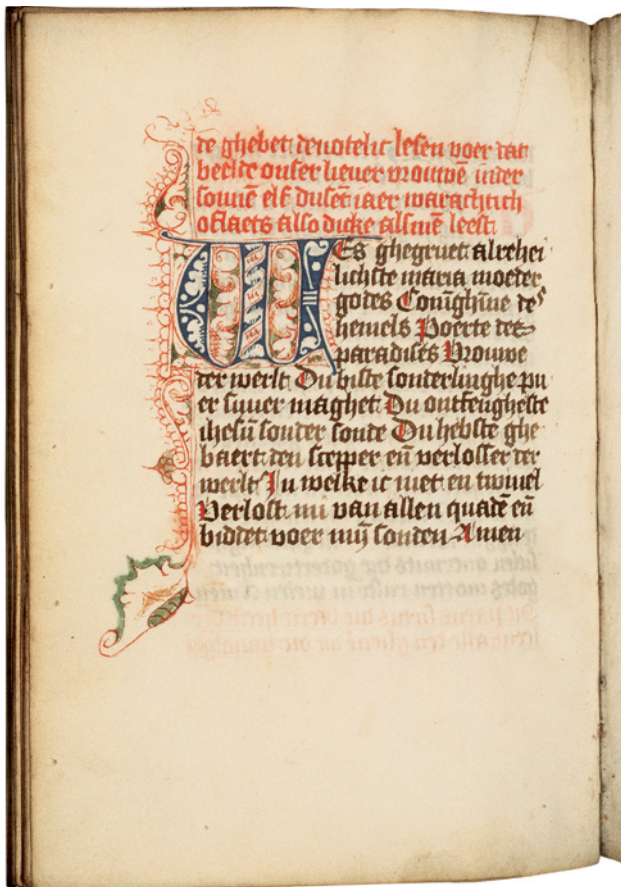


FIGURE 104 Folio in a book of hours with a prayer to the Virgin in Sole, with penwork from North Holland. Made c. 1501 in Enkhuizen.
THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 135 G 22, FOL. 125V.



FIGURE 105 Folio in a book of hours with the incipit of the Hours of the Cross, with painted and gilt initial and border decoration. Made c. 1501 in Enkhuizen.
THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 135 G 22, FOL. 127R.

G 22 the prayer has been added to fill the quire after the Hours of All Saints, where two whole pages were available (fols 125r–125v, fig. 104). By comparing it with the script and decoration of the Hours of the Cross, which begin on the next quire (fol. 127r, fig. 105), one can see that the indulgenced Marian prayer was decorated with a different design aesthetic. This folio containing the prayer to the Virgin in Sole is one of only four folios in the entire manuscript with penwork decoration; one of the other four (171r) contains the rubric announcing the indulgence connected with the *arma Christi*; another is similarly heavily indulgenced ‘for as many days’ indulgence as there are corpses buried in the churchyard’ (HKB, Ms. 135 G 22, fol. 238v, appendix only). In this manuscript, the major offices begin with painted and gilt initials and matching borders, while items on the next rung of the hierarchy of decoration receive penwork initials and borders. In effect, penwork signals indulgences. Normally one would expect the prayer to the Virgin in Sole to appear in a Marian

section of prayers, but in this manuscript it seems as if the copyist asked: What is the most potent text I can inscribe in this extra available space at the end of this quire?

In a similar vein, the prayer was appended as an afterthought to the manuscript illuminated by Horenbout, discussed earlier (see fig. 102). Horenbout’s miniature itself suggests that the rubric, prayer, and image may also have circulated as small paintings, possibly on parchment, combined with the rubric and prayer texts: the object hanging above the pope’s prie-dieu may be a hand-painted print or a framed single-leaf miniature.

Cheap prints are another vehicle via which this prayer could have rapidly spread throughout Northern Europe. Prints could be produced quickly; ephemeral, they fell apart after repeated handling. Surviving examples only represent a tiny faction of the total prints produced. Several fifteenth-century German woodcuts attest to Sixtus IV’s indulgence and also transcribe the short prayer, usually accompanied by an image of the Maria

in Sole.¹⁴ Another woodcut print, which survives in only one copy (in Wrocław /Breslau), depicts the Virgin and Child appearing to Sixtus IV. This may have been printed in Regensburg, and must postdate 1471, when Sixtus ascended to the papacy.¹⁵ A Middle Dutch translation of the prayer also circulated in single-leaf woodcuts, complete with the full prayer, including the line about the Immaculate Conception and the indulgence of 11,000 years (fig. 106). Such prints may have provided the source for the first generation of this prayer to be copied into manuscripts. Having the manuscript taken apart and amended was surely beyond the capacity of many. Instead, they could simply tuck a simple woodcut such as this into their books, where the entire image–prayer–indulgence triumvirate was packaged into a single entity.



FIGURE 106 *Virgin in Sole and indulgence written in Dutch in xylographic characters, c. 1450–1500, hand-coloured woodcut print.*
LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, INV. 1895,0122.10.

14 For the *Virgin in Sole*, see Ringbom 1962. There are editions in Indestge 1961, p. 190; Predota et al. 1998, p. 85; see also Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, p. 76 (18:14) and 200 (34bis:34).

15 Schreiber 1891–1911, 1878m.

Whereas a great many indulgenced prayers treated in this study reveal steep inflation over time, the rubric prefacing this prayer remained relatively stable, with the name of Sixtus IV almost always attached to it. Accretions are limited, with only a handful of cases identifying the pope differently. A prayerbook for use of the Windesheim congregation within the bishopric of Cologne is one of these exceptions, where the rubric reported the standard 11,000-year indulgence but attributes it to Innocent VIII (r. 1484–1492) rather than to Sixtus IV.¹⁶

Occasionally, the size of the indulgence would inflate after 1503, when some manuscripts indicate that Pope Julius II (r. 1503–1513) doubled the 11,000 years, yielding 22,000. Such a rubric appears in a manuscript containing various prayers to the Virgin made in the early sixteenth century by the canons regular dedicated to St Elizabeth in Rugge bij Brielle:

rub: Pope Julius II made an addition to the prayer that Pope Sixtus IV wrote, to be read in front of the image of Our Lady in Sole, and doubled the indulgence so that the total reward is 22,000 years. inc:...

BKB, ms. 12079, fol. 148vb

This inflation is akin to the doubling of the indulgence for the Verses of St Gregory.

Regardless of whether the prayer was disseminated through manuscript exemplars or printed broadsides, it became so popular that musicians began setting it to music by the end of the fifteenth century, which is extraordinary for a non-liturgical prayer. In fact, it received no fewer than forty-five musical settings.¹⁷ Once again one can compare the *Ave, sanctissima virgo Maria* to the Verses of St Gregory, which was the other personal prayer that was set to music several times.

Rosary

The *Virgin in Sole* was often framed by the ring of the rosary. Jacob Spengler, a Dominican, reputedly founded the Brotherhood of the Rosary in 1474, driven by this simple concept: the Virgin Mary takes such delight in hearing the *Ave Maria* uttered that she rewards with special

16 '*rub: Quicumque sequentem oracionem legerit ante ymaginem beate Marie ut solet pingi in Sole, habebit a papa Innocencio XI milia annorum, sed legatur cum una Ave Maria. inc: Ave sanctissima Maria, mater dei, regina celi...*' (Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 1105, fol. 128v), published in Gorissen 1973, p. 241, n. 2.

17 Blackburn 1999, p. 161.



FIGURE 107 Opening in a book of hours, with an added full-page miniature depicting Lijsbett van Steengracht (?) in prayer before the Virgin and Child. Manuscript copied in 1497, probably in Geraardsbergen; miniature painted in the Southern Netherlands. BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. II 2348, FOLS 130V–131R.

grace those who repeat the prayer 50, 100, or 150 times.¹⁸ Anyone could learn the short prayer, and anyone could join: the brotherhood did not slam its doors to the poor or to women. And many people quickly took up the devotion. A woman dressed in the garb of a nun or a hospital sister—who may be Lijsbett van Steengracht, a sister at Onze-Lieve-Vrouwgasthuis, a hospital in Geraardsbergen—was so smitten with the new devotion that she chose to have her own likeness painted in her prayerbook in the miniature prefacing the rosary (fig. 107). The patron kneels with her book at the feet of a radiant Virgin and Child, and the text begins with the *Ave Maria* in Latin, a refrain she will repeat fifty times before she closes her book and folds the mirage of the Virgin away.

In addition to naming a devotional practice and a brotherhood, the term ‘rosary’ also describes a string of

beads for counting off a fixed number of *Ave Marias*. Using the beads as a tactile guide, the votary could count off the mantra-like prayers while contemplating an event from the life of Mary or Jesus. A manuscript made in Bruges around 1500 by the manuscript illuminator Cornelia van Wulfschkercke, a Carmelite sister of the Bruges convent of Sion, conceptualizes the devotion (fig. 108).¹⁹ At the umbilicus of the radial design appears the Virgin *in Sole*. Around her are three strands of rosary beads, the first connecting the joys of the Virgin, the second connecting her sorrows, and their outermost strand connecting five mysteries. To perform the devotion, the votary proceeds round the beads, reciting a *Pater noster* at each image, and then contemplating that image while reciting an *Ave Maria* at each bead. Performing the rosary means both to use the beads and to repeat the *Ave Marias* while fixing one’s attention on the joys, sorrows, or limbs of the Virgin.

18 For a general introduction to the rosary, see Rubin 2009, pp. 332–338; for a penetrating analysis, especially of the rosary in German, see Winston-Allen 1997.

19 See As-Vijvers 2007. For Wulfschkercke, see Arnould 1998; As-Vijvers 2013, pp. 319–343.



FIGURE 108 Folio in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature attributed to Cornelia van Wulfschkercke depicting the Tripartite Rosary. Made c. 1500–10 in Bruges. LONDON, SOTHEBY'S, 17 NOVEMBER 1999, LOT 3, FOL. 82V (PRESENT WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN).

Some instructions for performing the rosary make the indulgence reward explicit.²⁰

Cornelia van Wulfschkercke's illumination makes palpable the degree to which the rosary devotion was predicated upon visualizing the vignettes about the life of Christ and Mary. While the illumination provides these vignettes in order, other unillustrated prayers to the Virgin helped the reader to fabricate visions, using prayer as the raw material. Such is the case in a rubric and prayer in a highly decorated prayerbook made by the Birgittine monks and nuns of Mariëntroon in Dendermonde, who may have produced this lavish book for Margaret of York (1446–1503) shortly before she died (it is now divided into three volumes). Its rubric describing St Bridget's Vision of

Christ is consistent with its Birgittine provenance (Ghent, UB, Ms. 205, fols 1, 69v–II, 11r). The manuscript contains an unusual rosary devotion with a narrative rubric:

rub: Below is a very devout prayer called the 'Rose Garland of Our Lady', which should be said on Saturdays. [In connection with this prayer] one reads about a religious person who had been a canon named Arnolph, who was also very loved by God and by his blessed mother Mary, because he served them by day and by night. One night our Lady appeared to him and taught him this prayer of great devoutness and said, 'Arnolph, take this prayer and teach it to as many people as you can. Everyone who reads it devoutly in my honour every Saturday shall experience great joy, because they shall see me five times before their death, for their help and comfort. First, they shall see me in the state I was in when the angel Gabriel announced the incarnation of the blessed Son of God. Second, when I was in my birthing bed, and I nursed my blessed son. Third, when I was greatly distressed when I saw my dearest son die on the cross. Fourth, how I was when I saw him rise from the dead to the living. Fifth, as I am sitting on the divine throne next to my dearest son, as queen of heaven and earth'. And the next day, when this wise man woke up from his visions that he had had in his sleep, he praised God and the Virgin Mary and found these prayers written by his bed, which Mary had left for him. Then without further ado he got up and made it known to the bishop of his city, who revealed it and preached it throughout the land. In that way, they were spread throughout Christendom. Each good Christian should happily and devotedly try to read this prayer every Saturday, so that he may receive the help of the mother of god in his greatest need, as is written above. Here below are the prayers written in Latin. *inc:* Missus est angelus Gabriel ad Mariam...

Ghent, UB, Ms. 205, vol. ii, fols 56r–57v

Whereas many rubrics such as that of the Virgin *in Sole* refer to painted images that the votary must look at while reading a text, this rubric indicates that the votary will receive mental images in the form of dreams as rewards for reading the prayers. According to the Virgin—as reported by the prayer text—the reader is to receive all the same images that Arnolph has dreamed. His dreams, however, have drawn upon painted images, since all the scenes come from standard iconography of the Virgin: first, the Annunciation; second, the Virgin *lactans*; third, the Virgin

20 E.g., the book of Robert Reynes of Acle (1430–1505), in Norfolk, has instructions for a 'psalter' of Our Dear Lady, to be performed with rosary beads, for which the votary earns an indulgence of '23 years, 11 score days and 14'; see Rubin 2009, pp. 334–335.

at the foot of the Cross; fourth, the appearance of the resurrected Christ to his mother; fifth, the coronation of the Virgin. It is manufactured images that have given form and content to the visions.²¹

To perform the rosary was also to gather roses, which are metaphors of prayers. Braiding a garland of prayers, the votary bestows them on the Virgin. This metaphor is conceptualized and visualized in the border of an early sixteenth-century Southern Netherlandish prayerbook now housed at St Mary's College, Oscott, near Birmingham (fig. 109). The image presents a scene in a garden of a large golden mansion. Angels gather roses, then give them to the young Christ Child, who passes them to his mother. Braided roses symbolize rosary beads on a string, since both are gathered to crown the mother of God.



FIGURE 109 Folio in a prayer book with an indulgenced Marian prayer surrounded by an illuminated border representing the origin of the Ave Maria. Made c. 1500–10 in the Southern Netherlands.
SUTTON COLDFIELD, OSCOTT, ST MARY'S COLLEGE, NO SIGNATURE, FOL. 67R.

A manuscript made for a lay woman in the eastern Netherlands includes a miniature depicting the Virgin *in Sole* surrounded by a string of rosary beads: ten white beads interrupted by a red bead, repeated five times (fig. 110). Their structure conforms to that of the accompanying rosary devotion, which consists of fifty statements about the life of Jesus and his mother. Each of the white beads represents an *Ave Maria*. These punctuate each statement. Following every tenth statement, a red bead symbolizes a *Pater noster*. In this case, however, the *Pater noster* are not simply red beads; rather, they present the Five Wounds of Christ, so that the thread pierces Christ's hand, foot, and heart wounds. The image also presents an entire worldview, such that the string of beads and wounds comprehends not only the Virgin *in Sole*, but also an entire hilly landscape populated by two votaries. One of these appears to be a laywoman, who kneels on



FIGURE 110 Folio in a prayer book with a full-page miniature depicting the Virgin *in Sole* accompanying a female donor and an Augustinian sister, encircled in a rosary with the wounds of Christ as the decade beads. Made c. 1500 in the eastern part of the northern Netherlands.
WROCLAW [BRESLAU], BIBLIOTEKA KAPITULNA, MS 716, FOL. 71V.

21 Freedberg 1989, esp. pp. 303–305.

a hillock below the celestial vision, without overlapping it in the least. The other votary, who has achieved much greater propinquity with the Virgin, wears the habit of an Augustinian canoness, and she does overlap the Virgin's radiance and even part of her cloak, which suggest the short symbolic distance between her and the object of veneration. Both women clasp their hands but manage to hold rosary beads at the same time, thereby reiterating on a micro level the giant string of beads that circumscribes them. Acting as an intercessor, the canoness pleads on behalf of the wealthy patron to the Virgin, who will in turn plead with her infant son, whose loving gaze is reserved for his mother.

Rosary devotions entered the marketplace of salvation at the same time that printing did. There is no doubt that serially produced images, in the form of early woodcuts, propelled the devotion into the folded hands of many Christians who were early adopters of the new technology. Such woodcuts could provide the visual imagery on which devotees were to concentrate during their rosary devotions. Those indulgences attached to the recitation of the rosary no doubt promoted the devotion, as did the sheer ubiquity of rosary brotherhoods and images of the Virgin *in Sole*.

The Virgin's Body Parts

Both of the previous examples involve visualizations that are total and that call up the Virgin as an entirety. But there was also a prayer that visualized the Virgin as a series of fragments, barely bringing the whole into view, even though votaries would have relied on fairly standard physical images of the Virgin to accomplish this. This prayer treats the fragments metaphorically. Beginning in the twelfth century, one of the metaphors of Mary was that of the neck: if Christ was the head and the Church was the body, then Mary was the mediatrix connecting the two. One prayer, which was copied in numerous Middle Dutch manuscripts, draws on this corporeal metaphor and at the same time borrows the structure of an ancient love spell, which was redesigned for Marian worship. Praising each of Mary's body parts, the prayer progresses from her head to her feet. Rubrics prefacing some of the copies suggest that the prayers are only 'activated' if a votary performs them in the presence of an image. Having an image of the Virgin would provide a mnemonic for this prayer to the Virgin's body parts, as the votary contemplated each of them in their capacity to nurture the infant Jesus.²²

²² Mary in her late medieval capacities as a nurturer, especially in Northern Europe, is discussed in Rubin 2009, pp. 211–216.

Furthermore, the prayer helps to explain the function of some of the late medieval images of the Virgin or, at least, a use to which they were put.²³ It suggests that votaries would take their prayerbooks to the image-filled church, where rubrics choreographed their devotional performances, the stakes for which were no less than miraculous cures and eternal salvation.

In no fewer than seventeen extant Middle Dutch prayerbooks the prayer to the Virgin's body parts appears. Copied in several versions, it varied dramatically in length, including or excluding preliminary material. Some of the copies bear rubrics specifying that its reader perform the prayer before a sculpture of the Virgin.²⁴ One of the earliest Middle Dutch versions of the prayer was copied into BKB, Ms. 19645, a fragmentary manuscript dating from around 1420 and containing three gatherings of Marian prayers. Among these prayers is a rubric that is instructive for understanding how a late medieval person would have read and used the prayer:

rub: Here begins a very devout exercise that pleases Our Dear Lady greatly. It is a greeting to all the body parts of the glorious Virgin, whose beautiful limbs are to be each individually loved and honoured, and done in front of her [sculpted] image [beeld]. Furthermore, those who have visited a certain holy man have heard from him that one can hardly perform any other manner of service that is so pleasing to Our Dear Lady, or that causes such a great devotion to flow out, as this one does.

BKB, Ms. 19645, fol. 14r

The rubric commands the votary to honour the Virgin's body in front of her image. Since the manuscript provides no image, the reader would have to look outside the codex for an appropriate one, which could be, for example, any one of a number of polychromed sculptures depicting the Virgin standing with her child, in which golden hair pours out from under her crown as she leans her head towards his. These are some of the specifications that the accompanying prayer mentions as it provides an exegesis on the Virgin's body. (I have fully transcribed one of these, from

²³ This prayer to the Virgin is Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, G 22, a translation from a Latin prayer: 'Suspice genetrix dei eterni omnipotentis Regis obsequium humilis serui tui indignas laudes ex ore ipsius immundo et impuro. Quas ad laudem melliflui nominis tui sacratissime virginitati tue devota mente offerre desidero...Ave gratia plena vere plena et benedicta'.

²⁴ A Latin version of the prayer appears in the fourteenth-century Soyons Breviary (Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. nouv. acq. 718, fol. 436r), for which see Ringbom 1962.

BKB, Ms. 11171, where the description of Mary's head appears at fols 155v–156v.)

Within the prayer, shorter internal rubrics guide the reader on a journey along the Virgin's image, from one body part to the next, beginning with the Virgin's 'glorious head'. Telescoping from the general to the specific, the votary considers the individual components of the Virgin's head, starting with her face and its parts, her eyes, ears, cheeks, nose, mouth. Then, the prayer further breaks down the components of her mouth: her lips and teeth. This array prescribes a particular way of regarding the image. First the votary greets the image, looking up at her head, specifically her face. Moving closer to the image, the besmitten votary next takes in the face's component parts. Telescoping distances construct ever greater levels of intimacy, until the votary is finally kissing her mouth. Stepping back, the reader praises her throat and neck, before working down her body to admire her shoulders, her arms, and hands. Leaving the Virgin's hands, the votary returns to her torso to praise her 'holy breast' (twice), her heart, her belly, and her intestines, then moves on to her legs, knees, shins, and feet, only then stepping back and considering her whole body, her soul, and Christ's body, which, for the purposes of this prayer, is one of her body parts.

Twenty-six body parts in all receive the reader's praises, each described in terms of its beauty, parenting duty, or role in the salvation of humanity. Language in the prayer likens the body to precious materials, as if Mary were a highly crafted reliquary. For example, 'your most holy shins are like columns of marble set in a tabernacle not made by human hands in which you strongly displayed and held the Christ Child'. As a refrain, an *Ave Maria* punctuates each segment. In its structure the prayer resembles a rosary, where the 'beads' are the Virgin's body parts strung along her torso, framing a sequence of *Ave Marias*. A more powerful mnemonic than a string of beads, the body of the Virgin, as reiterated in her image, contains all of salvation history. In instructing the viewer/reader how to look at the image (a *beeld*, which most likely refers to a sculpted image) the prayer directs the votary to linger visually over some parts, while barely glancing at others. The greetings fall into one of three categories.

First, some of the segments emphasize body parts associated with the Virgin's beauty. For example, the segment describing the Virgin's cheeks praises her beauty by singing: 'O, sweet Mary, your cheeks were of the best complexion, white and red. God was very pleased with your beauty and never turned his eyes from you'. The prayer holds the Virgin to an ideal of pulchritude, with rosy cheeks set against a porcelain complexion. Her beauty captures and maintains God's attention.

Second, other segments of the prayer emphasize the relationship of the given body part with the Virgin's role as the mother of Jesus. For example, praising the Virgin's throat, the text reads: 'Blessed be your sweet throat, with which you sang so many times and so sweetly to the small tender infant Jesus in order to quiet him when he was crying, as all young babies do. *Ave Maria*'. While the prayer idealizes the Virgin's beauty, it does not idealize the physical hardships of parenting and calls attention to the baby's howls. In related segments, the prayer describes the aches in her arms that she incurred from carrying Jesus around.

A third category emphasizes the role of the body part in the salvation of humanity. For example, the prayer to the Virgin's nose: 'Blessed be your beautiful white nose, and your well-smelling nasal passages that smelled the sweet humanity of Christ, whose smell can raise the dead. *Ave Maria*'. That is quite a perfume that can raise the dead, and the mother of Jesus was the first to smell it.²⁵

Some of the more important body parts are named twice. For example, the prayer names both her neck and her throat (*kelen* and *hals*). Her breasts are also named twice, both times evoking gentle descriptions of their milk-giving role. Similarly celebrated as having nurtured the developing Christ Child for nine months, the Virgin's belly is also named twice, with a different name poetically ascribed to it in each case (her *buuck*, meaning 'belly', and her *inghewaenden*). *Inghewaenden* literally mean 'intestines', although it is clear from the context of the prayer that the body part is her 'stomach' and is celebrated for its reproductive, not its digestive, role. Often these body parts would only be suggested in fifteenth-century sculptures depicting the Virgin, with a slight swelling of the Virgin's belly or the contour of her knee under the otherwise voluminous and obscuring mounds of drapery.

'Et Ihesum', the last item listed in the prayer, refers to the body of Christ, which Mary's body subsumes in this context. One might at first be tempted to think of a *Vierge Ouvrant*, a form of sculpture that might be described as a medieval Marian matryoshka doll.²⁶ A *Vierge Ouvrant* depicts the Virgin with hinged sides that open to reveal more painted and sculpted images concealed inside. Such an object would 'illustrate' this prayer, conceptualizing Jesus as one of Mary's body parts: Jesus is literally inside Mary. However, given the other clues within the prayer text, it seems likely that a much more common image would suffice, namely, any one of the ubiquitous sculptures representing the standing or sitting Virgin with Child. At several points in the prayer, the text praises Mary's body because it is like a throne, formed by her legs and her lap;

25 Davidson 1994 provides related references.

26 For many examples, see Gertsman 2015.



FIGURE 111 Opening in a prayer book, with a parchment painting depicting the Virgin, facing the incipit of the prayer to the Virgin's body parts. Made c. 1450–1500 in Tienen (?).

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 75 G 2, FOLS 196V–197R.

furthermore, her skin is compared to ivory. An ivory image depicting the Virgin as throne of wisdom could also provide an adequate subject of visual contemplation while reading the prayers.

Despite the image-oriented nature of the prayer, only one of the seventeen extant Middle Dutch copies of it so far identified is illuminated with an image of the Virgin, and that image was added later, possibly by the user herself (HKB, Ms. 75 G 2, fols 196v–197r; fig. 111). It depicts the Virgin holding Jesus, clothed in the sun, standing on the moon, crowned by angels, and bearing a banderol with the names of flowers, which is a permutation of the many rosary devotions in circulation. The image, in other words, can fit a multitude of devotional situations, because it simultaneously represents the Virgin *in Sole* standing on the moon, the Coronation of the Virgin, a seated Virgin and Child, and the Virgin of the Rosary.²⁷ Copies of this image, which appear in many manuscripts from Brabant and Luik, were not designed for this prayer. In fact, the single leaf is slightly smaller than the text pages, which

once again demonstrates that the image was not planned there from the beginning. However, the fact that the owner chose the incipit of this prayer as the home for her single loose-leaf miniature of the Virgin suggests that she wanted to underscore its importance, to flag its beginning, and to give herself a visual mnemonic for the highly visual prayer. In short, then, the prayer to the Virgin's body parts was not, as a rule, illustrated with a miniature; it is nevertheless a strongly image-centric prayer.

Two possibilities could account for the paradox of the unillustrated image-centred prayer. First, rubrics' silence as to the use of an image could indicate that most people who practised the devotion did not use a physical image to do so, and constructed a mental image instead. Second, it could mean that the use of an image was self-evident and therefore did not necessarily need to be specified in the rubrics, and only crystallized into the rubricated instruction after decades of votaries had practised it with an image.

In support of this second possibility, some of the copies of the text, such as BKB, Ms. 11171, fols 153v–164r (transcribed in the Appendix), have one or more prologues

²⁷ Rudy 2010, Rudy 2015a.

that refer to an image. When the third prologue of the text in BKB, Ms. 11171 (fols 155v–156r), which is based on the structure *Ave Maria*, reaches the second phrase of the *Ave Maria*, ‘the Lord is with you,’ the text elaborates, ‘He is with you in your body, in your lap, and in the sweet embrace.’ This phrase recalls an image type of the Virgin and Child, in which Jesus stands in his mother’s lap and reaches towards her to embrace her: the phrase suggests that such an image was present either in the physical or spiritual eyes of the votary, who needs to picture the Virgin in order to appreciate the structure of the prayer. Familiar with the usual illustrations from sculpture, painting, and manuscript illuminations, votaries were able to create these same images in their minds, and therefore to create them out of prayers that suggested them, because they had seen them many times before. Further in the prayer, the text lauds the Virgin’s abdomen: ‘O, sweet Mary, your belly was as clean and pure as elephant ivory’ (fol. 162r). Comparing Mary to a sculpted material, the prayer further suggests that the reader’s visual point of departure was in fact an ivory sculpture representing the Virgin.

In fragmenting the body of the Virgin, a vessel that is often described as inviolable and whole, the body-part prayer presents a fundamental contradiction. After all, the Virgin’s virginity, one of her axiomatic qualities, is predicated on her integrity. The prayer also confronts the Virgin’s physicality in a direct and tactile way by summoning thoughts of her as a nursery worker, bouncing, patting, suckling, cooing.

Several other traditions are related to the Virgin’s body-part prayer. First, such prayers are in some ways analogous to the rosary. The rosary was so called because one wove a chaplet of roses as a crown for the Virgin’s head; the recitation of the *Ave Maria* constituted each rose. The *Ave Maria*, as noted earlier, begins with the words that Gabriel spoke to Mary to announce that she was going to bear the Son of God. These words were so sweet to her, the tradition goes, that she was thrown into fits of rapture each time a votary repeated them. To form a chaplet, the worshipper would count the repeated prayers on a set of beads, also called a rosary. Similarly, the devotional exercise to the Virgin’s body parts frames a series of prayers, with repeated *Ave Marias*, to the Virgin’s twenty-six body parts. Both prayer systems organize series of mantra-like *Ave Marias* as one concentrates on some other aspect of theology, such as the Virgin’s joys, sorrows, or, in the case of the body-part prayers, her limbs.

Second, the prayer to the Virgin’s body parts is an adaptation of a prayer to Christ’s body parts, thought to have been written by St Bernard, which was also to be read in front of an image of Christ, specifically, Christ hanging from a cross. Sub-rubrics within both prayers move

the reader from one body part to the next and tell the reader how to look at the image: with sympathy, compassion, and intense admiration. The prayer to Christ’s body parts also requests that the votary then kiss each limb tenderly. Whereas one is to look at each of the Virgin’s parts while considering its compassionate, life-giving, or baby-minding role, one is to look at Jesus’ parts while considering the pain and suffering it endured. In other words, the images summon thoughts of his Passion and her Compassion. Both prayers often appear in the same prayerbooks, thereby forging a relationship between the two. A Carthusian named Jacobus van Gruitrode (d. 1475) may have written the immediate Latin source of the prayer. His *Salutationes ad membra singula beatae Mariae Virginis* and the *Salutationes ad membra singula domini nostri Jesu Christi* are both excerpted from the *Hortus aurearum rosarum Jesu et Mariae* and the *Rosarium Jesu et Mariae*.²⁸ Jacobus van Gruitrode translated the short form of these texts as *Die roesenghaert Jesu ende Marie*.²⁹

As van Gruitrode implies with his textual juxtaposition, the prayer to the Virgin’s body parts is an inversion of that to Christ’s. Whereas one group of the prayers to Christ’s body parts begins with his feet, those to the Virgin always begin at her head. Psychologically, the difference is clear: the prayers anticipate a penitent votary who approaches the image of Jesus close to the ground, whereas the Marian prayer factors in the Virgin’s approachability: she will intervene for any sinner who may calmly approach her face to face. As discussed earlier, Isaiah’s prophecy (‘From the sole of the foot unto the top of the head, there is no soundness therein’) was interpreted as a pre-figurative description of Jesus. Since the Old Testament was used to fill in details of Christ’s Passion, Isaiah’s description of the broken body justified a blow by blow account of

28 Deschamps 1985b, p. 68; the *Hortus aurearum* is contained in only one manuscript, BKB, Ms. II 468, fols 130r–138v; see Gheyn 1901, vol. III, 376, no. 2243; Verjans 1931. The *Rosarium Jesu et Mariae* appears in Utrecht, UB, Ms. 229, fols 74v–82r. Both the *Hortus aurearum* and the *Rosarium Jesu et Mariae*, including the *Salutationes ad membra singula beatae Mariae virginis*, appear in Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Ms. 2274, fols 101r–107v; the *Salutationes ad membra singula domini nostri Jesu Christi* from the *Rosarium Jesu et Mariae* appear in Paris, BA, Ms. 953.

29 See Deschamps 1985a. The original Latin contains various spiritual exercises, arranged around the days of the week, including the greetings to the body parts of Jesus and Mary as exercises for Saturday; however, in the Dutch translation, the prayer to Christ’s body parts is moved to Friday, and the prayer to the Virgin’s body parts is not translated; see Deschamps 1985b, p. 75. The prayer to the body parts of the Virgin appears in Nicolas de Saligeto, *Antidotarius animae*, 1502 ed., fol. 67, for which see Gougoud 1912, p. 41.

Christ's anatomy, starting at his feet. Moreover, his lack of 'soundness', or even his downright ugliness, became part of his pathetic humanity. In contrast, the Virgin is nearly always celebrated for her pulchritude, except during her moments of compassion when tears and a grief-wrenched face interrupt her comeliness, which is often described as a function of her beautiful face.

The Virgin's body-part prayer draws upon two non-Christian sources, one an incantation, the other a trope of courtly romance. Specifically, the prayer borrows its structure from a love spell, such as the Leiden love spell described by Peter Dronke. Written in verse, this spell enumerates all the body parts of the person, presumably a woman, who is to come under the speaker's control.³⁰ By asking the angels, archangels, patriarchs, confessors, apostles, and martyrs to participate in the willing subjugation of the particular woman named by the reader, the Leiden love spell takes the ancient form and brings it into a Christian context. As Dronke points out,

[T]he language of prayer can combine with that of adjuration in many Christian contexts. But the characteristic form this combination takes is that for which there is a New Testament *auctoritas*: 'in my name they will cast out demons' (Mark 16.17). That is, as in ritual exorcisms, the evil forces are adjured and compelled to depart, in the name of the Christian God and of heavenly powers.³¹

The prayer to the Virgin's body parts may also be described as a binding spell, meant to bring the Virgin under willing subjugation of the votary, also using New Testament *auctoritas*. That this is done through the agency of the image is made explicit in some redactions of the prayer.

A form of prayer found in an eighth-century Irish manuscript also resembles the body-part prayer. In this *lorica*, the names of body parts are interspersed with Biblical names:³²

Caput Christi,
Oculus Isaiae,
Frons [...],
Nassium Noe,
Labia [...],
Lingua Salomonis,

Collum Temathei,
Mens Benjamin,
Pectus Pauli,
Unctus Iohannis,
Fides Abrache.
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Sabaoth.

The text was to be read to cure headaches and other illnesses of the head. Structurally it is similar to the *lorica* to the Virgin Mary, although in the latter, many more body parts are named, covering the entire body and not just the head. Both prayers use Biblical authority to forge a cuirass for bodily protection.

Body-part prayers also bear a structural similarity to an entirely different genre of literature, known as *effictio*.³³ *Effictio* means a 'word portrait' of someone's body, often describing the body from head to toe. As a concept, *effictio* can be traced to Maximian's portrait of Helen of Troy in the sixth century; it usually takes as its subject ideal feminine beauty, although an *effictio* of the Green Knight appears in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and therefore applies to verdant masculine beauty.³⁴ In the late Middle Ages, this subgenre of description most often appears in medieval courtly literature, but also makes an appearance in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*.³⁵ Medieval courtly literature and Christian prayer therefore co-opted the genre of *effictio*, which originated in the literature of classical antiquity. Mary's sculpted body, read through the lenses of the body-part prayer, is an aphrodisiac body on display, in James Schultz's terms, and perfectly unattainable, as sculptures and beautiful women tend to be.³⁶

A certain miracle story provides a glimpse into the reception of this prayer and suggests what a votary's expectations of the prayer might have been. Inscribed in a Middle Dutch manuscript compilation of miracles, one miracle results from performing the prayer to the Virgin's body parts with its accompanying ritual (AUB, Ms. I G 18, fols 143r–145v).³⁷

Exemplum. One reads of a devout and spiritual young man, who served Our Beloved Lady Mary for 22 years, that he would have loved to know the most

³⁰ Dronke 1988.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Gaidoz 1890–1891. The eighth-century manuscript he cites is in the library of St Gall in Switzerland.

³³ I thank David Johnson for steering me toward *effictio* literature during his trip to The Hague, April 2007.

³⁴ See Merwin, ed. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 2003.

³⁵ Colby 1965.

³⁶ Schultz 2006, esp. pp. 29–47.

³⁷ A similar text appears as a prologue to the body-part prayer in BKB, Ms. 11171, fols 153v–154v.

beautiful service that he could perform for her. After this, Mary appeared to him, looking at him with two of the friendliest and most modest eyes, and with a blooming red face, and with her lovingly smiling mouth. Mary said to him: 'Now, examine me well from the outside and the inside'. He looked at her exterior with heartfelt, unspeakable love, and he saw inside her the most glorified, jubilant, and beautiful heart that had ever been enclosed in a young Virgin. Then Mary said to him: 'You have prayed to me with ardent love for a long time in order to know the most loving service that you possibly could do for me. So that you shall know, I am letting you know that there are 22 *Ave Marias*. To anyone who says these every day with love to honour me, I shall demonstrate great benevolent faithfulness and enormous friendship of love, throughout his life and at his death. The first two you shall speak to honour my ears, with which I heard the Angelic Greeting, because of which all peoples call me blessed. The next two you shall devote to my faith, namely that I believed that I would be the Mother of God. The third pair to my eyes, with which I saw divinity shine through humanity, as the sun shines through a glass. The fourth pair to my knees, with which I gave the first honour to my child that was ever given to him by mankind. The fifth pair to my hands, with which I lifted up the one who created all of heaven and earth. The sixth pair to my mouth, with which I kissed [the] one who is a tabernacle and a dwelling for all the saints and angels to live in. The seventh pair to my womb, in which I carried the one who sustains heaven and earth with his worthy might. The eighth pair to my breasts, [with] which I gave succour to him, who is the food and life of the saints and angels. The ninth pair to my arms with which I carried the one who carries heaven and earth and all the creatures with his worthy might. The tenth pair to my feet, with which I followed my dear child in joy and sorrow. The eleventh pair to my heart, which was so inflamed that it received all the wounds, and they pierced it when I saw that my dear son hung so high that I could not reach him, and he said, 'See here, woman, your son'. Anyone who greets me devotedly every day shall receive from me a motherly, benevolent prayer. In the hour of his death, I shall be his consoler and strength against all terror of the enemy'. And by this, she made him love her with even more love. At that point, she wished him peace with benevolent love and affection, and then she departed from him. She bestowed upon him with great benevolent love, that at the hour of

his death he would be fearless, have strength and consolation, and would win over the enemies of fear.

AUB, Ms. I G 18, fols 143r-145r

As the protagonist of this rubric/legend, the image of the Virgin is a happy laughing one, a dream-like figure eager to pass on secret knowledge useful to the votary. This secret knowledge, of course, is that which instructs the votary to praise the Virgin's 22 body parts, one limb for each year that the suitor has loved her. Because the *Ave Marias* are delivered in pairs, each pair addresses mirrored parts of the Virgin's body, for example, both legs or both arms. After all, Western culture considers symmetry a necessary feature of female beauty. Likewise, the prayer celebrates Mary's symmetry as one aspect of her benevolence and beauty. Given the incantational quality of the prayer, however, the doubling may be intended to relate the reader's body part with the Virgin's corresponding part. This visionary Virgin is concerned that her paramour can see her 'on the inside, as well as on the outside', that is, her inner beauty as well as her physical beauty. By calling attention to each visible body part, then reminding the votary what work that body had performed in the service of human salvation, the devotional exercise that follows continues to perform that very task. In sum, traces of the sources of the prayer—binding spell and *effictio*—are not difficult to detect.

According to both the legend and the rubrics that it seems to have spawned, the Virgin loved hearing nothing better than the prayer to her body parts. To read it put a votary on good terms with the Virgin. Of course, the notion of a series of prayers devoted to individual body parts finds its apex in prayers over the body of Christ, and the prayers to the Virgin's body follow much the same model. However, since the Virgin's suffering is largely emotional, Christological sufferings move from Christ's body to the supplicant's. Just as disassembled as Christ's, the Virgin's body is put under the same kind of scrutiny. This deeply affected how people looked at images. In its physicality, the prayer suggests a tactile relationship, one that would have bound the worshipper's body, with its pains and earthly plights, to that of the Virgin. While some prayers emphasize the spiritual rewards they offer, such as indulgences, this one emphasizes physicality, and would have helped to weave a relationship between the body of the afflicted and the miraculous image of the Virgin.

Just as the prayers to Mary's body parts form an inversion of the analogous prayers to Christ's body parts, there was similarly a Marian prayer that re-utilized the structure of the prayer to Christ's face. Whereas the Christological prayers emphasize his contorted disfigurement, Marian

prayers emphasize the Virgin's pulchritude. In the Christological prayers, the rest of the rubrics steer the reader's attention to Christ's legs and knees (which are counted as a single item), to his stomach, sides, shoulders, hands, chest, neck, to his 'sweet mouth', ears, eyes, and head, with the prayers themselves also referring to the reader's appropriate response. For each body part enumerated, the text describes the particular suffering it underwent, and the reader promises a physical response, specifically to Christ to 'ardently kiss' each suffering body part.³⁸ This promise is repeated twelve times, once for each body part. Kissing images is a common response to them, and is even codified in the mass with the oblation to the *Te Igitur* page in the missal, where the *T* of *Te Igitur* is often represented as a crucifix.³⁹ Prayers to Christ's body finish with his head. Conversely, prayers to the Virgin's body begin with her head and work down. Just as there was a separate devotional tradition dedicated to Christ's face (propelled by the Sudarium and all its copies), there was an analogous, albeit smaller, tradition of venerating the Virgin's face, which votaries sometimes kissed to the point of disfigurement.

For example, a book of hours from South Limburg (BKB, Ms. 21953) contains a prayer to the face of the Virgin. One of the manuscript's six copyists was Sister Anna Swilden, a tertiary of Sint-Catharinadal in Hasselt who worked around 1480. A short prayer, here transcribed in full, carries a rubric that seems to have been added later, squeezed into the text block so that it hovers above the line:

rub: To the face of Mary. inc: O, glorious Virgin and mother of God Mary, I greet your pure image and the form of your loving face, which the holy Trinity loved in perpetuity. O, how blessed was that sanctified image that was so sublime, that it was hardly possible for a person to look at. Therefore I bid you, true Virgin, that you will obtain mercy for me from your dear son, so that he might forgive my sins. Amen.

BKB, Ms. 21953, fol. 241v

Devotion to Christ's face certainly became a model for devotion to the Virgin's face. The rubric tells the reader to direct the prayer 'to the face of Mary', and the prayer itself reiterates three times that the reader is gazing upon the Virgin's image while speaking the words. The prayer

constructs a conversation between the reader and the Virgin, whereby the reader greets her image, and even notes how a third party—the Trinity—loved this image, too. Whereas Christ's deformity and abjection could cause the viewer pain in her compassion, the Virgin's face was too blindingly beautiful to look at.

The Pietà

The previous examples involved fitting images to prayers, such that the votary was able to pray towards a concrete goal (however dispersed it might be). But in the case of the Pietà, the popularity of a particular image drew a constellation of prayers to surround it to mine its potential. According to Christian mythology, Mary shared the joy of resurrection as well as the sorrow of her son's death as a first-hand witness. The prayer *O intemerata* describes the sorrow of the Virgin and St John at the foot of the Cross. It sometimes accompanies an image depicting the Virgin lamenting the death of her son: in other words, a Pietà. Frequently painted in books of hours, this was an extremely common image in sculpture. Of the handful of churches in the Low Countries that still have their late medieval furnishings, most possess a late medieval sculpted and polychromed Pietà.

In a book of hours with copious, lavish illuminations by the Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle, the illuminator provides an image depicting a stiff and dead Christ propped in his mother's arms, while John takes in the sorrowful scene from behind. The artist brings the depicted space closer to that of the viewer by representing the Cross, with its INRI plaque (titulum) clearly distinguished and extending above the frame, as if it were attached to the parchment with two big nails (fig. 112). As the rubric explains, the image accompanies the prayer *O intemerata*:

rub: A good prayer or invocation on the mercy-hearted mother of God and untarnished Virgin Mary, and the elected friend of God and apostle St John the Evangelist, which is called O intemerata et in eternum benedicta in Latin. There are many indulgences for those who read it.

Utrecht, UB, Ms. 5 J 26, fol. 161r

John's sorrows, and especially Mary's, as they regard their dead friend and son, respectively, are the subject of this prayer. While the prayer is common, and the image widespread, rarely does a rubric for this prayer specify that it was to be read in front of an image. Perhaps doing so was so obvious that it did not need to be spelled out.

38 BKB, Ms. 11171, fol. 35r, 'Ic aenbiede u weerdelike ende cusse u ynnichlike'.

39 For image kissing, see Lowden 2007. Touching and kissing words and images in manuscripts is the topic of my next book.



FIGURE 112 Folio in the Hours of Kunera van Leeftael with a column-wide miniature depicting the Pietà, attributed to the Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle. Made c. 1415 in the Northern Netherlands.

UTRECHT, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, 5 J 26, FOL. 162R.

Many convents owned a sculpted image depicting the dead Christ in his mother's lap.⁴⁰ Such images were known as *Vesperbilder* because votaries commonly used them in conjunction with their prayers for vespers. Reading the relevant prayers in the presence of these sculptures would have enhanced the devotion. Indeed, that is specified in a prayerbook made around 1500 (BKB, Ms. II 2923, fols 51r–53r). The prayer requires the reader to perform before a sculpture (*beeld*) depicting the Virgin with her dead son in her lap, to earn 30,000 years' indulgence. As if drawing the reader into an emotional relationship with the sculpture, the prayer describes the great pain that Mary felt when she was under the Cross. Another prayer to the sorrowing Virgin with a rubric quite different from the one just

discussed appears in a manuscript made by and for a nun in Leuven, around 1550:

rub: When our dear lord was taken dead from the cross and laid in the lap of his dear mother, Mary spoke these following seven words, and anyone who reads them with devotion will have from Pope Innocent IV 6666 years' indulgence. *Ave Maria. inc:* O, eternal fountain of living water...⁴¹

Paris, BNF, Ms. néerl. 40, fol. 180r

Whereas the previous prayer constructed a monologue that put words in the mouth of the votary to direct to the image of the sorrowing Virgin, this one purports to record the words Mary spoke herself. Whereas in the first, the reader makes a connection by addressing Mary in her specific plight, the second puts the votary in Mary's shoes so that she can imitate her. The resulting prayer is based on six O's, the traditional interjection of lament.

A large number of sculptures depicting the Virgin with her dead son in her lap survive from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, so it is not surprising that rubrics direct prayer to take place in front of that image type. They show in perpetuity Mary lingering over the site of her son's death and holding his body in her arms. This sense of bodily comfort that she provides, extending even beyond death, provided succour to the morally ill. Mary's role in the Lamentation was cemented in images depicting the Pietà, and in rubrics that require the votary to read a prayer before that image. Prayers that were written specifically to be read in front of the Pietà emerged in the late fifteenth century. They demonstrate one way in which the scribal culture around rubrics and prayers was flexible and integrated items from the visual environment, as well as from the intellectual environment, namely indulgences. In the next chapter I will show the lengths to which copyists went to accommodate images and indulgences, the elements that Christian consumers desired most.

Conclusions

Many of the examples in the preceding chapters suggest that votaries would have taken their prayerbooks to church, in order, for example, to read relevant prayers to the sacrament during mass, or the Verses of St Gregory in front of an appropriate image of the *arma Christi*. There they could have read prayers in front of images of the

40 Ziegler 1992.

41 A closely related prayer appears in BKB, Ms. 21953, fols 396r–397r, transcribed in the Appendix.

Virgin, as well. Particular miracle-working images of the Virgin inhabited various churches and chapels, although prayerbooks rarely mention the names of these individual cult Virgins. Judging from the *exemplum* cited here, people who sought miracle cures from a particular cult Virgin often did so in a way that bypassed the *livresque*, the bookish culture born in monasteries. Many visitors to cult images certainly could not read, and their experience remains largely ungraspable to us five centuries later. Moreover, most Marian prayers address the Virgin Mary in general. There was a culture of prayer around images of the Virgin, whom votaries sought for help, miraculous cures, and protection; it is not clear whether people necessarily needed prayerbooks for these pilgrimages and visits. One could distinguish between a non-*livresque* culture of prayer directed to sculptures of the Virgin that had a specific cult following, on the one hand, and prayers to a more conceptual 'Virgin' who was not so place-bound, on the other, and whose prayers were recorded in large numbers in books.

Votaries responded to the Virgin's pulchritude. If the body of Christ distinguished itself by opening up and bleeding, that of the Virgin stayed inviolable and did

little more than weep. Even though her body might have been pierced with seven swords, still the Virgin did not bleed. And considering that the Virgin's body was at all times understood as inviolate, the actual procedure of prayer allowed it to be processed by the devotee in the same partial and fragmented way as the broken body of Christ. This method, as in the case of Christ, allowed a form of physical identification between the supplicant's various physical sufferings and the Virgin's (emotional) sufferings inscribed upon her various body parts. Even if the votary is suffering physically, the Virgin only suffers emotionally.

Devotion to Mary often formed an inversion or a repetition of devotion to Jesus in a slightly different key. The methods of devotion used for Christ's broken body were appropriated for the Virgin, which allowed her to remain at once whole and partial. Christological devotion was the model for Marian devotion to the body parts and the face, just as Marian devotion to the crown of roses provided the model for a similarly structured prayer, to be recited in chains or rounds, to Christ's crown of thorns. Prayers of the late Middle Ages were inventive in their conservatism.

PART 4

Implications

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Introduction to Part 4

In the discussions above I have shown how indulgences and indulgenced image-centred prayers gripped Dutch speakers near the end of the manuscript era. In this final part I analyse a major implication of this development: the effect indulgences had on image production. They drove demand for a whole string of images about getting out of purgatory. These forces did nothing less than to

change the trajectory of prayer books and their contents, to align them with the two greatest desires of the late fifteenth-century believer: images and indulgences.¹

¹ These shifts imply a move away from the book of hours and towards the image- and indulgence-rich prayerbook.

Images That Thematize Indulgences

Some manuscripts present images of a fiery Purgatory, as well as instructions for shortening one's obligation to spend time there. In so doing, they present the disease and the cure in one package. Devotional images that were accoutrements for earning indulgences—especially the Mass of St Gregory and the images depicting the Face of Christ, the Virgin *in Sole*, and the Wounds of Christ—formed part of the mechanics of salvation. Narratives of their interconnectedness with indulgences often figured in the origin myths of the prayers they accompanied. Images depicting these subjects, whether appearing in manuscripts or outside them, were implicated in a tripartite turbine harnessing images, rubrics, and indulgences. Another category of images deserves mention in the current context: those that depict the goal of winning indulgences, namely, souls being released from Purgatory. In the period currently under scrutiny, several new visual subjects arose that depict—with varying levels of metaphor—souls achieving salvation.

Images of Terror and Salvation

Christian eschatology holds that a series of events will befall Christian souls. Before the twelfth century, those events were understood to occur at the end of time. During the twelfth century, a change in understanding took place: souls would be judged immediately after death, and sent to Heaven or Hell or Purgatory. From Purgatory they would be purified in a furnace before graduating to Heaven. Saints who had died as martyrs would bypass this ordeal and go straight to heaven. One of the selling points of crusading was that militants who died trying to re-Christianize the Holy Land would also bypass this ordeal and go to Heaven; later this privilege was extended to non-militant pilgrims who simply went to Jerusalem. Most people, however, would go to Purgatory after death. Exactly how long they would spend there was unknown and unclear; although the prayers that votaries could say would reduce their sentences by fixed amounts, there was no table of exact sentences for each sin committed. That uncertainty was just one more form of anxiety that faced the medieval Christian.

As discussed earlier, Purgatory borrowed metaphors of metallurgy. Raw, contaminated lumps of ore could be thrown into a furnace until the impurities were melted

off. Thus, purification was an operation of fire. As fire-and-brimstone thinking reached a crescendo in the fifteenth century, so did its imagery. One example shows the soul engulfed in flames, praying patiently for all of the impurities to burn off (fig. 113).¹

Unusually, this subject fills an entire full-page miniature. Instead of a standing saint with his or her attribute, this image shows the tainted soul, whose attribute is the fire of Purgatory. Other images emphasize the horrors of Purgatory and their inescapable nature. In the Hours of Katherine Thomaes, made in Antwerp in the early sixteenth century (already discussed; see figs 67 and 68),



FIGURE 113 *Folio in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting a soul burning in Purgatory. Made c. 1440 in the Southern Netherlands for export to England. LONDON, SOUTHWARK CATHEDRAL, MS. 7, FOL. 5V (ON DEPOSIT AT THE BRITISH LIBRARY AS LOAN 85/7).*

¹ Rogers 1982, fig. 41.



FIGURE 114 Opening at the Seven Penitential Psalms in the Hours of Katherine Thomaes, with a full-page miniature depicting the Last Judgement and border decoration depicting Purgatory. Made c. 1500–1520 in Antwerp.

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. IV 190, FOLS 72V–73R.

the opening at the Seven Penitential Psalms presents a purgatorial dystopia that fills the entire border, even pushing its way into the space of the initial and extending as far as the eye can see into the border (fig. 114). On the ground, both nature (in the form of craggy rocks) and culture (architectural ruins) are poised to crush souls or otherwise defeat them. Even within its bilious yellow sky the souls seem doomed, as the dark clouds they ride do not transport them to safety but to some unknown ominous destination. The book opening suggests that the only routes out of this bleak landscape are through Jesus and the Penitential Psalms.

Some Netherlandish miniaturists in the fifteenth century were especially innovative in developing subjects that would speak to the concerns of the salvation-hungry populace. They either identified possible images in other media (such as the Harrowing in block books and the expanded Last Judgement in Southern Netherlandish panel paintings), which they could then develop

for manuscript illuminations, or they created new, salvation-centred imagery afresh. The Master of Catherine of Cleves excelled at the latter. In his eponymous book of hours, one of the high-water marks of Dutch miniature painting in the fifteenth century, he developed many hitherto unknown subjects, including an image that visually describes salvation (fig. 115).² A corpse on a stretcher is shown just before burial while the gravedigger is still working below. Above the corpse, an angel and a devil engage in a vociferous academic argument about the interpretation of a book. This is the book of the dead man's deeds, and some of the items listed are open to debate. At the lower part of the frame, a nun (or tertiary) and a male cleric are praying for the man's soul, trying to influence the decision. The artist seems to be suggesting that the freshly deceased man had donated money to both a female and a male convent before

² Refer to Dückers 2009.



FIGURE 115 Folio in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, with a miniature by the Master of Catherine of Cleves depicting a burial, with an angel and a devil fighting over the deceased man's book of deeds. Made c. 1440 in the Northern Netherlands.

NEW YORK, MORGAN LIBRARY & MUSEUM, MS M.917, P. 206.

his death, thereby improving his chances in the afterlife. Notwithstanding the technical mastery and innovation on display here, the Master of Catherine of Cleves's influence on subsequent manuscript illumination was meagre, for this subject is not to be found in the rest of Netherlandish painting.

Other more common subjects lent themselves to displaying the processes and effects of salvation's bureaucracy, depictions of the Last Judgement chief among them. Not just the souls but also the bodies of the dead will be resurrected and each will face Christ at the Last Judgement.³ Images of this event show the rising dead either shepherded to Heaven or shunted off to Hell. Themes of salvation often preface the Seven Penitential Psalms in books of hours, as some considered these psalms with their dramatic expressions of contrition to be the best possible preparation for

the reader to be accepted into Heaven. Imagery shifted over the course of the fifteenth century. In the earlier half, makers of prayer books often selected images of David playing his harp. In the second half of the century, they more often chose miniatures depicting the Last Judgement.⁴ Fifteenth-century votaries seemed less concerned with the origin of the psalms and the person of David, and far more interested in the source of their anxiety: the death and Purgatory that awaited them. Beginning around 1460 artists in the Northern Netherlands expanded the iconography of the Last Judgement to include a framing element around Christ judging souls, namely the aftermath of the judgement, with souls either wrangled into the maw of the underworld or comported up to the gates of Heaven where St Peter greets them warmly.

In the Netherlands the earliest image that includes these narrative vignettes may be the *Hours of Mary of Guelders* (Berlin, SPK, Ms Germ. Quarto 42, fol. 18v, fig. 116), which has such an expanded Last Judgement, with a hell-mouth and a pink portal of paradise in the scene. A strong central vertical axis runs through Christ's body. His arms are open both to reveal his wounds and to point towards the two directions in which the soul could go: to his dexter (right) side, the side with the lily emerging from his halo, the side with the pink stuccoed paradise; or to his sinister (left) side, the side with the sword emanating from his halo, the side with the hell-mouth swallowing souls.

Rogier van der Weyden's Altarpiece of the Last Judgement, commissioned in 1443 by the Burgundian chancellor Nicolas Rolin (c. 1376–1462) for the hospital in Beaune, provides the fullest surviving treatment of this expanded iconography. With both the moment of judgement as well as the outcomes of that judgement included in the frame, the site became a more bustling place.⁵ Rogier foregrounds not Christ but St Michael, who weighs souls on a balance as if he were performing a commercial transaction.⁶ Because Rogier lined up seven panels to convey his vision of End Times, he was able to separate the gates of Heaven at the far left from the pit of Hell at the far right, thereby emphasizing the polarity of these two outcomes. The left side of the image is of course Christ's right, or dexter side, and the fiery furnace is at his sinister side. All subsequent

4 As Costley 2004 points out, after 1500 there is another shift (especially in English manuscripts and printed primers) to prefacing the Seven Penitential Psalms with images depicting David and Bathsheba.

5 The expansion of the theme of Last Judgement in illuminated manuscripts parallels those in panel paintings, such as Rogier van der Weyden's and that painted around 1469 by Hans Memling, probably for Angelo Tani (Gdansk, Muzeum Narodowe). See Lane 1991, Nuttall 1995.

6 Wood 2002, p. 3.

3 Bynum 1995.



FIGURE 116 *Folio in the Prayerbook of Mary of Guelders, with a full-page miniature depicting the Last Judgement, attributed to the Passion Master of Mary of Guelders. Made in 1415 in the eastern part of the Northern Netherlands.*

BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK PREUSSISCHER
KULTURBESITZ, MS. GERM. QUARTO 42, FOL. 18V.

artists make use of the strong connotations between dexter and sinister and code them into their derivative visions.

Although the Master of Mary of Guelders was an early adopter of this dramatic visual theme, the expanded iconography of the Last Judgement does not appear regularly in books of hours of the Northern Netherlands until the second half of the fifteenth century, probably because it ultimately draws upon Rogier's great altarpiece. One of the most spectacular productions from Utrecht, the *Hours of Jan van Amerongen*, contains some especially imaginative miniatures, including an intricate depiction of the Last Judgement populated by dozens of figures (BKB, Ms II 7619, fol. 138v, fig. 117).⁷ With a computational diagram

⁷ BKB, Ms. II 7619: Book of Hours with extra texts, c. 1460 (fol. 2r has a computational circle for calculating Easter beginning with 1460), 251 fols parchment, 197 × 143 (102 × 67) mm; 18 lines. Copied in littera textualis in Utrecht. Contemporary brown leather binding, blind stamped. Made for Jan van Amerongen, Sheriff of Utrecht



FIGURE 117 *Folio in the Hours of Jan van Amerongen and Maria van Vronensteyn, with a full-page miniature depicting the Last Judgement, attributed to the Master of Evert Zoudenbalch. Made c. 1460 in Utrecht.*

BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. II
7619, FOL. 138V.

dated 1460, the manuscript is one of the earliest in the Northern Netherlands to show Heaven and Hell alongside the Last Judgement, in what resembles a condensed version of Rogier's Beaune Altarpiece.⁸ Christ, judging on a rainbow, dominates the scene, while Mary, bearing her breast, and John the Baptist, hands clasped, implore him to treat the souls mercifully. Souls, meanwhile, spring up from the ground to await judgement at the centre foreground. This

(1468–1470), and his wife Mechtild Hendricksdr. van Gent; by descent to her niece Maria van Raephorst, later van Vronensteyn (1520). Contains Utrecht penwork and 12 full-page miniatures; 43 historiated initials; decorated initials with border decoration; penwork initials with pen-flourishes in Utrecht style; painted decoration attributed to the Master of Evert Zoudenbalch and the Master of the Feathery Clouds. See Delaissé 1949; Scilia 1982; Defoer et al., 1989, no. 62, pl. 62, figs 108–110; Deschamps and Mulder 1998–, vol. v, pp. 30–33.

⁸ Broekhuijsen 2009, p. 55.



FIGURE 118 Opening in the Hours of Cornelia de Joeden, with a full-page miniature depicting the Last Judgement attributed to the Master of Yolande de Lalaing, and the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead. Made c. 1460–70 in Utrecht.

BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, MS. GERM. OCTAVO 648, FOLS 108V–109R.

image is therefore jam-packed with onlookers and participants as if gathered to see a particularly gory blood sport.⁹ Those who are saved receive a grey cloak and are allowed to ascend the great Gothic gold structure serenaded by angels, where Peter welcomes them individually at the top. Those who are damned remain naked, and hairy black devils throw them into the maw. Overall the image presents a terrifying rendition of the processing that the soul will face.

Embellished scenes of the Last Judgement, depicting not only the judgement of souls but also their fate afterwards, became de rigueur in illuminations from Utrecht. For example, a manuscript illuminated by the Master of Yolande de Lalaing in the 1460s divides time in this way (Berlin, SPK, Ms Germ. Octavo 648; fig. 118). In the central scene souls called by angelic horns rise from their graves as Christ officiates from his rainbow. By making use of the border round the main miniature, the illuminator has

separated moments in time that unfold in the futuristic apocalypse: other events, which will take place even further into the future, appear round the edges, where the judged souls either climb the acanthus towards heaven or are forcibly dragged towards a fuliginous Hell. Rethinking the margin in this way has allowed the artist to use the acanthus as a stairway to heaven, and has allowed him to organize the page anagogically. Heaven is near the top margin, near the sky, near the traditional position of the illuminated initial; Hell is in the gutter of the book. Marginal creatures, half-lings and ferocious anthropomorphized beasts that sometimes populate the margins of medieval manuscripts here have a role in the central narrative: to convey the kicking and screaming souls to the mouth of Hell.

Images of Purgatorial Release

Hell and Purgatory could be difficult to differentiate in imagery, because they had quite similar features, born

⁹ On the perennial ability of such spectacles to draw large crowds, see Merback 1999.



FIGURE 119 Opening in a book of hours, with full-page miniature of angels lifting souls from Purgatory, and incipit of the Vigil for the Dead. Made 1460–1470 in South Holland (Delft?).

BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, MS. GERM. OCTAVO 89, FOLS 83V–84R.

from the imaginations of the same preachers. The major difference between Hell and Purgatory was that time was endless in Hell but passed like earthly time in Purgatory. In fact, the entire point of Purgatorial time was that it could come to an end. While artists often depicted souls entering Hell through a maw, they showed them leaving Purgatory, usually with angelic assistance. Hell was all fear, and Purgatory was pain tempered with hope. The main point of a purgatorial sentence was that it could end. Therefore, to specify place, artists often showed souls leaving Purgatory. Its escapability was its distinguishing attribute. Believers anticipated their release from Purgatory even while they were still quite healthy and alive. Thus, unlike Heaven and Hell, Purgatory had an end-point, determined by the behaviour of the person during his or her lifetime and the vigour of the prayers of his friends and those he or she paid to perform post-mortem masses on his or her behalf.

If the prefatory image before the Penitential Psalms provided a place for the pains that awaited the sullied soul, then the Office of the Dead (the text to be read on the eve, the Vigil, of a funeral and on the anniversary of

a loved one's death) allowed some hope of redemption. A miniature prefacing that office, possibly made in Delft, depicts winged angels outnumbering the puzzled devils, whose attempt to grip a cooked soul is no match for the winged avatar of God (fig. 119). Like a greased eel, the hairless soul slips out of the devil's furry clutches. Such images present a glorious vision of the end of suffering and respite from the gnawing flames.

Additionally, the letter *M*, with which the office begins in Dutch, provided some design opportunities for illuminators. For example, the Master of Evert Zoudenbalch depicts a female figure in the historiated initial in a book of hours of around 1460–1465 (Los Angeles, Getty, Ms Ludwig IX 10, fol. 202r, fig. 120).¹⁰ Two compartments are formed

¹⁰ Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig IX 10: Book of Hours in Dutch, made in Utrecht, c. 1460–1465, 314 fols parchment, 164 × 118 (96 × 65) mm; 14 lines. Contains illuminations by the Master of Evert Zoudenbalch: 1 full-page miniature; 5 historiated initials; 9 marginal paintings; also penwork initials with pen-flourishes. See Euw and Plotzek 1979–1985, vol. 11, pp. 171–179, figs 243–244.



FIGURE 120 Folio in a book of hours, at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead, with a historiated initial depicting a woman praying before the mouth of Hell, and a man in a carnation in the margin, attributed to the Master of Evert Zoudenbalch. Made c. 1460–65 in Utrecht. LOS ANGELES, J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM, MS. LUDWIG IX 10, FOL. 202R.



FIGURE 121 Opening in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Resurrection attributed to the Masters of Hugo Jansz. van Woerden, and the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead with a historiated initial depicting souls in Purgatory. Made c. 1480–1490 in Leiden. CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ADD. MS. 4097, FOLS 124V–125.

by the letter's neat division of the action. On the left side she prays so vigorously that a text scroll flutters from her hands. It reads 'Here ghif hem die ewighe rust' (Lord, give him eternal rest). She directs her prayers towards the right side of the *M*, where several naked souls balance on the fangs of the hell-mouth. Meanwhile, a male figure pops out from a carnation in the margin to pray; perhaps he is the patron. Their prayers apparently have efficacy, as a yellow-clad angel swoops down to the initial from the margin to pick up one of the diminutive souls and convey him from the confines of the hellish letter. As the pronouns referring to the reader/owner elsewhere in the manuscript are male, this suggests that the book was made for a male patron, and hence that the black-clad female figure represents not the owner¹¹ but a nun, who has been paid to pray for the patron in perpetuity.¹²

A male patron could easily have considered that prayers by current and future nuns until the end of time would have been extremely effective, so much so that he would want to show his spiritual hired help in an initial.

To mark the Office of the Dead, a book of hours from Leiden provides a full-page miniature depicting Christ stepping out of his sepulchre, while two hopeful souls pray in Purgatory in the historiated *M* on the facing page (fig. 121). The Masters of Hugo Jansz. van Woerden executed the miniature in the 1480s. In their composition, Christ springs to life and fills the entire centre with the promise of life after death. His action is made even more dramatic because the lifeless, sleeping soldiers frame him. Clearly, the painters conceived

11 As suggested in Defoer et al., 1989, no. 63, p. 207.

12 Namely, in the *Confiteor* (fols 305v–308v), one finds these male nouns that refer to the owner/reader: 'Dat ghy biddet voer my

arme sonder den here dat hy [sic] mijnre ontferme [306v]...Ende spaer *dinen knecht vanden vremden*' [307r]. While female nouns provide strong evidence for female ownership, male nouns, as the 'default choice', can also appear in women's manuscripts, so this evidence is inconclusive.

the opening as an ensemble with the two souls in the initial opposite praying in the purgatory formed by the letter *M*. Together the initial and the miniature show the cause and the effect of prayer.

Some illuminators use the capital *M* at the incipit of the office differently. By omitting the central stroke of the letter and turning the space into a single chasm, they can fill the width of the initial with an all-engulfing, snorting creature that emerges from the darkness (figs 122 and 123). They thereby delve into the theology of fear. Although the borders of these two manuscripts differ significantly, their scripts are similar, and the historiated initials were cut from the same cloth. The individual souls condemned to the jaws of the furnace seem to melt into one another.

Prefacing the Office of the Dead in the Hours of Deliana van Doornik is an image both spectacularly frightening and replete with hope (fig. 124).¹³ It shows the salvation of a particular soul, that of the woman for whom it was made: Deliana, the wife of Herman van Doornik (c. 1466–1497), Secretary of Nijmegen. Their initials *H* and *D* and their coat of arms appear in the lower margin of folio 14v.

Penwork typical of Arnhem indicates that the book was probably copied there, but the added full-page miniatures were made further east, in Germany.¹⁴ Instead of representing a burial of the recently deceased or a funeral mass, the artist has chosen to represent the mouth of Hell in the first picture plane, where naked souls balance on the lower jaw of a horrible beast. Most of the souls are female, but a single man wearing a red bishop's mitre is nestled among the singeing female flesh. A winged angel has saved one of the souls and transports her heavenward. One suspects that the votary would have identified herself with this saved soul, who flies through the cool blue upper part of the miniature rather than in the hot orange part below. A simpler variation of the motif appears in another book of hours from Arnhem, dated 1469, where three souls standing in a fire-pit present a golden prayer to an angel emerging from the firmament (fig. 125).¹⁵

Technically, the dead could not pray (although many images appear to contradict this). Either the souls are casting a prayer towards the angel or they are reminding the angel that the reader of the present manuscript has prayed on their behalf. It seems that the prayer has achieved its goal, for one of the souls, pictured in the right margin, is about to be lifted from the fiery pit. Margariet Block of the convent in Bethany in Arnhem signed and dated this book, and may also have executed the border decoration. She may have written the manuscript for use within the convent, but it is more likely that she made it for a lay patron, for it was in lay hands by the end of the fifteenth century. For the canonesses and their lay patrons, the Office of the Dead would have had special resonance, since laypeople made donations to the convent sisters in exchange for prayers for their souls, for days, months, years, or hundreds of years after the donors' deaths, so that the canonesses could shorten their purgatorial sentence.

A full-page image of salvation in a book of hours from South Holland visually presents the monk's role in the mechanics of salvation (HKB, Ms 133 D 5; fig. 126). Prefacing the Office of the Dead, the miniature represents a tonsured cleric praying on behalf of two souls in Purgatory, who are also praying for themselves. White banderols signify these prayers and contain their texts. Flames lick up from an underground grate behind which the souls are locked. According to the image, the prayer has in fact worked: the prayers have reached God, who witnesses the events from a cloud, and consequently an angel has swept down to transport the soul-homunculus of one of the sinners upwards. The facing folio continues the imagery, with a desperately praying man clutching a column (the central minim of the letter *M*) while flames lick at his lower body.¹⁶ He prays and clutches the letter so as not to fall into the abyss. Such a system of imagery across the entire opening is highly unusual but at the same time it strikingly thematizes the goal of the Office of the Dead: the prayer that the tonsured man recites will cause the souls of others to be released from Purgatory. Only one other similar image has come to my attention (HKB, Ms BPH 145, fols 167v–168r; see fig. 15), which is also in a prayer

13 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 137: Hours of Deliana van Doornik, c. 1460–1480, 275 fols parchment, 144 × 99 (88 × 58) mm; 15 lines. Made in Arnhem, with inserted full-page miniatures probably from the Lower Rhine. James 1895, no. 137.

14 For Arnhem penwork, see Korteweg 1992.

15 Arnhem, Openbare Bibliotheek, Ms. 287: Book of Hours in Dutch, 228 fols parchment, 142 × 104 (85 × 56) mm; 18 lines. Made at the Convent of St Mary in Bethany (Canonesses Regular) in Arnhem and copied by a sister there, Margariet Block, in 1469, according to a colophon ('Inden Jaer ons heren dusent CCCC ende LXIX is dit boec gescreven. Ende geeyndet omtrint sunte Laurens mitter hant Suster Margariet blocks. Nonne toe Bethanien buten

Arnhem'). The calendar for Utrecht has feasts in red including for St Eusebius (25 August), patron saint of the Church of Arnhem. The metallic borders are also consistent with manuscripts made in Arnhem.

16 The marginal imagery on HKB, Ms. 133 D 5, fol. 87r is highly unusual and depicts an inversion of the main miniature: a layman stands not in fire but in a cool stream, and he prays not to God, but to a fox.



FIGURE 122 Folio in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead, with a historiated initial depicting a maw with souls burning in Purgatory. Made c. 1475–1485 in the eastern part of the Northern Netherlands.
THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 131 G 5, FOL. 144R.



FIGURE 123 Folio in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead, with a historiated initial depicting a maw with souls burning in Purgatory. Manuscript written and partially decorated in Groningen c. 1480–1490, with some historiated initials (including this one) completed elsewhere soon thereafter.

LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, MS. REID 33, FOL. 1R.

book from South Holland and was discussed in Chapter 1. The owner of HKB, Ms 133 D 5, who thoughtfully added the opening bifolia, was probably not a monk, and the man depicted in the miniature was not the owner, as the figure lacks any distinguishing features, and monks rarely used books of hours. Rather, the book's owner was probably a layman, possibly one who had paid such a monk to perform prayers for his soul.¹⁷ Perhaps the owner wanted to have this image, rather than a more conventional one depicting a funeral mass, represented at the Office of the Dead in order to convince himself that his prayers were achieving their goal.

Advertising Indulgences on Church Walls

In the context of the Mass of St Gregory (Chapter 5), I introduced images of plaques that advertised indulgences

and enhanced the remission theme of the paintings in which they were found. Such plaques appear in other contexts, which I now explore. Prayers displayed inside churches might have originated in stone slabs with inscriptions in Rome; several Middle Dutch prayers refer to such tablets. One such rubric explains:

rub: This little prayerlet that follows is found at the Church of St John Lateran [S Giovanni in Laterano] in Rome, carved out of a stone. Anyone who reads it with devotion will earn 24,000 years of true indulgence for mortal sin. *inc:* O, lord Jesus Christ, most beloved father, I bid you by the joy and happiness that your dear mother Mary had when she saw you appear at the holy sepulchre on Easter eve...

BKB, Ms 12079, fol. 111ra

Part of the authority of this prayer stems from its having been displayed at a celebrity church, one of the Seven Principle Churches of Rome. That the prayer was broadcast from there is a detail that sticks with the prayer in its subsequent manuscript transmission. Prayers were publicly displayed inside churches in all kinds of forms. That this has been carved into stone suggests its ageless quality.

Although publicly displayed prayer slabs have not survived the iconoclasm of the Netherlands, some such objects are depicted in the painted and graphic arts. For example, a plaque appears on the wall behind an altar to St Hubert in an illustrated Life of that saint (fig. 127). It hangs just above the head of a demoniac, who is being forcibly led to the altar. Although illegible, this plaque is clearly there to give visitors to the shrine instructions and prayers. Since disease, including mental disease, was considered a manifestation of a tarnished soul, the sick man with bandages wrapped round his head is in desperate need of the salvation offered by the altar, as mediated by the words on the plaque.

These images within images point to a body of material that has largely not survived. Whereas such indulgence and instruction plaques must have been common enough that beholders of these paintings would recognize them, very few survive. As far as I know, no plaques publicizing the *Adoro te* and its indulgence escaped the destruction of the iconoclasts. However, one earlier plaque featuring an image of Mary does survive (fig. 128). Until 1832 the bronze plaque was mounted near the south-east entrance of the Church of Our Lady (Liebfrauenkirche) in Halberstadt.¹⁸

18 Pötschke 1999, pp. 234–236, points out that the popes mentioned on the bronze plaque provide a *terminus post quem* of 1277, when Nicholas III became pope on 25 November that year; in this he follows Döring 1902, fig. 110.

17 The book contains male pronouns, e.g., on fol. 42v.



FIGURE 124 Opening in the Hours of Deliana van Doornik at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead, with a full-page miniature depicting an angel rescuing the soul of the patron. Manuscript written in Arnhem, with miniatures supplied from Germany, probably Cologne, c. 1460–80. CAMBRIDGE, FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, MS 137, FOL. 201V.



FIGURE 125 Folio in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead, depicting souls in Purgatory praying and being lifted out of the flames. Made in 1469 in Arnhem. ARNHEM, OPENBARE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 287, FOL. 181R.

At that time it was removed to the Domschatz (cathedral treasury) of that city. Probably made around 1300, the plaque consists of a bronze plate with an image and text carved into it.¹⁹ At the upper register the Virgin appears as the Queen of Heaven enthroned and seems to confirm the authority of the indulgence by her presence. This subject, which reiterates a motif common in thirteenth-century Continental church furnishings, is appropriate for a church dedicated to Mary.

Occupying the upper quarter of the plaque, the inscribed text reads like a rubric. Instead of being written in red, this is all carved in capital letters, a script that announces its formal authority even as its somewhat amateurish application reveals the difficulty the artist faced in carving into the unforgiving surface. The text reads:

19 Ringbom opines that this 'Indulgenztafel' dates from c. 1300, probably because the popes named on the plaque, Nicholas III (r. 1277–1280) and Innocent III (r. 1198–1216), date from that era; see Ringbom 1984, p. 24, n. 8. The plaque is also published in Bednarz 2001, pp. 78–79. For images consisting of framed words, see Boockmann 1984, 1994. I owe these references to Berthold Kress. More recently, see Morris 2011.



FIGURE 126 Opening in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead, with a full-page miniature depicting a monk's prayers releasing a soul from Purgatory. Made c. 1480–1500 in South Holland.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 133 D 5, FOLS 86V–87R.



FIGURE 127 Loyset Liédet, patients with bandaged heads approaching the altar of St Hubert, with a framed text hanging on the back wall, column-wide miniature in a copy of Hubert le Prevost, *Vie de St Hubert*, copied by David Aubert in 1463.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 76 F 10, FOL. 25V.



FIGURE 128 *Indulgence plaque from Halberstadt, with the Virgin and Child, 402 × 242 mm. Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt (State Office for Heritage Management and Archaeology, Saxony-Anhalt), Inv. Nr. 32.*

Cardinales, archiepiscopi et episcopi contulerunt isti ecclesiae VII annos et XLV dies indulgentie et x karrenas. Insuper Dominus Nicolaus Papa III P[ontifex] dedit annum et XL dies, Dominus Innocencius Papa III P[ontifex] XL dies. Hec indulgentia durat in omnibus festivitibus Sancte Mariae et in die dedicationis et per octavas earum. Summa indulgentie sunt VIII anni et LXXXV dies et x karrenae.

[Cardinals, archbishops, and bishops have granted this church an indulgence of seven years and forty days and ten careens. In addition, Lord Pope Nicolas III has granted a year and forty days, Lord Pope Innocent III has granted forty days. This indulgence is valid on all of the feasts of St Mary, as well as on

the day of dedication [of this church] and on their octaves. The total amount of the indulgence is 8 years and 85 days and 10 careens.]

Citing two thirteenth-century popes anchors the plaque to that century, when indulgence rewards were measured in small units, infinitesimal as compared with the sums reached in the fifteenth century. Here it seems that the indulgence was not bound to a particular prayer but, rather, to the act of visiting the church on feast days.

This indulgence plaque originally belonged to the Church of Our Lady, a Romanesque church founded by Bishop Arnulf of Halberstadt in 1005.²⁰ An Augustinian church near the cathedral, it housed, among other images, a late Romanesque sculpture representing the Virgin and Child, which may have served as the 'model' for the image in the plaque, which was made around 1300. Until 1832 the plaque was set on the south-east porch of the church, which was the gateway for pilgrims.²¹ They came through that portal to pray and donate candles for indulgences, to venerate the image of the Virgin and Child, and to look at the other images, including the choir screen with its images representing Jesus, Mary and the apostles.

At some point, possibly in the nineteenth century, someone inked the plaque and took several impressions of it, which are therefore reversed from the cut metal plaque. At least two such impressions survive, one in the Réserve print room of the Bibliothèque National in Paris (fig. 129), another in the Aussenstelle Pattensen in Hannover.²² The style of the cut, with the repeated 'punch' texture of the background and the geometric border, resembles metal cuts of the mid-fifteenth century. One wonders whether plates such as these were regularly inked in the late fifteenth century, when paper was made in abundance and printing technology abounded, so that souvenir impressions could be produced even then. While Dieter Pötschke has suggested that the nearby Kloster Ilsenburg might have produced an 'Ablassbrief' in the late Middle Ages with this technique, there is no reason to believe that the prints that survive in Hannover and Paris are anything but nineteenth-century productions. No fifteenth-century evidence has yet come to light that would testify to such

²⁰ Bednarz 2001, p. 78.

²¹ Fuhrmann 2009, no. 27, *Ablassstafel*, p. 65ff.

²² See Pötschke 1999; Pötschke 2004, pp. 138, 225. He refers to a 'print' of the bronze plaque held in the Hechtschen Sammlung in Hannover (Aussenstelle Pattensen, Hechtschen Sammlung Dep. 76, Ms. 49), whose contents had come from Kloster Ilsenburg. He was not aware of the existence of the impression of the plaque now in Paris, BnF print room, which has not previously been published.



FIGURE 129 *Impression of the Plaque from Halberstadt in fig. 128, probably made in the nineteenth century.*
PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE.

practices, but the technological possibility remains that pilgrims and indulgence-seekers sought such printed proof of their purgatorial remission, and churchmen capitalized on it. What is certain is that a large number of prints of the subject of the Mass of St Gregory, often complete with an indulgence at the bottom, survive from the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Iconographically, perhaps these plates were similar to the Gregorian indulgence plaques that must have hung in many churches to announce indulgences.

There is a reference to such a plaque in a particularly lengthy and pleading rubric that appears in a manuscript made in the Southern Netherlands around 1500 (HKB, Ms 134 C 47):

rub: This [prayer] was revealed to one of the nuns who asked Our Lord for a prayer that he found most pleasing to hear and that was most salubrious for people [to read]. God heard her plea, and an angel came to her and taught her the five short prayers [lit: words] that are given below. This nun died and returned the next day to her confessor, who was reading his hours. He asked her why she had come

back. She said, 'I had asked God for a prayer that he would most like to hear and that is most salubrious for people to read. I had not taught this to anyone and was therefore disobedient. I am in great pain and shall remain in great pain, until as many people know this prayer as there are stars in heaven. I beg you, priests and clerics, that you will broadcast this [prayer], write it down and hang it in all the churches. This was sent [lit: shot] in the time of St Gregory, who bid every devout person to pass it on and teach it to others.' *inc:* I thank and love the wisdom of God that made me...

HKB, Ms 134 C 47, fol. 171v–172r; emphasis mine

This rubric is longer than the prayer it precedes. It issues a warning to the living that they must pray for the dead, because once someone has died, he or she cannot release herself from the grip of the underworld; only the prayers performed by the living are efficacious in that respect. Ironically, the prayer did not prove efficacious for the nun in the narrative rubric, for reading it while alive did not counteract the punishment for the nun's jealous guarding of it. The text implies that priest and clerics would post salubrious prayers in churches so that they might be learned, copied, and repeated there. When the ghost of the nun returned to urge her confessor to 'hang [the prayer] in all the churches', she was probably referring to the practice of hanging plaques such as the one from Halberstadt. This form of advertising must have allowed new prayers to be broadcast more quickly and cheaply than scribes could copy them.²³

Epitaphs proved another way to display an indulgenced image in a public space. Epitaphs benefited both the person commemorated by the epitaph, as well as the viewer using it for his or her devotions. In the mid-fifteenth century, private people commissioned carved bas-relief stone epitaphs depicting the Mass of St Gregory, with images of themselves—often with their family—and a lapidary inscription naming the donor. Because they necessarily hung in public places, they provided unprotected targets for iconoclasts, who objected to the theology and devotional assumptions that underlay them. Since the Mass of St Gregory was the image most closely associated with indulgences, and therefore with the release of souls from Purgatory, votaries wished to have themselves represented in conjunction with this image in perpetuity. Netherlandish

²³ 'Pardon brasses' were also produced in England in the thirteenth century; Axon 1892. Such plaques may be related to handwritten and printed sheets that were hung in public places, which Wendy Scase has examined: Scase 1998, 2005.



FIGURE 130 *Epitaph depicting the Mass of St Gregory, fifteenth century, polychromed stone.*
ST OMER, NOTRE-DAME-DES-MIRACLES (FRANCE).

examples were all destroyed in the Iconoclasm, although examples survive from churches in Germany, the Southern Netherlands and northern France, including one in the cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Miracles in St Omer (fig. 130). Presented by his name-saint, John, the patron of the epitaph kneels at the side of the altar, significantly at Christ's dexter side (fig. 131). Christ, in turn, seems to look directly at the patron as he parts his side wound to open the flow of baptizing blood that will stream over the faithful and redeem them. By the late fifteenth century, the lay votaries had been transformed into souls in Purgatory, who are released as a result of the Mass of St Gregory (and by the prayers associated with it). In this case the patron is both the living donor of the polychromed object, and the projected soul in need of grace to escape Purgatory. Thereby the epitaph serves not only as a memorial to him, but also as a devotional object for visitors to the cathedral of St Omer, and a plea for them to pray on behalf of his soul, plus a statement of assuredness that he is already on the side of the saved by virtue of his devotion to the Mass of St Gregory.



FIGURE 131 *Epitaph depicting the Mass of St Gregory, fifteenth century, polychromed stone, detail of fig. 130.*
ST OMER, NOTRE-DAME-DES-MIRACLES (FRANCE).

Other Subjects of Salvation

According to scripture, Christ died on Good Friday and was not resurrected until Sunday, which left Saturday empty. On that day, he was said to have descended into Hell in order to defeat the powers of evil there and release the worthy souls trapped in its grips.²⁴ These souls were represented as specific characters from Old Testament narratives. Artists often showed Adam and Eve emerging first from the maw of Hell, with the logic that since they were the first to be sent to Purgatory, they should also be the first to be let out. They often cover their genitalia as they alight on earth again, a gesture that also connects them to the iconography of the Fall. Their shame is their attribute. Naked but purified, the figures in the Harrowing of Hell prefigure the future release of souls.

Images of the Harrowing of Hell were not common in the Northern Netherlands, except in one arena: the motif appears as a full-page miniature in several books of hours from the IJssel region, including HKB, Ms 133 H 31, fol. 141v (fig. 132).²⁵ These books of hours are sometimes known as the 'Sarijs' group (as explained earlier). In the Harrowing of Hell image in this Sarijs manuscript, Christ pulls saved souls out of the hell-mouth and back to safety, thus forming the converse of the Last Judgement.

This group of IJssel manuscripts contains variations of the Harrowing of Hell, which always prefaces the Office of the Dead. As with the examples already cited, the imagery prefacing this text is often hopeful rather than condemnatory. It was the mouth that swallowed them, and also the mouth that will—with the efforts of

24 For the development of the Harrowing of Hell imagery, see Schmidt 1995, esp. p. 146.

25 Wierda 1995.



FIGURE 132 Folio in a book of hours, with a full-page miniature depicting the Harrowing of Hell. Made c. 1470–90 in Zwolle.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 133 H 31, FOL. 141V.

prayer—disgorge them. Even as it delivered the threat of Hell, the harrowing would have given believers cause for hope for eternal salvation. Just as the characters from the Old Testament had spent a period of time in Purgatory before Jesus came to save, so too would the believers purify themselves, then eventually be released by the power of Jesus.

Artists in the IJssel region had several models for this image, which they regularly used to preface this text, including one in which the gates of Hell have crashed open, landing on a hapless winged devil crushed under the weight of the disembarking souls (fig. 133). Christ's bannered cross-staff divides the image down the middle, so that the devil occupies the left (sinister) side, and a much larger Christ occupies the right side. Whereas the mouth in the Last Judgement is always on the right side of the image (Christ's left side), the mouth in the Harrowing of Hell appears on the other. This allows the artist to show the figures moving from left to right, which is the direction one expects in a narrative image. It also signals that the Old Testament characters will move from the sinister to the dexter side of the saved.

Increasing the density of images depicting salvation required book owners to make some creative concessions. A book of hours probably made by and for a member of the convent of St Ursula in Delft contains an image depicting the tertiary's efforts coming to fruition (fig. 134). Specifically, a long rubric proffering an indulgence relates an *exemplum* in the form of a moralizing narrative about the reckless man who was saved by praying to the Five Wounds of Christ (Cambridge, Trinity College, B.1.46, fol. 156r). As the rubric explains, 'When this man died, his soul was not even kept waiting in the air for an hour for the grace of God'.²⁶ The image in the margin does not provide a devotional object to contemplate while reading the prayer: rather, it illustrates the rubric.

Painters only occasionally represented the *exempla* presented in rubrics, but another example appears in a book of hours written in Latin around 1495 then consecrated in 1498 by Michael Hildebrand, Archbishop of Riga, which has a calendar for Utrecht but decoration more typical of a master from the Southern Netherlands. Here an unusual miniature prefaces the Eight Verses of St Bernard. Often these verses were copied with a rubric relating an *exemplum* about a face-off between St Bernard and the devil, in which the devil taunts Bernard by telling him that there are eight psalms that will protect their reader from bodily harm (as transcribed in Chapter 1; BKB, Ms 21893, fol. 199v). Bernard responds to the taunting by reading the entire Psalter, which results in the devil's being beaten by hot chains. In the hours consecrated by Hildebrand, the copyist omits the narrative rubric altogether, but the illuminator has made up for it by presenting the rubric in visual terms: St Bernard has been placidly beating the devil, who cowers at the end of the flogging chain (fig. 135).

Images of saved, protected souls formed the ultimate in spiritual reassurance. Artists in the IJssel region popularized such an image, which contains another metaphor for the release of souls: Abraham carrying souls in a towel (fig. 136).²⁷ In this manuscript (HKB, Ms 133 E 22) it prefaces the Office of the Dead, so that a reader can use the image to envision the success of his prayers. This is rather the opposite of the imagery at the same location in, for example, the Victoria and Albert Museum's Reid 33 (see fig. 123), which confronted the reader/viewer with a

²⁶ The same text as AUB, Ms I G 52, fol. 144v. The rubric also appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Douce 243, fols 43v–44r, which was probably also made in the convent of St Ursula in Delft.

²⁷ HKB, Ms. 133 E 22: Book of Hours in Dutch, c. 1450–1475, 190 fols parchment, 177 × 124 (108 × 71) mm; 20 lines. Made in Utrecht, with five added miniatures, one of them (fol. 186v) possibly from the Southern Netherlands.



FIGURE 133 Opening in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead with a full-page miniature depicting the Harrowing of Hell and a historiated initial depicting the Mass for the Dead. Made c. 1460–1480 in Zwolle.

CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ADD. MS. 4103, FOLS 171V–172R.



FIGURE 134 Opening in a book of hours, with a rubric and prayer, and a painting in the margin depicting an angel saving a soul and raising it to heaven. Made c. 1475–90 in Delft.

CAMBRIDGE, TRINITY COLLEGE, MS. B 1.46, FOL. 156V–157R.

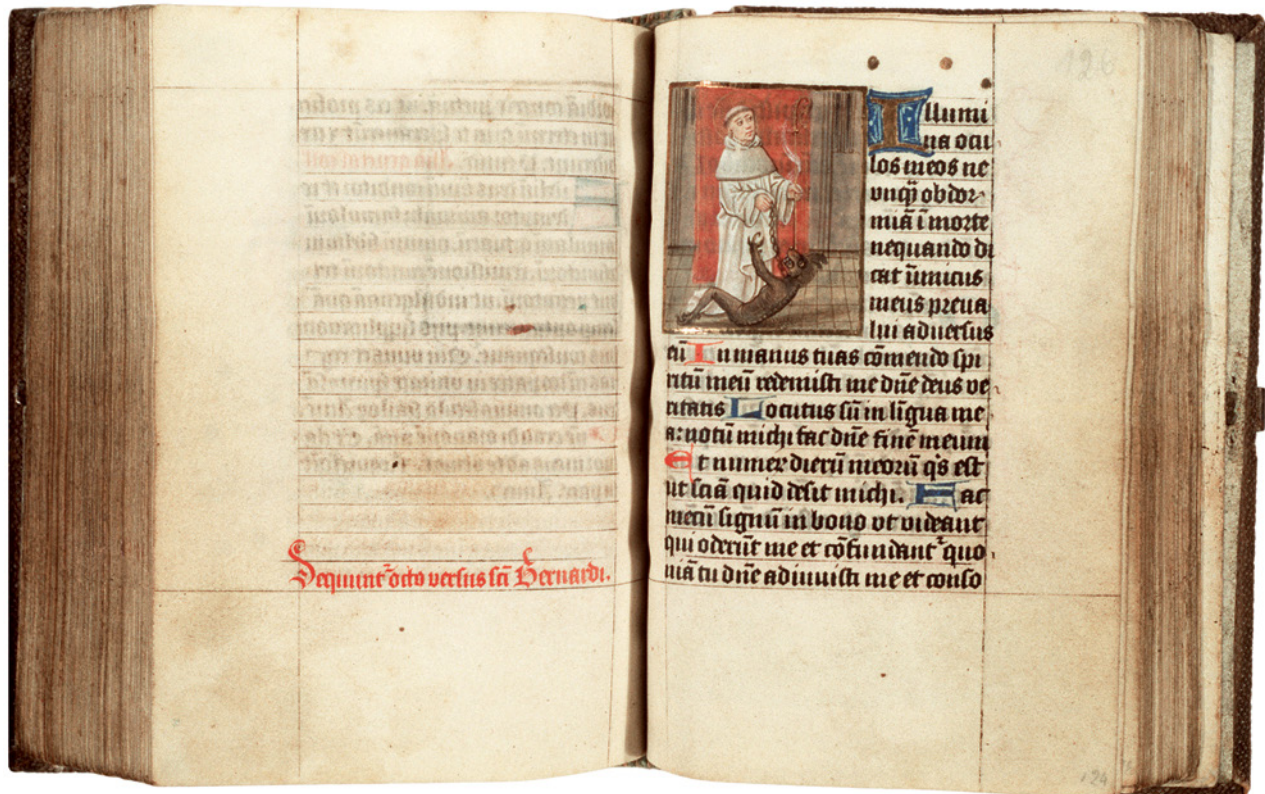


FIGURE 135 Opening in a book of hours, with the Verses of St Bernard, and a miniature depicting St Bernard subduing the devil. Made c. 1495 in the Northern Netherlands.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 135 G 19, FOLS 125V–126R.



FIGURE 136 Opening in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead with a full-page miniature depicting Abraham carrying souls in a towel. Made c. 1450–1475 in Utrecht.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 133 E 22, FOLS 101V–102R.

monstrous hell-mouth. Following the logic of either the carrot or the stick, the illuminator therefore had considerable latitude for the imagery of this text.

Souls engulfed in flames became shorthand for terror, and souls in a blanket for salvation. These two motifs appear together in the same miniature probably produced in Delft, to judge by the border decoration (fig. 137). Abraham has morphed into Jesus, as the miniaturist has furnished him with a tripartite halo. A stylized landscape has burst open to reveal the fiery prison below the earth's crust. The anagogical relationship of these units indicates that the dappled blue sky provides the resting place for the saved souls, whereas the lowly earth swallows sinners. The book of hours in which this miniature has been affixed was probably made in the female Franciscan tertiary convent of St Ursula in Delft, to judge by the text, calendar, litany, and script.

Objects of Veneration *in Sole*

I have shown earlier how images of the Virgin *in Sole* became associated with indulgences, and also how authors of new prayers constructed 'contrafacts' based on the *Ave Maria*. Just as writers constructed new prayers based on the *Ave Maria*, they also composed new prayers around the armatures of other well-known and beloved prayers. Similarly, artists constructed 'contrafacts' of images, that is, variations on established themes. In other words, devotion to Mary provided a model for devotions to other saints or even indeed to Christ. That modelling was visual as well as linguistic. This meant that both the large-scale indulgence and the concept of an object of veneration being 'in the sun' migrated to other objects of devotion. Here I show examples of such objects likewise depicted 'in the sun', in a flaming disk, as if to borrow some radiance from



FIGURE 137 Opening in a book of hours at the incipit of the Vigil for the Dead with a full-page miniature depicting with Jesus carrying souls in a towel while others continue to burn in Purgatory. Made c. 1475–1500 in Delft.

COLLECTION DR. J.H. VAN HECK, HUIS BERGH FOUNDATION, 'S-HEERENBERG, MS. 18, FOLS 100V–101R.

the Virgin *in Sole*. One index of the success of this image was the degree to which it became the model for further devotions.

An example that reveals this idea appears in a book of hours made in several campaigns of work partly made in South Holland, possibly in Delft during the last quarter of

the fifteenth century; it contains three confused prayers all based on the popular 'Virgin *in Sole*' prayer (Bruges, SB, Ms 334; fig. 138). Shortly after its creation, it must have been brought to the Southern Netherlands, where quires containing new texts, including a calendar, were added. As with several of the examples enumerated in the



FIGURE 138 Folio in a composite manuscript book of hours, from a section made c. 1440–1460 in Delft, with typical South Holland penwork decoration.

BRUGES, STADSBIJLIOTHEEK, 334, FOL. 65R.

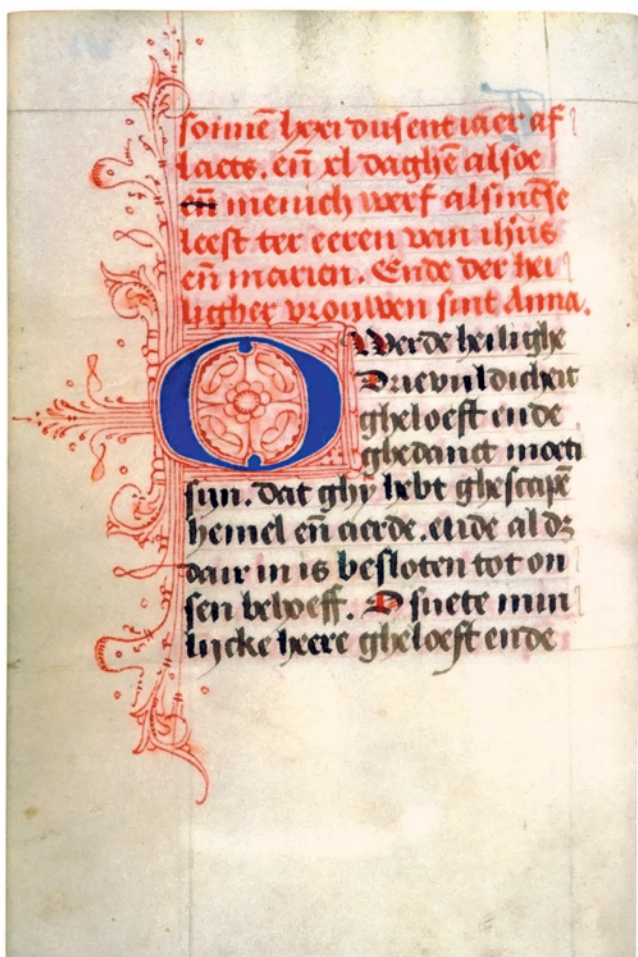


FIGURE 139 Folio in a composite manuscript book of hours, with a prayer and rubric to St Anne, from a section added c. 1475–1500 in the Southern Netherlands. BRUGES, STADSBIJLIOTHEEK, 334, FOL. 183V.

previous chapter, the new owners updated the manuscript to reflect their own devotional tastes, and these additions were made in the local vernacular.

A final quire of eight folios (183–191) was added to the manuscript in the Southern Netherlands (fig. 139). Among these added folios are three related prayers, each to be said before images ‘*in Sole*’. I relate them here in order.

rub: This is a good daily prayer, very fruitful for all people to read, because Pope Sixtus IV and several other popes after him have conferred upon all those who shall read the following prayer devoutly, with contrition for their sins, in front of an image of Our Dear Lady and Anne her holy mother who are *standing together in the rays of the sun, 71,000 years’ and 60 days’ indulgence*, as many times as they read it to honour Jesus and Mary and the holy woman St Anne. *inc:* O, true holy Trinity, honour and thanks to

you that you have created heaven and earth and all that is contained within it...

Bruges, SB, Ms 334, fol. 183r; emphasis mine

The prayer that the votary reads in front of an ‘Anne-te-Driën in the sun’ refers to Mary, Jesus, and St Anne as a ‘trinity’, where members of Jesus’ family from the distaff side replace the Father and Holy Spirit. Mentioning Sixtus IV provides a *terminus post quem* of 1471; of course, Sixtus was associated with the popular indulgence to the Virgin *in Sole*. That the rubric describes ‘several popes after him’ suggests that the actual date of production was later: it had taken several years for the entire distaff trinity to enter the luminous enclosure of the Virgin *in Sole*.

Another owner, writing in Bruges, SB, Ms 334 in a different hand, made further augmentations to the book. This person added two more prayers to different entities ‘in the sun’, first to the name of Jesus:

rub: Sixtus IV has conferred upon all people who read this prayer in front of the sweet name Jesus painted in the sun 11,000 years’ indulgence. *inc:* Hail, o merciful lord, Jesus Christ...

Bruges, SB, Ms 334, fol. 191r; emphasis mine

This rubric refers to a specific visual motif that emerged in the Low Countries in the last decades of the fifteenth century: the name of Jesus in a flaming disk, to be discussed further shortly.

The third related rubric and prayer in this section of the manuscript is, finally, the conventional one:

rub: Pope Sixtus wrote this following prayer and gave all those who devoutly read it in front of Our Dear Lady’s image in the sun 11,000 years’ indulgence. *inc:* Hail, o, most holy Mary, mother of God, queen of heaven...

Bruges, SB, Ms 334, fol. 191v

A devotional subject—the Virgin, St Anne, or the Name of Christ—*in Sole* became a visual shorthand to indicate that it was indulgenced. All in the cluster of rubrics in the added section of Bruges, SB, Ms 334 credit Sixtus IV for the indulgences. This Franciscan pope had gained a reputation among users and copyists for his ample indulgences. The derivative quality of the first two rubrics is clear: they are modelled after the popular image–rubric–prayer combination surrounding the indulgence-laden Virgin *in Sole*. As contrafact prayers are to the *Ave Maria*, these images are to the Virgin *in Sole*. A survey of some of these enflamed images will reveal their ubiquity at



FIGURE 140 'Maria-Anna-Johannes' word-image with an IHS monogram in Sole, with inscriptions and border decoration, parchment painting inserted near the beginning of a book of hours copied in 1505 in the Southern Netherlands.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ARSENAL, MS 8219, FOL. fV.

the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries.

The image of the 'IHS' monogram in Sole is also related to the cult of the holy name promulgated by San Bernardino (1380–1444). He had preached the benefits of this simple design from his pulpit in Siena earlier in the fifteenth century, but it took some decades before the design caught on in the North. Bruges, SB, 334, folios 191r–191v just cited, yokes an indulgence to the image of the monogram 'painted' in a circle of flames, with an indulgence confirmed by Sixtus IV. A Netherlandish painting that would have met the requirement of the rubric appears as a single-leaf design consisting of the IHS monogram in a circle of flames, and flanked by the names *Maria*, *Anna*, and *Johannes* (fig. 140).²⁸ A text running around the periphery of the design specifies that Sixtus IV gave

an indulgence to anyone who would read *Ave Marias* and *Pater noster*s in front of 'the sweet name of Jesus standing in the sun'.

This image may have been designed as an independent painting on parchment that could be handled and turned 360 degrees so that it could be read; however, it was inserted, possibly for safekeeping, into the front of a book of hours made in the Southern Netherlands and dated 1505 (but this does not reflect the date of the added leaf). Images with similar designs were printed as single-leaf woodcuts, metal cuts, and engravings in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Although the rubric in Bruges, SB, Ms 334 specifies that the indulgence be extended to those who say the prayer in front of a 'painted' (*ghemaelt*) image, one suspects that a printed image of the word, surrounded by tongues of fire, or, in other words, *in Sole*, would also suffice.

A related image appears in a column-wide painted design from a manuscript made in Groningen and formerly in the University Library in Ghent, before its recent theft (fig. 141).²⁹ With its brightly painted background and the gilt baguette running along the right side of the text block, the monogram resembles a triumphal banner of the sort carried by the Lamb of God that has overcome death. In fact, the accompanying prayer is addressed to Christ, who is called the 'vanquisher of death and giver of grace'. Rather than calling attention to the image dominating the page, the rubric merely states that 'Pope Sixtus has given 11,000 years' indulgence to the following prayer' (Ghent, UB, Ms 2636, fol. 13v).

Perhaps mentioning the IHS monogram set in a burst of flames was thought unnecessary, since the dominating image makes reading the prayer in any way other than in the presence of the image impossible. Similar logic is at work in a manuscript now in the collection of the Kruissheren dedicated to St Agatha in Cuijk (fig. 142).³⁰ This gives the original Latin version of the same prayer

²⁹ May the thief suffer the torments depicted in fig. 124.

³⁰ Cuijk, Sint-Agatha, Ms. 127: mystical and indulgenced texts in Latin, c. 1490–1510, 29 fols parchment and paper, 124 × 90 (93 × 63) mm (bound with printed works on paper). Made in the eastern part of the Northern Netherlands, or northwestern German lands. The manuscript was owned by the Crutched Friars of St Gertrude, Bentlage (near Rheine); later owned by the Crutched Friars (Kruissheren) of Sint-Agatha in Cuijk (also known as Ms. 33). It was acquired in 1999/2000 as part of the archives of the Crutched Friars of Uden, and is therefore also known as olim Uden B-112. The manuscript is bound with printed booklets, including a printed breviary for Dominican Use, and contains several written additions by the Crutched Friars. Van Asseldonk 1954 provides a description.

²⁸ See Rudy 2015a, p. 150.



FIGURE 141 Folio in a prayer book, with the IHS monogram in Sole, rubric and prayer. Manuscript written in 1527 by Stine Dutmers in Groningen, Monastery Thesinge, Benedictines.
GHENT, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, 2636, FOL. 13V.
STOLEN BEFORE 2003.

(*Salve Ihesu bone victor mortis*) to the monogram of Christ, and similarly provides the largest possible monogram that fills the width of the manuscript. This design shares the qualities of an ornate, gilt initial, but it presents an entire devotional image within the space usually dedicated to a single letter.

The flaming monogram was also associated with a second prayer that addresses the sacred name, which appears at the bottom of the same page: 'O, bone Jhesu, o dulcis Jhesu, o Jhesu fili Marie virginis' (Cuick, SA 127, unf.). This is also the prayer with which the flaming monogram is associated in a prayerbook made in the Southern Netherlands after 1503 (for there is mention of Julius II [r. 1503–1513]), where the artist, or possibly the scribe, has painted a flaming monogram of Jesus directly onto the page (fig. 143). A fictive frame, complete with Gothic tracery at the corners, neatly contains the flaming object. Besides Bernardino's preaching, two forces certainly spurred the popularity of the IHS monogram *in Sole*: its enormous

indulgence, and the ease with which someone trained as a scribe and not necessarily an illuminator could inscribe it.

A book of hours written in North Holland in 1467, introduced earlier in several different contexts (AUB, Ms VIII D 26), had a ruled but otherwise empty folio that its owner could not bear to see wasted (fig. 144). Someone writing in the fifteenth century—possibly the owner?—filled the space with a prayer to the IHS monogram:

Brother Jan Brugman received this from the pope. Anyone who reads it will earn seven years' indulgence and seven *careenen* as often as he reads it. Amen. Anyone who looks upon the name 'IHS' will earn 300 days' from set penance. To the indivisible Trinity IHS, to Christ who was crucified in his humanity, and to the true mother Virgin Mary: love and honour be yours from all creatures, now and until the end of time. Amen.

AUB, Ms VIII D 26, fol. 137v

In addition to squeezing this prayer into the available space by heavily abbreviating it, the scribe also added the appropriate image to the bottom of the page: the IHS monogram inside a cell with wriggling golden cilia. Not only did the book's owner consider this the most powerful and useful prayer that could be added to an empty page, but it was also one for which the scribe him- or herself could add the relevant image, so simple was it. Part of the success of this motif in fifteenth-century manuscripts was its combination of an instantly recognizable and actionable form (sun rays, monogram) and that it was easy to produce by amateurs.

Indulged Images

Over the course of the fifteenth century, manuscript makers began dedicating larger amounts of parchment to prayers with indulgences and to those to be read in combination with images. That change is implicit in the accretions in prayers such as the *Adoro te*, the doubling of indulgences by the late fifteenth-century popes, and the sudden rise in the number of images depicting the Mass of St Gregory. Managed at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, the Alexander Byvanck database, which contains information about Northern Netherlandish illuminated manuscripts throughout the world, can help to show this trend in broad terms.³¹ (Similar data for manuscripts of the Southern Netherlands are not yet available.) Of the

31 For an early application of these data to 'counting and measuring', see Korteweg 1994.



FIGURE 142 Folio in a composite manuscript with the IHS monogram in Sole, with an accompanying prayer. Made c. 1500 in the eastern part of the Northern Netherlands, or western Germany.
CUIJK, KRUISHEREN OF ST AGATHA, MS. 127, FOL. 9R.



FIGURE 143 Opening in a prayerbook with an IHS monogram in Sole painted within a frame. Made after 1503 in the Southern Netherlands. BRUSSELS, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK ALBERT I, MS. II 668, FOLS 164V–165R.

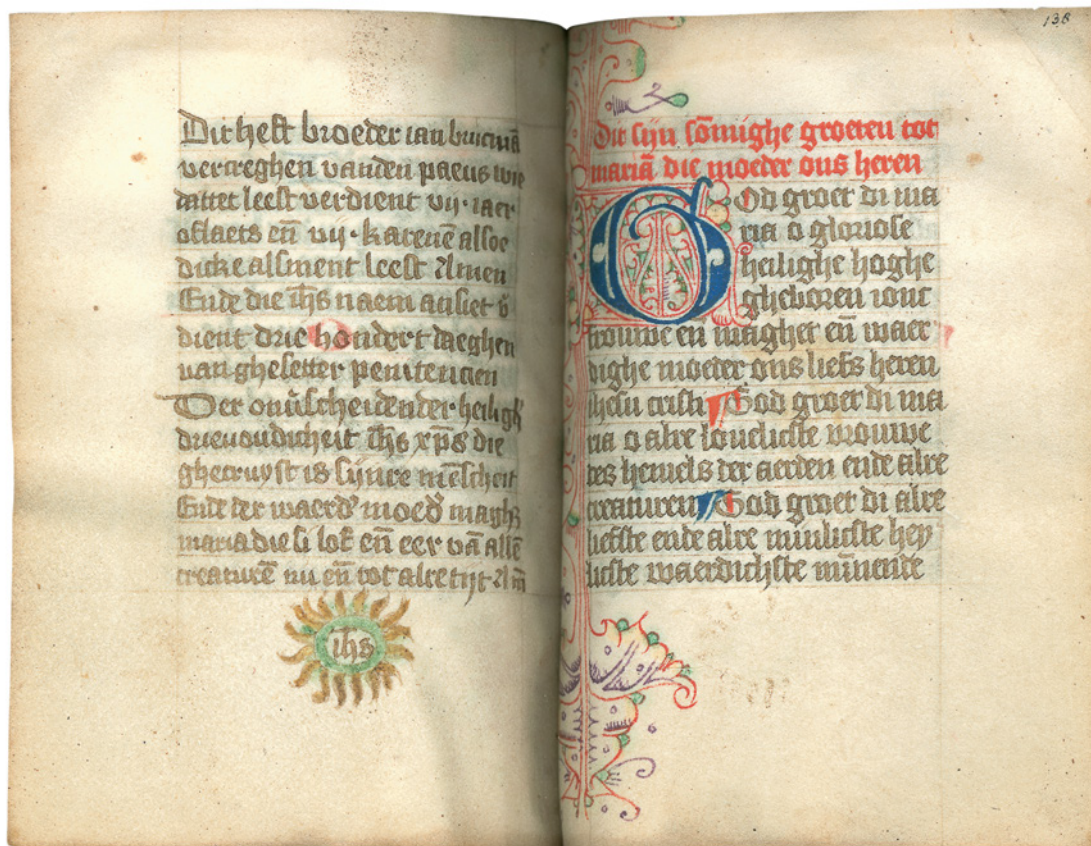


FIGURE 144 Opening in a book of hours from Haarlem, with indulgenced prayers and IHS monogram in Sole added to the otherwise blank verso folio. Manuscript made in 1467 in North Holland (possibly Haarlem). AMSTERDAM, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, MS. VIII D 26, FOLS 137V–138R.



FIGURE 145 *Mass of St Gregory, full-page miniature made c. 1500 added to an earlier prayerbook.*
UTRECHT, MUSEUM CATHARIJNECONVENT, BMH H53,
FOL. 17R.

seventy-five occurrences of images depicting the 'Mass of St Gregory' in manuscripts made in the Northern Netherlands, nearly all were made after 1460. Exceptions include Utrecht, Catharijneconvent, BMH h 53, a manuscript copied in 1425; however, its full-page miniature of the Mass of St Gregory was added later (fig. 145).³² Someone stuck it in as an afterthought in the sixteenth century, adding it to the beginning of the manuscript as a recto, whereas nearly all planned full-page miniatures are versos. This evidence suggests that the rage for the image of the Mass of St Gregory and the indulgences it connoted belonged to the post-1460 period, and that votaries enhanced older prayer books in order to maintain spiritual currency.³³

Some of the early examples of images depicting the Mass of St Gregory in the Netherlands are not connected to the Verses of St Gregory but to other texts instead.

For example, the Mass of St Gregory in HKB, Ms 135 E 40, a manuscript with burnished gold 'rubrics' made in Utrecht around 1460 (discussed earlier) is one of the earliest paintings of that subject in a Northern Netherlandish manuscript (see figs 73 and 74). Here the manuscript's planner has experimented with the motif and set it not before the *Adoro te*, as one might expect, but rather at the opening of the Hundred Articles by Suso, which is a week-long meditation on the Passion that never adopted a standard accompanying image.³⁴ Likewise, the image of the Mass of St Gregory that Philip the Good added to his *Grandes Heures* around 1450 accompanies a different prayer (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms 3-1954, fol. 253v; see fig. 81). Thus, the Mass of St Gregory and the *Adoro te* coalesced only later in the Netherlands as a fixed unit. After 1460 and for the rest of the manuscript period (until around 1525), the vast majority of the examples of the Mass of St Gregory were connected to the *Adoro te*. This cultural habit of combining the two was therefore being formed in the Netherlands around 1460, and then it quickly became de rigueur to include this indulgence-rich combination.

In a closely related phenomenon, the *Virgin in Sole* circulated lightly in the first half of the fifteenth century, but its surging popularity came only once it became closely associated with an indulgence. Although early examples of the motif made in the Northern Netherlands, such as one in the Prayer book of Mary of Guelders made in the 1420s (Berlin, SPK, Ms Germ. Quarto 42, fols 476v-477r) accompany a different prayer, the *Magnificat* (*Mijn siel maket groot*), the image eventually crystallized into a relationship with the highly indulgenced prayer to the Virgin *in Sole* purportedly authored by Sixtus IV. Its association with an indulgenced prayer drove the production of images of the Virgin *in Sole* in many media, from inexpensive prints to large public sculptural versions suspended from the ceilings of churches.

Likewise in this period, images of the Face of Christ—which had their genesis in a relic in Rome and a prayer penned by a pope—swept northwards, first through the Southern Netherlands and then into the Northern Netherlands. Prayers connected to these images, which in turn were tightly bound to specific prayers and promised indulgences, came to dominate devotion. A closely related category were prayers dedicated to the sacrament—itsself

32 Kruitwagen 1913, no. 53; Gumbert 1988, no. 746, pl. 532b.

33 Readers enhancing older prayer books with new, indulgenced prayers is the topic of my previous book, Rudy 2016a.

34 For a discussion of this text, see Aelst 2005. HKB, Ms. 135 E 40 is the only manuscript I know with the Hundred Articles that was made for lay patrons (who are pictured in a historiated initial on fol. 123r); this text was almost exclusively used by nuns and semi-enclosed sisters.

the image of the body of Christ—which also grew in the public imagination as it accumulated indulgences. These indications also signal a shift in the textual contents of devotional manuscripts in the later fifteenth century.

Increasingly, if a manuscript only had a few images, they would be the indulgenced images. The Mass of St Gregory and the *Virgin in Sole*, the two most reliably indulgenced images in the Netherlands, were often fellow travellers. In fact these two images were so closely connected with indulgences that they formed a visual shorthand for it. The most lucrative images in the spiritual economy—including the Mass of St Gregory and the IHS monogram, and the *Virgin in Sole* in its varieties—came to be represented in all manner and media, especially towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. It would be nonsensical to attempt a statistical analysis of subjects from this period, since it was precisely those indulgenced images that iconoclasts would have attacked, and so their survival rates will not match their production rates.

Indulgenced images saturated the material environment in a range of media, and thereby indicate their ubiquity in the pre-Reformation North. For example, they appear as roundels within a minute, carved boxwood prayer-bead made in the Southern Netherlands probably in the first decade of the sixteenth century (fig. 146). Opening the hemispheres reveals an image of the Mass of St Gregory at the top and a *Virgin in Sole* at the bottom. Having turned the diminutive space into a Gothic chapel, the carver offers the viewer the mass at an altar, seen through a tiny choir screen. Cardinals populate the left side of the altar, bishops the right, and the heads of Jesus' torturers appear on the altar, standing in for the events of the Passion. In the lower roundel, the *Virgin in Sole* radiates her long beams that fill the available space. The carver has lavished attention on the figure of the Virgin herself by offering a tour de force of small-scale detail. Its owner would have been able to keep a perpetual source of indulgences in his or her pocket. In its minuteness the carving is nothing short of miraculous. This object also provides the incipits of relevant prayers, the rest of which, perhaps, the owner would have recited from memory.

These two devotional subjects—the *Virgin in Sole* and the Mass of St Gregory—allow the book's maker to cram in the most lucrative indulgenced images with the greatest economy of means. Printers, whose skill coincided with the rise of certain indulgenced images, took advantage of the market by offering indulgenced images. For example, a printer possibly active in the Southern Netherlands produced an engraving that depicts Christ crucified on the Cross on an earth at the centre of the solar system,



FIGURE 146 *Rosary bead with Mass of St Gregory and Virgin of the Sun, c. 1500–1510, boxwood.*

SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS. NORTHAMPTON, MASS.,
SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART, ACC. NO. 1991:23.

with the symbols of the Evangelists in the interstices inside the frame (fig. 147). In the lower register two large oval frames contain the Mass of St Gregory and the *Virgin in Sole* with St Anne. This presents a pictorial argument that Christ with his asterisks of blood reigns over the universe. Anyone entering the celestial spheres with Christ takes a route through the Incarnation, the Mass of St Gregory, and



FIGURE 147 *Christ at the centre of the universe, with Mass of St Gregory and the Virgin in Sole in the interstices, c. 1500–25, hand-coloured engraving.*
LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, INV. 1868,1114.231.

the Virgin *in Sole*, who is already wearing the cloak of the heavens.³⁵ The indulgences that these images represent are the gateways to happy celestial oblivion.

Motifs connoting indulgences appear stamped into the softened leather bindings of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century prayerbooks. For example, the Virgin *in Sole* has been pressed into the leather that binds Nijmegen, RU, 310 (fig. 148). Such an image would give the book's owner access to the 11,000 years of indulgence that the image offers without even opening the book. One wonders whether the image functioned as a talisman, protecting the bearer in his or her earthly life as well.

Likewise, the Mass of St Gregory was a common theme on book covers. It appears, for example, on the front of three prayer books now in Tilburg (fig. 149).³⁶ Fifteenth-century book covers survive in tiny numbers, and this



FIGURE 148 *Stamped leather binding with the Virgin in Sole, contemporary with the manuscript, a prayer book written by suster Belie Hermens in Brabant or Limburg in 1516.*
NIJMEGEN, RADBOUD UNIVERSITEIT, MS. 310.



FIGURE 149 *Stamped leather binding with image of the Mass of St Gregory, on a prayer book written by and for the Tertiaries of St. Elisabeth & Agnes (Bloemenkamp) in 's-Hertogenbosch, and probably bound by the Brethren of the Common Life of St. Gregory (Fraterhuis) in 's-Hertogenbosch, c. 1500.*
TILBURG, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, KHS 14.

35 The print was originally bound in a manuscript made by Birgittine nuns in the Netherlands. The manuscript, now without its prints, is LBL, Add. Ms. 31001. I have discussed the original context of this and the other prints in the manuscript in Rudy 2011, pp. 399–410 and *passim*.

36 A similar design with the Mass of St Gregory also appears on Tilburg, UB, KHS 15 and KHS 16. Another stamped leather binding with the Mass of St Gregory is Utrecht, Catharijneconvent, BMH h 101.

small selection points to a much larger tradition. These images speak the book's contents through their bas-relief imagery. Just as the instruments of the Passion were violently pressed into Christ's flesh, the engraved metal plate was pressed into the prepared flesh of the book cover. The owner could see the image, or even perceive it with his or her fingers as they ran along the relief. Such images bit into the leather, thereby making the promise of salvation tangible in the flesh.

A Place for the Donor

In the earlier fifteenth century, patrons of books of hours would often have their portraits or coats of arms represented at the opening of the Hours of the Virgin, which was usually the first text after the calendar, and therefore a prominent location for such personalizing details. For patrons who were having books of hours made for the occasion of a marriage, the subject also made sense, as Gabriel's Annunciation of the Virgin's conception could also be understood to prefigure a couple's bearing children. Although patrons would continue this practice for the rest of the manuscript age, another practice became increasingly common: having oneself represented before

an indulgenced image. In Chapter 5, I considered miniatures depicting the Mass of St Gregory that integrated the patron among the witnesses to the miracle. Patrons could also choose to have themselves represented at the image of the Virgin *in Sole*. Whereas the Annunciation might have served as the premier Marian image earlier in the fifteenth century, the Virgin *in Sole* began to fill that role at the end of the century. Earth gave way to Heaven as the Incarnation, the enfleshing of Jesus, gave way to the apparition signalling indulgences in the heavenly afterlife.

As with many innovations in imagery, the early adopters of this new form were often denizens of court. The Prayer book of Mary of Guelders, which was begun in the 1420s in a monastic atelier in the eastern Netherlands, contained one of the earliest images depicting the Tiburtine sibyl in the north (see figs 107 and 108). Other aspects of the imagery were avant-garde as well. Although the donor had herself represented kneeling in prayer before the Virgin, as was traditional, this was not the usual Virgin Annunciate but the Virgin *in Sole*. Following a long-standing tradition that equated the sun with gold, the illuminator sets the Virgin in a golden bubble of radiance, a bubble that both the donor and the Virgin herself penetrate in order to reach towards each other (fig. 150). The Virgin extends a tripartite lily towards the donor (which might symbolize



FIGURE 150 Opening in the Prayerbook of Mary of Guelders, with an added full-page miniature depicting the donor kneeling before the Virgin in Sole, painted by the Masters of Otto van Moerdrecht c. 1423–1425 in the Northern Netherlands.

BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, MS. GERM. QUARTO 42, FOLS 476V–477R.

the Virgin's grace, as well as the Trinity), while the donor for her part penetrates the bubble with her clasped praying hands.

One of the most exalted images of the subject appears in another courtly manuscript made in the eastern part of the Netherlands: the Hours of Catherine of Cleves (fig. 151).³⁷ Here again the donor chose to have herself kneeling in prayer to an image depicting the Virgin *in Sole* and standing on a sliver of moon. Multiple coats of arms that fill the borders and thereby announce her identity, her forefathers, her past. But in the central image she announces her salvific future, including a glorious heavenly audience with the Virgin Mary.

Associating oneself with the Virgin *in Sole* trickled into less exalted parts of the population: for example, the patron of a Latin book of hours made in Delft might have

had an especial affinity for that image, as it is the only one in the manuscript with his portrait (HKB, Ms 131 G 8, fig. 152).³⁸ Given that he does not have a tonsure, the patron was probably a layman. He may have bought the book undecorated and had the borders round the text pages and the full-page miniatures added afterwards. Not having planned for images, the book's scribe had written many of the incipits on the versos; this has (unusually) forced the facing miniatures onto the rectos. Compositionally, the resulting miniature is similar to *Catherine of Cleves kneeling before the Virgin and Child*, but the miniaturist from South Holland has applied yellow paint instead of gold, and blue acanthus squiggles instead of coats of arms. Such unconventional placement of the imagery underscores the lengths to which the patron would go to include this image in his prayerbook.

* * *



FIGURE 151 Folio in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, with a miniature by the Master of Catherine of Cleves depicting a Catherine of Cleves kneeling before the Virgin and Child. Made c. 1440 in the Northern Netherlands. NEW YORK, MORGAN LIBRARY & MUSEUM, MS. M.945, FOL. IV.

In sum: whereas the Annunciation and Crucifixion might have served as the two terminals of Christian visual culture before the mid-fifteenth century, thereby prompting an *Ave Maria* and a *Pater noster*, at the end of the fifteenth century the Virgin *in Sole* and the Mass of St Gregory which prompted indulgenced prayers, formed the new order. These themes were produced with vigour and frequency. They overtook older imagery, such as the Annunciation and Crucifixion, in books of hours and in other paraphernalia of devotion, but they also appeared in large numbers in the new media, such as woodblock printing, which emerged simultaneously with the rise of image-based indulgence culture. Along with these two visual motifs were others that simply thematized the act of salvation, of escaping Purgatory for the elysian fields of Heaven. Even bindings brandished salvific images without requiring a votary so much as to open the manuscript, the book forming a shield with its protective image emblazoned on it.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, interest in the mechanics of Purgatory and salvation gave rise to newly expanded images of the Last Judgement, which emphasized not only the punishments of sin but also the rewards of salvation. This reveals the new cultural obsession with indulgences: making new manuscripts that contain nothing but indulgences. Artists experimented with images of

37 Consult Dücker 2009.

38 HKB, Ms. 131 G 8: Book of Hours, with calendar for Utrecht, in Latin, c. 1480, 152 fols parchment, 176 × 117 (88 × 58) mm; 20 lines. Copied in Delft, with has 11 inserted miniatures made in a style associated with Delft. See Venner and Chavannes-Mazel 1979, with further notices.



FIGURE 152 Opening in a book of hours, with the *Obsecro te* and a rubric, and a full-page miniature depicting the Virgin in Sole with a male donor. Made c. 1460–1480 in Delft.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 131 G 8, FOLS 98V–99R.

Purgatory and redemption, and certain themes, especially the Mass of St Gregory and the *Virgin in Sole*, became sites where an owner would want to have his or her own likeness portrayed.

One idea that played out in a variety of media was that an object *in Sole* would accompany an indulgence. With the *Virgin in Sole* providing the Ur-image of this type, other subjects were then presented in a sunburst, which functioned as a signifier of indulgences. It was a motif that was only associated with indulgences, and that could be mapped onto a variety of images, thereby visually indulgencing

them. A parallel operation took place in prayer culture, in which the *Ave Maria*, the most basic prayer to the Virgin, was mapped onto any number of other subjects.

While these motifs had roots in older traditions, they became much in demand as acquiring indulgences became an ever more important goal for believers. Most of these motifs were quickly extinguished by the Protestant Reformation, although some of this imagery—objects *in Sole*, the IHS monogram—over time migrate to become associated with the ‘branding’ of particular orders (Jesuits and Dominicans).

Epilogue

In the late Middle Ages, a time of dogmatic subordination of the individual to a set of established rules, prayerbooks powerfully promoted themselves. They proffered rituals regulated by rules, and those rituals necessitated their own use. Rubrics contained within prayerbooks—which structured both a prayer’s performance as well as the expected rewards for performing prayer—changed over the course of the fifteenth century. At first rubrics were brief and presented indulgences measured in terms of days (to correspond to indulgences that referred to earthly penance); later they became longer, more descriptive, more adamant in their testimonial claims, and they advertised indulgences that had increased a thousand-fold or more. Such massive indulgences correspond to purgatorial time, whose overall length one could only guess. Indulgences became inflated beyond the measurable in terms of magnitude. These transformations took place in the monastery and in the city, and their traces appeared in books belonging to lay and religious alike. Some of the greatest promoters of indulgences were the Franciscans, who had developed as the mendicant order that would bring a new class of urban dwellers back to the fold. Not surprisingly, the language that the Franciscans used to complete this task appealed to the new urban pastime of trade, and utilized the vocabulary of mathematics, rewards, inflation, and commerce.

In the decades before the Reformation, indulgences were tied to prayer, just as prayer was tied to images, and both the size of the indulgences and the number of images in circulation increased dramatically until the Protestant Reformation targeted them both for destruction. It may have been fear that drove the values of indulgences ever higher; one can imagine a spiralling schizogenesis, in which the fear of Hell led to more opportunities to earn more indulgences, which led to even more fear and even longer sentences, and ever increasing rewards. Alternatively, other forces could have been equally at play, namely a fashion for large indulgences, social pressure to own the newest manuscripts with the most up-to-date (and largest) indulgences, and pressure from the late medieval book industry, which like the printing industry that largely replaced it, might have had better success marketing books with great indulgence rewards.

Already at the inception of this system, moralists such as Jean Gerson (1363–1429) were warning believers against indulgences, including ‘certain fatuous and superstitious rubrics promising 20,000 years of indulgence for

the reading of *Pater noster* in front of an image’.¹ Gerson and other Cassandras wagged their fingers vigorously, but the public tide was against them and an increasing number of images and prayer texts became inseparable from indulgences. Public desire for indulgences rose sharply in the first decades of the sixteenth century and contributed to the increasingly dissatisfied murmurings culminating in Martin Luther’s treatise against them. Geert Groote and other reformers might have tried to let the air out slowly, but the Protestant Reformation gave the inflated spiritual economy a puncture wound. Images and indulgences came under simultaneous attack in the Reformation, along with the papal authorities that drove the two together.

Discussions in this book have shown how rubrics proffering indulgences developed at the heads of certain prayers. Indulgences incentivized prayer, and they sometimes operated autonomously, separate from the prayers they were copied next to. Those rubrics had both descriptive and prescriptive functions and explained, for example, the origins of the prayers to which they were attached, the history of the accretion of indulgences, as well as instructions for earning those indulgences. Manuscript prayerbooks included many examples of both Marian and Christological prayers with these features. Some prayers to saints, especially to St Anne, whose cult was largely an extension of Mary’s, also offered indulgences; however, many prayers to saints ask for relief from earthly rather than post-mortem suffering and therefore fall into different patterns. Discussion of prayers to saints will be reserved for a future study.

Rubrics often publicize a prayer’s pedigree by providing an authority or origin myth for the prayer or indulgence that follows. They attest to the quality, value, and reward of the prayer and indicate which popes (or in some cases bishops or cardinals) gave what indulgence reward to a given prayer, occasionally with the added ‘reality effect’ or ‘reliability’ that the facticity of a date provides. Later popes would heap additional indulgences onto a prayer in order to confirm these indulgences. For doing so, they had their names added to the lists within rubrics. Consequently, rubrics indicating indulgences often become complicated and convoluted, especially in contested indulgences, such as that for the *Adoro te*. In a related way,

1 On this issue and Jean Gerson, see Paulus 1922–1923, vol. II, pp. 301–302.

rubrics sometimes tell legends or relate origin myths of a given prayer. This also serves to validate the prayer. That rubrics are so adamant about stating their own authentication suggests that the writers of rubrics were aware that indulgences and other benefits were also being called into question. Therefore, rubrics often sound defensive.

Testimonials to the profitability of prayer provided one form of authentication of prayer. These were often *exempla* prefacing prayers in red. Others included announcing a prayer's royal or saintly pedigree by framing the prayer as one delivered by Jesus, Mary, or a saint. Related to these were prayers purportedly delivered by other supernatural means so that they appeared miraculously carved into rocks, for example. Rubrics were the perfect vehicles for announcing these origin myths, as they could inspire awe in the reader as he or she was preparing for the recitation that could shorten Purgatory by several millennia. Other prayers testified to more terrestrial origins, such as those penned by celebrated monastics. Rubrics, like images and colourful border decoration, announce the beginnings of prayers, make prayers easier to find in books produced before the pagination system, and also announce, with their colourful trumpeting, that prayer-time is about to begin. Rubrics therefore perform a 'hic et nunc' task of transporting the reader to a different psychological and temporal space.

Just as the whole idea of reciting prayers at the canonical hours began in male monasteries and spread to convents of women, then to the laity, so too did individual prayers. The most efficient expression of this trajectory came at the end of the period under scrutiny here, in which monastic houses printed, or commissioned from a printer, illustrated broadsides that performed several tasks nimbly at once: they spread particular prayers, provided instructions for recitation, provided a relevant image, and served as a memento of the sponsoring religious house. Of course, the spread of vernacular literacy, and the availability of printing, could disseminate other ideas efficiently as well, including those questioning the logic and validity of indulgences. Indeed, the Protestant Reformation tested the system in which images and indulgences incentivised prayer.

Medieval believers appreciated authentication and for big indulgence rewards. Popes made their marks on devotional culture by ratifying and increasing indulgences. Prayers, spurred on by indulgences, spread themselves. To help them along even further, some rubrics promoted proselytizing, so that the votary would have reason not only to pray from a certain script, but also to teach that script to others. Shorter prayers and larger rewards made the task easier. Votaries presumably memorized many of

them. They certainly memorized the *Ave Maria* and the *Pater noster*, which were the bare requirements of late medieval prayer culture. They may have also memorized some rhyming prayers, whose forms made them easier to memorize.² Repeated in various forms, repeated ad nauseam, repeated in different kinds of prayer structures, the *Ave Maria* and the *Pater noster* were the key to earning indulgences. Many prayers simply form a frame around which a number of *Ave Marias* and/or *Pater noster*s could be repeated. It is surprising and telling, then, that the *Adoro te*—the most lucratively indulgenced prayer circulating—becomes the refrain in a new brand of prayerbook.

For the purposes of this study, it makes no difference whether indulgences copied into manuscripts were actually granted by popes (or bishops and others) or not. Regardless of their papal status, prayers and their accompanying rubrics circulated, were copied, consumed, and probably thought to be efficacious by their readers, who included lay and religious alike. A rubric brandishing an insistence that its claims have been papally granted is probably offering a clue to its own fraudulence: vocal insistence does not inspire credibility. Some rubrics even admit that they resulted from a grass-roots effort, and that, after emanating from the public, that public sought the prayer's papal imprimatur.

Indulgences reached an advanced state of development at the end of the fifteenth century, with highly specific language and rituals and an increasing repertory of images. The manuscripts I have studied here assume a familiarity with the system, suggesting that late medieval believers were thoroughly steeped in the ideas of sin and purgatorial remission, and that it was much on their minds. Rubrics also imply that two kinds of indulgence corresponded to two kinds of sin: venial and mortal. In the later Middle Ages, as increasing numbers of indulgenced devotional exercises circulated in manuscripts and later in printed books, subtleties in describing types of sin developed concurrently. A writer might refer to a remission of venial sin, as opposed to mortal—or unpardonable—sin, of the sort that would convey the sinner straight to Hell. Books copied in the late period, say after 1490, often make a distinction that indicates that these two kinds of sin were operating in separate systems. The decades flanking 1500 were an age of hyperbole. Examples in this study show that copyists inflated indulgences and sometimes added notices of the thaumaturgic effects of prayer on the body in this life rather than just on the soul in the afterlife. During the course of the fifteenth century,

² Oosterman 1995.

the values of many prayers shifted from promising small indulgences, to larger ones, to grandiose ones, to promising protection from death altogether. They moved from prayers reaching the ears of heavenly beings, to supernatural utterances.

Nuns and religious women, far from having 'loftier' or more 'official' statuses with respect to indulgences, were often in the vanguard of copying, using, and disseminating ever inflated indulgences. They suggest that nuns, like everyone else, were 'pressed for time' and wanted each prayerful word to work effectively. Nuns' texts illuminate a fact about cloistered women's spirituality in the late fifteenth century: far from engaging in a 'pure' devotion based solely on suffering, contemplation, and so on, these nuns were just as involved with the 'spiritual bean counting' as was the larger Christian population. Nuns were just as cupidous of indulgences as were others. They collected indulgences and innovated ways to do so.

Prayers were performative speech acts that had a specific operative value, where acting and performing and speaking in some way has a salvific effect; some prayers are only powerful if recited in front of images, which are often specified in rubrics. Many rubrics that refer to images are in manuscripts that are not themselves illustrated; there is seemingly an inverse correlation between how many prayers in a manuscript are illustrated, and how many contain rubrics that refer to images, as if the fact that a miniature appears next to a prayer is in itself enough to indicate that the prayer is to be read while looking at the image. Occasionally, rubrics hint at the possibility that a votary could either engage a mental image, and therefore rely on spiritual seeing, or contemplate a physical image and rely, therefore, on the base senses. Other rubrics are adamant about the necessity of the physical image to activate the prayer, and thereby suggest that devotions followed literal and tangible guidelines, and those guidelines often implicated images.

Rubrics rarely demand that a votary look at the image but, rather, state that the votary is to say the prayer 'in front of' (*voor*) an image. It is as if the image ripens the space for prayer whether the votary is looking at it or not. Such influence of proximity recalls widespread amuletic practices—which are not to be considered distinct from mainstream Christian belief—for which the propinquity of an object, such as a relic, a piece of parchment bearing special words, or a crucifix, for example, could strengthen a believer and render him or her impermeable to human or demonic tribulations.

Despite the grip that indulgences had on both the religious and the laity, the system they promoted contained a paradox: rubrics rarely promise that votaries will

understand Christ's suffering any more effectively; rather, they promise time out of Purgatory, sometimes with a visit (or a vision) of the Virgin at the votary's death bed. While some of the indulgences require contrition as a precondition, rarely do they promise to help the votary become a more empathetic person, or one who will try not to sin again. Rather, they assume that the reader is a 'poor and sinful creature', as many of the prayers call their speakers, whose burdens include not only struggling through a difficult earthly life but also contemplating a cruel afterlife. Prayers do not change behaviour, except to make the votary dependent on a habit of prayer itself. The worldview proffered by these prayerbooks consists of the following system: sin, pray, earn indulgences, repeat. That system requires sin in order to balance the equation. Like any form of consumer culture, it relies on a subject who is never satisfied. One could always sin more, and therefore need to earn more indulgences. A mechanistic system, it constantly feeds the maw: the appetite for indulgences balanced out the hell-mouth's appetite for souls.

Images, rubrics and indulgences were tied together into a package in the decades prior to the Protestant Reformation. This study has shown that the images that were most closely associated with indulgences were the Virgin *in Sole* and that of the Mass of St Gregory. Numerous examples indicate that if a manuscript prayerbook has a limited repertory of imagery, it would include one or more of these images. Such images that were produced in large quantities in the late Middle Ages were those that fulfilled part of the equation of indulgences, images that had to be present to make a particular prayer effective. These included the Mass of St Gregory, the Face of Christ, the Virgin *in Sole*, as well as certain minor images, and certain spin-offs of these: the *arma Christi*, and other kinds of images 'in the sun', including St Anne and the IHS monogram. People at all social levels worked towards collecting indulgences through prayers in the presence of images. These images were produced for the very wealthy, and then spread to an ever wider audience through copies for all budgets, culminating in printed sheets. After all, the first thing that Gutenberg printed was not the Gutenberg Bible. It was an indulgence.

To believe was not just to believe in the miracles of the virgin birth and everlasting life, but to believe in indulgences themselves. To overlook indulgences and rubrics in prayerbooks is to fail to understand the image-saturated devotional culture of the pre-Reformation era. Rubrics explain both the prevalence of certain prayers and the prevalence of certain images, and they also tell us what people's interest was in these images and prayers. Rubrics testify to a set of exchanges: perform *this* service in front

of *that* image to receive *this* reward. This book has been about economics, not the monetary economics one usually thinks of, but spiritual economics. Studying economics can help to explain how and why goods are exchanged and valued, and how systems of exchange worked. In this book I have endeavoured to show how the system of indulgences—like other economic systems—motivated behaviour, defined value, and encouraged the production of

certain subjects instead of others. In that way, the spiritual economy even exerted a force on the monetary economy, as artists and image-makers were paid to create images that fulfilled the requirements of indulgences and forged new subjects depicting the mechanics of salvation. Rather than getting at these transactions from sales records, wills, and the like, I have spied on them from a different angle, from all the red ink in prayerbooks.

Transcriptions from Manuscript Source Material Cited in the Text

The purpose of this appendix is to document the texts cited as primary sources in this study. It is not meant as a catalogue of all Dutch prayers, nor as a full description of every manuscript cited. There are two projects, which have each spanned more than a lifetime, dedicated to listing, tracking, and finding the source texts for Middle Dutch prayers. One of these is based in Brussels, where Jan Deschamps spent his career. He published some of the fruits of his labors in books and articles, listed in the selected bibliography, and his research continues at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I with the catalogues written by Herman Mulder. The second project, based in Leiden, was the life's work of Willem de Vreese, who listed the textual contents of thousands of Middle Dutch manuscripts. He wrote his results on cards, which are now in old-fashioned card drawers. The information they contain eventually became the stuff of the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta*, available on-line, and frequently updated. I have quarried these invaluable sources, but it makes no sense for me to duplicate their results below. Users of the current study can supplement the information below from those fonts.

Time and space do not allow me to write complete descriptions of the several hundred manuscripts I have consulted for this study; therefore, only those texts—generally entire rubrics with the incipits of the prayers to which they belong—appear in this Appendix, listed under the city, library, signature, and folio of the manuscript. However, Middle Dutch texts written in verse also appear in the body of the study, with a non-rhyming English translation alongside. Descriptions of the rest of the contents of the manuscripts are available on the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta* (BNM), accessible on-line through the website of the University Library of Leiden. Rather than duplicate information here, I send the interested reader there.

A few words about the Middle Dutch transcriptions: I have expanded all abbreviations, interpunctuated the text, imposed capital letters on proper names, added an umlaut to the occasional word with three *e*'s in a row, regularized Roman numerals (they appear in small capital letters with superscript *c* and *m* where appropriate), all to make the Middle Dutch passages more legible to the anticipated audience non-Middle-Dutch scholars, although these features are generally lacking in the manuscript originals. My aim is not to supply definitive critical editions of these texts, but to make them available as concisely and legibly as possible. Furthermore, I have differentiated *u* from *v* and *i* from *j* in places where, I believe, it makes the transcriptions more legible. For consistency, I have changed 'i' to 't' in some Middle Dutch words, such as *iegen* to *tegen*, and I have given 'ian' as 'Jan' and expanded 'ihu xpi' to 'Jhesu Christi' even though capital *J* did not exist in Middle Dutch. (Pace, Gumbert.) To this I have made one exception: in cases in which the abbreviation refers to the Christogram (*IHS*) or the titulus (*INRI*), I have left the letter as *I* to avoid unnecessary confusion, since the terms *IHS* and *INRI* are used as acronyms in English. Although my former transcription method did not differentiate *y* from *ij*, I have since changed my view on this issue, and in this study they appear differentiated. Please note that I am an art historian, not a philologist. I have learned Middle Dutch language, transcription, and interpunctuation techniques in the service of having—and sharing—greater access to the devotional culture of the period.

I thank Herman Mulder, Kees Schepers, and Paul Wackers for their rigorous help with issues of Middle Dutch transcription and interpunctuation. I especially thank Sanne de

Vries, who worked tirelessly to improve this appendix. Martine Veldhuizen also provided invaluable suggestions. All errors, of course, remain my own.

With very few exceptions, I have examined the manuscripts detailed in the appendix myself, except for those that were destroyed (primarily those formerly in Leuven), in which case I have relied on Maria Meertens' transcriptions.

Unless otherwise noted, all materials listed below are manuscripts, and all are written in Middle Dutch and copied in a single column. A 'calendar for Utrecht' means a calendar for the county of Utrecht and not necessarily the city. Thus, a calendar for the county of Utrecht could have specific features for the city of Delft, for example.

Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek (AUB)

IF 14

Prayerbook with calendar

230 folios on paper; 137 × 104 mm

Made c. 1470 in Hoorn by the tertiary sisters of Sint Maria

Composite volume copied by various hands:

fol. 1–12, fol. 156–163: Lijsbeth IJsbrantsdr van Wydenes, around 1470 ('Lijsbeth IJsbrants dochter van Wydenes moder van sinte Marien', fol. 12v). Wydenes is a town near Hoorn.

fol. 13r–100v: hand 2

fol. 101r–155v, fol. 212–223v: hand 3

fol. 164–211: hand 4

fol. 224–228v: hand 5

Original owner: Both Claes Direksdr and Lijsbeth IJsbrantsdr were tertiaries of Sint Maria in Hoorn. The manuscript bears a note of ownership and date (1519) on the final folio of the section copied by Lijsbeth IJsbrantsdr (163v): 'Dit boeck hoert toe den susteren van sinte Marien convent binnen Hoern ende is anderwerf ghebonden inden cloester te Nijelicht totten regulieren in Blocker buten Hoern. Als men screven MCCCCC ende XIX'.

Miniatures/decoration: The paper has become weakened with use, and several folios have come out (including 4' in the calendar). An offset with painted decoration on fol. 13r indicates that a miniature or painted print was added between fols. 12 and 13, but later fell out. Traces of glue on the otherwise blank fol. 211v indicate that a pasted-in leaf (a print?) was removed.

Selected bibliography: Stooker and Verbeij 1997, p. 704, no. 570; Jansen-Sieben 1989, no. A170; Kohl et al. 1980, p. 326.

164r–170v: **Extremely abbreviated Hours of the Virgin with rhyming rubrics.**

164r: *rub:* Hier beghint *Een corte getidekijn van onser liever vrouwen.*

Dit sijn Die ghetide zeven

Dair wi Maria lof in geven

Metten. Hoe si wert ontfaen

Dair onse salicheit leyt aen. Die salutacie.

165r: *Prime. Hoe si wert geboren*

Die moeder gods uutvercoren. Ave Maria.

166r: *Tercie. Hoe si nam die gruet*

Vanden engel wel zuet

166v: *Sext. Hoe datter werelt bracht*

Die maget die edel dracht

167v: *Noen. Hoe si ten tempel quam*

ende offerde dat gods lam

168v: *Vesper. Hoe si ten hemel clam
bi Jhesum hair zoen dat zuet lam. Ten vespere*
169v: *Compleet vander gehuechnisse Marien
die ons allen moet gebenedien.*

170v–180v, **Colnish Pater Noster**, *rub: Hier beghint dat prologus van tCoelsce Pater noster. inc: Dese naegescreven ynnicheden salstu eyschen uutten wonden ons heren Jhesu Cristi, want hi heeft geloeft te geven diese begeren mit grote begheringe in oetmoedicheit. Du salste tot elker wonden rusten ende bekennen sijnre mynnen ende dijn selfs gebrec. Ende du salste dijn vuyle verghiftige wonden dijnre onbekender ongebetender sonden totten honichvloeyende wonden ons heren dragen ende du salt zoeken die helende salve die dijn vuyle wonden te gronde heel maket. rub: Hier beghint [171r] dat Pater noster. Vader onse, du biste inden hemel. inc: O, vader alre ontfermherticheit! Ic, arme ongemecte mensche die also sondich is, dancke dijnre vaderliker ontfermigher trouwen... [171v] rub: Nu sprec totten luchteren [172r] voet: 'Vader, geheilicht werde dinen naem'. inc: O, suete vader ende getrouwe mynner, ic, arme ende gewoede mensche, bidde di ende dancke di des bitteren smerte dijnre doergrauenre wonden... [172v] rub: Nu sprec totten rechteren voet: 'Vader, toecome ons dijn rike'. inc: O, vader, here hemelrijcs ende eertrijcs, ic, dijn arme snode creatuere, love ende dancke di groter mynnen... [173r] rub: Nu sprec totter luchterhant: 'Vader, dinen wille geschie inder eerden als inden hemel. Fiat voluntas'. inc: O, suete vader ende getrouwe vrient, ic, arme ongelaten mensche, bidde ende dancke di des oetmoedigen ondergaens dijn edelre naturen... [173v] rub: Nu sprec totten gecroenden hoofde: 'Vader, dinen wille geschie inder eerden als inden hemel'. inc: O, vader ende coninc der ewiger eeren, ic, arme onweerdighe ende ongemecte[?] creatuer, dancke di der bittere smerten des doergewonden edelen hoofts... [174r] rub: Nu sprec totten rechterhant: 'Vader onse, ghif ons huden onse dagelix broet'. inc: O, minlike vader ende getrouwe brudegom, ic, arme ende ongelaten deerne, bidde ende love di... [175r] rub: Nu sprec totten herten ons heren: 'Vader, verghif ons onse scult als wi den, etc'. inc: O, alre getrouste vader ende alre liefste lief, ic, arme snode droefige creatuer, ic bidde di des riken verburgen onsprekeliken scats... [175v] rub: Nu sprec totten herten: 'Vader, verghif ons onse scult'. inc: O, milde ontfermhertige vader, ic bekenne dat mine menichvoudige gebreken mi dicke gehindert hebben an der ontfanclicheit deser riker gaven. Ende ic geve mi sculdich alder gebreken die du an mi bekennes want du biste die overste priester die die zonden [176r] mach nemen...*

194v–211r: **Henry Suso, Hundred Articles**. The series of readings terminates on 211r, with the following contrafact: *Wes gegruet guedertieren here Jhesu Criste, du biste vol genaden, ontfermherticheit is mit di, gebenedijt moet wesen dijn passie, dijn wonden, ende dinen doot. Ende dat gebenedide bloet dijnre wonden. Amen.*

IF 30

Prayerbook in Middle Dutch and Latin

81 folios on parchment; 160 × 118 mm, written in 2 columns, with 33 lines

Copied in 1502 in the eastern part of the Northern Netherlands by an unknown man who wrote a colophon on the last folio ('Bid voer die scriver een *Ave Maria* om gods wil, etcetera. Ghescreven int jaer ons heren dusentvijfhondert ende twe. Geynt opten tweesten dach van den Maerte', fol. 81r)

Original owner: the book may have been for a community, possibly of women

Miniatures/decoration: red penwork initials.

Selected bibliography: Gumbert 1988, no. 312

11r–12r, **Henry Suso, Hundred Articles, followed by the prologue**, fol. 11ra: *rub*, **Dat prologus op die hondert articulen**. *inc*: Soe wie begheert te ghedencken erminliker martelien ons heren Jhesu Christi ende sijn menichvoudighe liden dancbaer te wesen, die sal dese hondert articulen of ghedenckenissen sijns bittere doeghens mit hondert versen of ghebeden die hier voerghescreven staen daghelix over segghen, ende tussen elken artikel of ghedenckenisse een *Ave* [11va] *benigne* of een *Ave Maria* ter steden daer gheteykent state, want alsoe quam dese dese [sic] bedinghe tot eenen ghestelike mensche, enen man van religioen vander predicatorboer de inden landen van Sweden, daer hi op een tijt nae metten stont voer een crucifixe ende hi jammerlike claghede dat hi sulke compassie als hi begheerde niet en conde ghecrighen tot ons heren bitteren doeghen. Ende doe wics die rouwe soe seer in hem, dat hi viel als in onmachte. Ende daer soe bescheen hem een hemels lichte, ende in dien lichte soe waren hem vartoent dese hondert articulen dat hi se alle daghe mit hondert venyen devotelic over lase. Ende alsoe veel bedinghe daer toe doende ende Jhesus Christus passie, daer in nae sinen vermoeghen hem sonde pinen te ghelikene van dien daghe, [11vb] soe begonste die goede man overmits die hantieringhe van deser oeffeninghe ende sonderlinghe gracie soe devoet te werden mit hemelschen minnen, dat men in ale sijn leven van binnen ende van buten in sijnre wanderinghe in sinen bocken in sijnre bedinghe als in een spieghel lesen ende mercken mochte wat hi ontfanghen hadde. Het is te weten datmen elke artikel sal segghen al recht staende, ende nae elke artikel van ons heren doghen, soe salmen segghen al knyelende: *Ave beninge Jhesu Christe, ghegruet moestu sijn, etc.* Ende dierghelijc, nae elken artikel van onser vrouwen: *Ave Maria*. Ende die oracien al knyelende sonder die vive ende tseventichste die salmen segghen gherect neder op die aerde, alsoe als daer gheteykent state. Het en waer datter een [12ra] mensche niet van staden en water hi moste, om saken wille, gaen of staen, sitten of legghen, varen of riden.

30vb–31rb: **Indulgenced prayer to the Veronica**, *rub*: **Soe wie dit ghebet alle daghe leest, die verdient drie jaer oflaets van sinte Pieter den apostel ende paeus. Item, van xxx paeusen, elc hondert daghen ende noch van xxx biscoppen, elx xl daghen. Item, Innocencius die vierde heft dese oflaten gheconfirmeert ende daer toe ghedaen twie hondert jaer oflaets. Ende hi en sel oec niet sterven den gae doot op dien dach als hijt leest. Totten aensicht ons heren Christi.** *inc*: Wes ghegruet, heilighen aenschijn ons heren verlossers, in welken dat blencket die ghedaente des godliken lichts in ghedruct den witten doec ende ghegheven [31ra] Veronica in een teyken van minnen. Wes ghegruet, cierheit alle der werlt, speighel der heilighen dat begheren te sien die gheesten der rechtvaerdigher reynighe ons van allen vlecken der sonden, toevoeghe ons dat gheselschap[sic] der salighen. Wes ghegruet onse bliscap in desen harden vergancliken leven. Dat brosche is ende seer glidende ende schier verganckelic. O, salighe figuer, leide ons totten lande daer wi moghen sien dat clare aenschijn Christi. Wi bidden, wes ons een sekere hope een soete vercoelnis ende een vertroestinghe op dat ons niet en scade die viantlike swaerheit, mer dat wi ghebruken die rust dat moet ons gheschien. Wes ghegruet, bloyende aenschijn, dat om minen wille die speken ont[31rb] fenc. O, vercierde aenschijn, ic bidde di dattu di niet en keerste van my, mer als een vader, bescherme my als du comste te oerdelen die werlt mitten vuer ende en verderve my, arme mensche, niet. **Versus**. Here, dat licht dijns aensichts is beteykent op ons. Du hebste ghegheven blijscap in mijnre herten. **Collect**. Here, die ons gheteykent sijn mitten licht dijns aensichts laten woudste dijn beelt ghedruct in een cleet om bede wil Veronica tot een ghehuechnisse. Wi bidden di, ghif ons overmids dijn liden ende dijn cruce, di alsoe te eren ende aen te beden inder aerden doer een spieghel dat wi di toecomende over ons als een rechter van aenschijn tot aenschijn sekerlic moeten sien Jhesum Christum onsen here. Amen.

49ra–50ra: **Passion Prayer**, *rub*: *Benedictus die twalefte paeus die ghevet enen ygheliken die in penitencien levet, ende biechte van sinen sonden [49ra] ghedaen hevet mitleed wesen sijre sonden die nimmermeer weder te doen, ende mit berou sijns herten. Ende die dit naewolghende[sic] ghebet mit devocien leset, verdient alsoe menighen dach oflaets alser wonden was in onsen heren lichaem. Ende dat ghetal vanden hoefden totten voeten was vijf dusent vier hondert ende ses ende sestich. Inden hoefde wasser dusent. Inden lichaem wasser vier dusent ende vier hondert ende ses ende sestich. Ende datter wonden aldus vele was, dat wart sinte Barnaert gheopenbaer van gode.* *inc*: *Ic bidde di, alre minlicste heer Jhesu Christe, om der groter caritaten wille mit welker ghi dat menschelike gheslachte mede versoondes doe ghi als een quaetdadich mensche henghet anden cruce, mit godliker minen, it enen bedroefden [49va] ghebara, mit sachten ghemoede, mit dorttigher herten, mit vermoeyden leden, mit enen doergheslaghen lichaem, mit bloedighen wonden...* [the prayer goes on to chronicle all Jesus' sufferings]

79rb–80va, **Floral Prayer to Saint Anne**, *rub*: *Het was een geestelike nonne in groten druc ende bangicheit ende des nachtes sach si voer hair onse lieve vrouwe mit sint Anna, hair moder. Ende sint Anna had op hair hooft enen hoet die alte schoen was verciert mit VII bloemen dair dese naghescreven grueten in ghescreven waren mit gulden letteren. Ende onse vrou sprac ende beval hoir dat si daghelijx hoer moeder soude grueten ende si beval hoir oec dat si se voirt soude leren allen den ghenen die sise leren mochte.* *inc*: *God, gruet u edel rose [79va] eghelentier bloem vol bistender genaden. O, heilige vrou ende moeder sint An[n]a, du helpste menich mensch uut sijre noet, dair om staet my bi, o weerde vrouwe, ende helpt my doir di bliscap die ghi hadt doe u die engel gods openbaerde ende tot u seide dat ghi een moeder wesen sout... Ic gruet u, o, edel lelien der bloem verciert mit blaewer verwen. O, heilige moeder Anna, salighe vrou, myn hert verheft hem tot di als ic u noeme of uwen heiligen naem hoir noemen doir die bliscap die ghi hadt doe ghi in uwer weerdighen lichaem droecht Mariam...* [then comes thyme, 'vol van soeten roeck', violet, 'vol van alle doechden', a golden flower, 'behaghelic ende seer schoen', the 'bloem des paradijs', and the cornflower].

I G 15

Prayers, and Our Lady's Psalter

161 folios on paper; 135 × 90; written in 2 columns; 25–28 lines

Made c. 1440–1460 in Delft (as evidenced by penwork decoration)

Miniatures/decoration: purplish-red and blue penwork on major text openings; penwork initials only on first folio

Selected bibliography: BNM

1ra–45va, **Psalter of Our Dear Lady**, *rub*: *Onser liever vrouwen souter der saliger maget Marien ende der waerder moeder gods, die daer is een coninginne der hemelen, een vrou der engelen, glori der heiligen, een mynlike voerspreecster al haren diensteren, heeft gemaect die welludende snaer der godliker mynnen, die honichvloeyde leerre sinte Bernaert. Ende si is seer goet dicwijl gelesen mit devocien, wantmen daer grote soeticheit in verneemt. Oec so helpt si seer den sielen inden vegevier hoeneer si daer voer gelesen wort. Ende wie op elken salm eens leset die Engelsce gruet, die daer gedicht is inder [1rb] heymeliker slaepcamer der heiliger drievoudicheit, die heeft van Johannes die paus die xxiii^{ste} [sic] xxiiii jaer aflaets ende iic ende xl dagen hier of sijn seker bullen gesien in Vrancrijc in een reguliers cloester. Hier begint *Onser liever vrouwen souter.* *inc*: *Heer, doe op minen mont te loven ...* [This number must be a scribal mistake, since John xxiii was pope from 1958–63; the scribe probably meant John xxii (1316–34).]*

129ra–143ra, **Henry Suso, Hundred Articles**, *rub*: Hier beginnen *Die c articulen van der gedenckenisse der passien ons heren des sonnendages*. *inc*: Ay, ewige wijsheit gods... [129rb] *rub* [*refrain*]: Gegruet moetti wesen goedertieren heer, Jhesu Christi vol genaden, ende ontfermherticheit is mit u; uwe passie, uwe wonden, uwen heiligen doot moet sijn gebenedijt, ende gebenedijt moet sijn dat bloet uwer wonden.[...] [for Friday, 138ra] *rub*: Hier selmen neder leggen of gestrect ende seggen. *inc*: Wi aenbeden di, heer Jhesu Christi, ende benedien di, wanttu overmits dinen heiligen cruce heveste die werelt verlost. *Pater noster*. *Ave Maria*. Wi aenbeden di. *rub*: Ende dan selmen seggen dat gebet dat hier na volgt ende dit selmen al leggende seggen als voer seit is. *Oracie*. *inc*: O, claer exempelaer onverwinliker mynnen, gestadiger trouwen...

IG 17

Devotional exercises, organized around the liturgical year, beginning with Advent

425 folios on paper; 140 × 112 mm, 19 lines

Binding: stamped leather over boards (late xv?)

Copied c. 1460–80 by a woman (she calls herself 'sondersche', fol. 127r) in North Brabant

Original owner: most likely a female monastic community in North Brabant (dedicated to the Visitation?)

Decoration: red penwork; penwork initials

Selected bibliography: BNM

1r: **Prayers for the Sundays in Advent**, *rub*: Des oefeninghe salmen houden op die vier sonnendaghen vanden advent. Ten eersten salmen neder vallen ende cussen die eerde ende seggen. *inc*: God vader vanden hemel ontferme di onser. *rub*: Dan richt di weder op ende spreek die navolghende gebet: *inc*: O, heilighe der heilighen onbegripelike god van wonderliker moghentheit, god der dogen ende heer der here...

51r–62r: **Prayers to be read while handling Baby Jesus at his crib**, *rub*: Vander sueter mynliker gheboerten ons liefs heren Jhesu Christe alstu in dijnre devocien wilste gaen bider cribben. *inc*: O, heilighe stal daer Christus in gheboren wort. O, salighe cribbe daer die heer alle der werelt in gheleit wort... [51v] *rub*: Totten kijndekijn Jhesu. *inc*: Weest ghegruet cleyn kijndekijn, hoghe coninc der hemelen... [52] *rub*: Ende dan neemt dat kijnt ende drucket aen dijn herte ende segghet: *inc*: Weest ghegruet, du alre soetste morch [?] des vaderliken herten, alre salichste voetsel ende vermakinghe der quelender zielen... [53r] *rub*: Totten sueten kijndekijn Jhesum ligghe inder cribben hem wille coem heitende: *inc*: Weest willecoem, alre schoenste bloem ende vrucht der ioncfrouwen Marien...

62r–67r, **Prayers for the body parts of Jesus, to be read at Christmastime**. *rub*: Hier beghinnen suverlike ghebeden inder gheboerten ons liefs heren Jhesu Christe tot allen ledemens des alren suetsten kijndekijns Jhesus. *inc*:

Weest ghegruet, heer Jhesu Christe, alre suetste kijndekijn een ghenoechlijc solaes der suchtender zielen voertgaende vanden onbesmetten lichaem uwer ghebenedider moeder als een [62v] brudegom uut sijnre slaepcameren ende hebt mensche van hoer gheboren willen worden om den menschen mit gode te verenighen.

Weest ghegruet, gloriose hoeft Jhesu Christe, ons ghesontmakers, voer ons in snoden doeken ghewonden ende inder cribben apten steen gheleyt bewonden mit hoeij.

Weest ghegruet alre scoenste aenschijn des alren suersten kijndekijns Jhesu in welken die enghelen begheren te scouwen schoen van formen voer ander kijnderen der menschen.

Weest ghegruet, alre goedertierenste oghen des ghebenedijden kijndekijns, die so dit aenghesien hebt vriendelic die ghebenedide maghet ende moeder Maria legghende

op horen meechdeliken scoet. Gheweardi[63r]ghe di, O, alre suetste kijndekijn, mij altoes aen te sien mitten oghen uwer ontfermherticheit.

Weest ghegruet, alre soetste honichvloeyende mont ende alre suetste kele des ghebenedijden kijndekijns Jhesu, voer ons ghelaeft mitten melc der alre suverster borsten uwer ghebenedider moeder.

Weest ghegruet, alre edelste oren des sueten kijndekijns Jhesu, in welken gheluyt heeft dat lof der enghelen u inder gheboerten aanbedende ende dat belyen der herden u suekende.

Weest ghegruet, alre schoenste hals des mynliken kijndekijns Jhesu, voer ons mit onderdanicheit ghebuycht onder dijn ouders inder tijt dijnre joncheit.

Weest ghegruet alre heilichste rugghe des ghebenedijden kijndekijns Jhesu, die voer ons hebt ghe[63v]rust inder herder cribben opt hoeij der beesten.

Weest ghegruet, alre heilichste scouderen Jhesu Christi, des sueten kijndekijns draghende voer ons den last onser sonden ende om op ons te legghen dat suete juc dijnre mynnen.

Weest ghegruet alre suverlicste handen ende armen des sueten kijndekijns Jhesu, so dick toespelende in dijnre joncheit uwer meechdeliker moeder.

Weest ghegruet alre bequaemste benen ende voeten des alren suetsten kijndekijns Jhesu, die in uwer kijntscheit so dic ghegaen hebt totten dienst uwer ghebenedijder moeder.

Weest ghegruet alre heilichste sijde ons jonghen conincs Jhesu Christi, so dic voer ons omvattet vanden handen uwer meechdelijker moeder in uwer joncheit u dienen[64]de.

Weest ghegruet, alre goedernerenste ende mynlicste herte ende borst des alren suetsten kijndekijns Jhesu ons salichmakers, die op ons hebt ghedocht ghedachten des vreden ende onser verlossinghe.

Weest ghegruet alre heilichste ende alre suverlicste lichaem Jhesu Christi des ghebenedijden soens gods groeyende inder bloemen uwer ghenoechliker joecht.

Weest ghegruet, alre precioeste ende reynste ziele Jhesu Christe, inghestort sijnen alren gracioesten lichaem.

Weest ghegruet alre heilichste tranen des tederen kijndekijns Jhesu uutghestort in sijne gloriser gheboerten. Responsus...

124v–127r, **Prayer for Honoring the Holy Face, attributed to Mechtild, rub:** Item, hoemen alle jaer mit devocien te Romen gaen sal om te [125r] eren ende te aanbeden dat weerdighe aensicht ons behouders Jhesu Christe, daermen te Romen die feest van begaet opten sonnendach alsment singhet *Omnis terra* ende men dat ewangelium houdt vander bruloft. Dat is opten sonnendach die alre naest camet sunte **Anthonius**. Die deerne Christe Mechteldus leerde den susteren dat sij mit sonderlingher gheesteliker ynnicheit te Romen soudren gaen ende wesen daer op dien dach als men ons heren aensicht toent lesende also veel *Pater nosteren* als milen waren tusschen Romen ende dier steden daer sij wonachtich waren. Ende als sij daer comen waren, dat sij dan den oversten paeus, dat is gode, in horen ghebede biechten soudren, ontfaende van hem ver[125v]latenisse van alle hoeren sonden. Ende aldus soudren sij des sonnendaechs dat lichaem ons heren ontfaen. Ende inder tijt alst hem beste te punte quaem, so soudren aenbeden dat beelt Christi mitten ghebede dat si ghedicht had. **rub:** Suverlike ghebeden totten aensicht ons liefs heren Jhesu. **inc:**

Weest ghegruet schoen aensicht, mijns behouders Jhesu Christi, dat alle ghesicht mynlijc is, ende allen oghen wonderlijc. Helpt mij, lieve heer, dat ic weerdich moet worden te bescouwen dijn suete aensicht inder ewicheit. Amen.

Weest ghegruet, beelde gods, ende alle der doechden dat alle ghesicht verhoecht ende verblijt dat den ouden vaderen was beloeft ende dat sij boven al[126r]le goet aen te sien begheerden, want sij in dat ghesicht vernemen soudē al dat begheerlijc waer. Wilt mij, lieve heer, gheven dat ic des goets nummermeer beroest en moet worden te ghebruken.

Weest ghegruet, troestelijc aensicht dat in deser werelt den sondighen menschen ende den sieken openbaerde mit groter godlicheit van troest hulpe ende mynne dat nye mensche en was die ghenade daer af begheerde hi en wort van hem gheholpen van wat saken dat hi badt, verleent mij, lieve heer, dat ic in desen leven inden selven aensicht ghenade ende troest in alle mijnen noden moghe vijnden.

Weest ghegruet, o, suete heer, Jhesu Christe, die mit so vriendeliken aensicht voer die menschen woudes openba[126v]ren, o, sonne der gherechticheit ende der claerheit, die inden tempeesten uutwerp sijn radien der gherechticheit, die die Joden niet aensien en mochten hoer oghen en worden daer af gheslaghen, ende sij en mochten niet voer hem bliven staende ende weecken van sijnen aensicht.

Weest ghegruet, o, schoen wonder aen te sien, in deser werelt daer die menschen na haestende liepen om dat aen te scouwen, want het een aensicht was vol ghenaden ende waerheiden uut welken hebben ontfanghen alle die gheen die begaest wouden worden, verleent mij, lieve heer, dat weerdighe aensicht van binnen te aenscouwen mitten oghen des gheloefs in deser tijt. Ende na deser tijt openbaerlijc inder ewigher [127r] glorien.

Weest ghegruet, alre mynlichste ende schoenste aensicht Jhesu Christi, vanden Joden versmadelijc bespoghen, wredelijc gheslaghen, ende swaerlijc ghewont om mijnen wil. Ic bid u, o, suete Jhesu, wilt mij, sondighe mensche, dijn aensicht mynlic vertonen in die ure mijnre doot ende inden daghe des oerdels. Ende siet mij dan aen mitten oghen dijnre barmherticheit. Ende doer die verdienten dijnre heiligher passien, so weest mij, arme **sondersche**, dijn ghenadich[eit]. Ende gunt mij dat ic dijn suete aenschijn inder ewicheit moet bescouwen. Amen.

127r–128v, *Salve sancte facies, to be said in front of the Holy Face*, rub: **Die paeus Innocencius heeft ghegheven alle den ghenen die dit navolghende ghebet ynnichlic leest voer een veronica, of les Pater noster die dit ghe[127v]bet niet en can, elf dusent daghen aflaets.** inc: Ghegruet sijstu, heilighe aenschijn ons verlossers in welken blincket die ghedaent des godliken schijnsels ghedruct in een wit cleet ende ghegheven Veronica tot enen teyken der mynnen... ..

128v: rub: **Item, So wie desen navolghenden psalm ynnichlijc leest voer een veronika, die verdient dusent daghen aflaets.** inc: God ontferme hem onser ende benedije ons sijn aensicht in licht hi op ons ende ontferm di onser.

IG 18

Ascetic tracts

169 folios on parchment; 145 × 106 mm, 19 lines; 5 mm between lines

Binding: stamped leather over boards, with 2 clasps

Copied in 1448 by Johannes van Leyerdam, according to a colophon in another hand, fol.

160v: 'In den jaren onses heren dusent vier hondert ende achte ende viertich screef dit bokeken broder Johannes van Leyerdam, profest broder ende priester des cloesters Marienkampe in Oestfrieslandē by Esynghen ghelegen van der regeliērs oerde. Ende sandet den eersamen ende wysen manne Alardo Symonis in Amsterdamme synen alre liefsten vrende in Christo'. For the date, see Gumbert 1988, no. 304

Location: Marienkamp bij Esens, Canons Regular (male) dedicated to St. Mary

Original owner: Alardus Symonis

Selected bibliography: Vooy's 1926, p. 14, nt. 3; Vooy's 1953, pp. 126–127.

133v–135v: **Exemplum**. Het was een clerc rijk van goede ende arm van leven. Ende brachte al sijn goet to in sonden. Ende doe hie niet meer en had, wert hi herde droevich. Ende ghinc uut den luden wanden in eenre enicheit ende en wiste niet wat hi beghinnen soude om goet weder te crighen. Ende die duvel quam tot hem ende sprac hem toe ende seghede: ‘Hoe bistu aldus droevich?’ Doe vertelde hi hem wat die sake was. Ende die duvel sprac: ‘Wilstu mynen raet doen? Ic sel di goedes ghenoech gheven’. Ende hi seghede: ‘Je hi’. Doe seghede die duvel: ‘Du moetste versaken dijns godes ende sijnre moeder’. Doe versa[134r]kede hi godes ende alte node versakede hi der moeder godes. Mer doch so versakede hi haer. Ende die duvel gaf hem vele goedes. Ende hi levede langhe tijt in groten sonden. Ende god sande hem een ghedachte in ende wert aldus denkende: ‘Sie hoe du leveste. Storvestu hier in so weerstu ewilic verdoemt’. Ende hi ghinc in een kerc. Ende viel neder op sinen knien voer dat beelde der weerder coninghinnen Marie, ende hadde haer kijnt op haren scote. Ende hi wert alte seer wenende, ende bat seer ynnichliken dat si sijns ontfermen woude. Ende doe hi niet af en liet, ende dreef alte groten [134v] rouwe. Doe sprac die coninghinne Maria totten sonder: ‘Ic en mach di niet helpen, want du heveste godes ende mijns versaket’. Doe sprac die sonder: ‘Lieve moeder godes, ghi moet my ymmer helpen, of ic bin ewiliken verdoemt’. Doe sprac Maria: ‘Ic en mach di niet helpen’. Doe seghede hi: ‘Ja, lieve moeder godes, segt my hoe heit di dan’. Doe seghede Maria: ‘Sommighe heiten my die vrouwe der enghelen, of die coninghinne hemelrikes ende eertrikes’. Doe seghede die sonder: ‘Reen lieve moeder godes Maria, ghi hebbet noch enen [135r] anderen name, hoe state ghescreven in *Salve regina*’. Doe sprac die soete coninghinne Maria: ‘Ic heit oec die ontfermhertighe moeder godes’. ‘Ja uutvercoren vrouwe’, sprac hi, ‘dien name meyn ic den en seldi niet verliesen an my. Des hope ic volcomeliken dat ghi my selt helpen, of ghi verlieset uwen goeden name’. Doe sprac Maria die soete weerde moeder godes tot haren uutvercoren kijnde Jhesum: ‘Lieve kijnt, ontferme die over den sonder’. Doe sprac die soet Jhesus: ‘Lieve moeder, hi hevet mijns versakeet. Hi en is van [135v] my gheenre ghenaden weert’. Doe nam die ghenadighe Maria dat beelde Jhesu ende settet op dat altaer ende knielde neder voer dat altaer bi den sonder ende sprac: ‘Lieve kijnt, ontferme di over den sonder’. Ende Jhesus sprac: ‘Lieve moeder, die dore des hemels is hem ontseghet’. Doe sprac die mynlike coninghinne Maria: ‘Lieve kijnt, is hem die dore des hemels ontseghet, so laet my dat venster wesen, op dat hi doer my moghe comen in dat ewighe leven’. Doe sprac die soete Jhesus: ‘Lieve moeder, ic gheven u’. Doe sprac die werde conin[136r]ghinne totten sonder: ‘Ganc ende en wil niet meer sondighen’. Ende hi ghinc van daer harde blide ende wel ghetroest ende werp alle die rijcheit des viands en wech ende ghinc in een cloester. Daer hi onsen lieven heren lijfliken diende ende sijner liever moeder Marie, die hem mit groter vroecheden brocht van desen leven in dat ewighe leven.

143r–145v, **Exemplum about the Virgin**, *rub: Exempel*: Men leest oec van enen devoten gheesteliken jonghelinc die Maria onse lieve vrouwe diende twee ende twijntich ier, dat hi gheerne had gheweten den liefsten dienst dien hi Maria onser liever vrouwen had moghen doen. Hier na openbaerde hem Maria mit tween alte seer vriendeliken oetmoedighen opsienden oghen, ende mit [143v] enen roetblosende ansicht vroliken mit mynliken lachende monde. Ende Maria seide tot hem: ‘Nu besiet my wel van buten ende van bynnen’. Hi sach haer an buten mit herteliker onsprekeliker mynnen. Ende hy sach bynnen in haer een dat alre glorificierste ende jubilierste scoenste herte dat in maechdeliker joncfrouwen ye besloten was. Doe seide Maria tot hem: ‘Ghi hebt my langhe tijt ghebeden mit begheerliker mynnen om den liefsten dienst die ghi my ter eren doen moghet. Op dat ghi selt weten, so doe ic u te weten datter, sijn

[144r] xxii *Ave Maria*. Ende soe wie die alle daghe van mynnen my ter eren sprecht, den sel ic grote gonstighe trouwe ende grote vriendschap der liefsten bewisen in synen leven ende in synre doot. Die eerste twee die seltu spreken mynen oren te eren, daer ic mede hoerde die groete des enghels, daer om dat my alle gheslechten salich heiten. Die ander twee mynen ghelove dat ic des gheloefde dat ic die moeder godes soude wesen. Die derde twee mynen oghen, daer ic mede sach die gotlicheit scinen doer die menscheit als een sonne doer een glas scinet. Die vierde twee mynen [144v] knyen, daer ic mynen kijnde den eersten dienst mede boet, die hem van mensche- liken dienst ye gheboden wert. Die vijfte twee mynen handen, daer ic mede op hief den ghenen die hemel ende eerde gheschapen had. Die seste twee mynen monde, daer ic den ghenen mede kuste die een tabernakel ende een woninghe is alder heilighen ende der enghelen. Die sevende twee mynen scoet, daer ic den ghenen in helt die hemel ende eerde onthout mit synre weerdigher moghentheit. Die achtende twee mynen borsten, daer ic den ghenen mede spijsde, die een spise ende een leven is der heilighen [145r] ende der enghelen. Die neghende twee mynen armen, daer ic den ghenen in droech die hemel ende eerde ende alle creaturen draghet mit synre weerdigher moghentheit. Die tiende twee mynen voeten, daer ic mynen lieven kijnde mede hebbe na ghevolcht in lieve ende in leede. Die elfte twee mynen herten, dat also vuerich was dattet alle die wonden ontfinc ende si dat doerstaken, ende ic an mijn lieve kijnt sach dat hi so hoghe hinc, dat ic hem niet ghereiken en konste, ende hi seide: "Sie hier, wijf, dynen soen". So wie dat my hier mede ynnichlic gruetet alle daghe, die sellen van my hebben moederlike gonsti[145v]ghe bede. Ende inder uren synre doot, so sel ic syn troester ende syn stercheit wesen teghen alle verveernisse des viants. Also dat si hem hier mede toech tot meerre mynnen tot haerre lief- ten. Hier mede beval* si hem mit gonstigher liefsten ende mynnen in vreden. Ende sceide hier mede van hem. Ende sy gaf hem in dier uren sijns dodes, ende sonder vresen mit alte gonstigher liefsten alle stercheit ende troest ende alle verwinninghe synreviande des vresen'. [*Aspecial meaning of bevelen: Enenden vrede (Gods) bevelen, iemand den vrede Gods toewensen, eig. hem er aan opdragen.]

IG 27

Passion tracts and prayers

303 folios on paper (foliated 12–314); 124 × 92 mm; 22–27 lines

Made ca 1475–1500 over time so that the resulting manuscript has a cumulative quality; many of the scribes added a colophon to their sections, most likely as their additions became the new final sections of the book.

Copied by 8 copyists; they were probably all women at convent; Scribe II, at least, uses female noun forms (see transcription below).

- i. 12–22
- ii. 23–34 [a woman]
- iii. 35–43
- iv. 44–52
- v. 53–60
- vi. 61–211
- vii. 212–251
- viii. 252–314

Original owner: Copied, for Sisters of the Common Life at the Hendrik Adamanshuis in Zutphen, dedicated to Saint Agnes. There are several notes of ownership: fifth fly-leaf, verso: "Ten Diepenveen. Dit boeck hoert toe S Berent Olthuis wie dattet vint die brenget hoer wedder omme gaddes wille. Ende die sal verdienen een rosen crenskén'. Another note of ownership appears at the bottom of 211v, that is, the end of the section

written by scribe VI, although not in the hand of Scribe VI: 'Item, dit boec hoert toe Addemans huys'. On 251v, bottom, possibly in the same hand as Scribe VII, 'Dit boeck hoert toe den susteren toe Admans huys'. On fol. 314r, in the hand of Scribe VIII: 'Dit boeck hoert toe Sutpheen den susteren toe Admanshuys'.

Miniatures/decoration: decorated initials, penwork borders

Selected bibliography: Stooker and Verbeij 1997, no. 1340 (where the contents are listed erroneously); Man 1937, contains an edition of part of this manuscript.

23r–30v, **Prayer to the Wounds of Christ**, *rub*: **Dit ghebet heeft die ynnighe leerre sante Bernardus gemaket om mede toe bescreien dat liden Christi ende et [sic] is vanden stoel van Romen mit sconen afaet begavet als ment leset mit weerdiger devocien drie dusedent jaer III^c jaer ende LX dage.** *inc*: Ghegruet sistu, mijne selicheit, o, du lieve here... *rub*: **Totten voeten Jhesu.** *inc*: Ic neyge my voer dyne voete mit anxte in gedenckenisse dynre weerdigher wonden... [24r] *rub*: **Des mandages totten knyen.** *inc*: Weest gegruet, heilige conynck der hemele... [25r] *rub*: Dinxdach totter syden. *inc*: Weest ghegruet, averste guedertierenheit, du biste altoes bereyt toe vergheven... [26r] *rub*: Wonsdac[h] totter borst Christi. *inc*: God mijn heil Jhesus Christus, myn soete mynner, dyn eerbaer borst is een huys der mynnen dat my seer mit anxte is an toe tasten... [26v] *rub*: **Donredach totten herten Jhesu.** *inc*: Weest ghegruet, o, aver suete herte mijns lieven heren Jhesu Christi, o, averste conync... [28r] *rub*: **Des vridages totten handen.** *inc*: Weest ghegruet heilighe hande mijns lieven verloesers Jhesu Christi... [29r] *rub*: **Saterdach totten aensichte Christi.** *inc*: Weest ghegruet, o, eerbaer Jhesu, die weerdich biste [29v] datmen dy altoes suecket, dencket op mi, die hier stae voer dy, ende ontfange mi in dynre ghenaden. Weest ghegruet, o, suete mynnentlike aensichte mijns lieven verlosers Jhesu Christi, seer verwandelt ende mysmaket, want dyne lieflicke schone verwe is verwandelt in bleicheit, wes schoenheit die engelen ontsien is gheworden een ghelicheit eens melaetschen menschen ende men sach dy also die noch gedaente noch schoenheit en hadde. Dat dyne schoenheit ende verwe verscheiden is van dy dat en verwondert mi niet, want die doet is in dynen aensichte daer du hangeste in dyn verdriet mit groter dorricheit, aldus ghepynnicht ende versmaet, soe wordestu om mi, arme sundersche, ende oec ghedoedet... [30v]... O, lieve heer, ic bidde dy, toene my dan dy selven inden cruce. Die levet ende regniert mitten vader ende den heilighen geest een waerachtich god ewelicke sonder eynde. Amen.

IG 35

Prayers and devotional exercises

182 folios on paper, +2 parchment flyleaves; 142 × 98 mm

Copied c. 1500 by 9 hands:

- i. 1–37v [1–11, 12–21, 22–29, 30–37] (18–21 lines)
- ii. 38r–60 [=2 quires, 38–47, 48–59]
- iii. 60–70 [=1 quire, catchword at bottom of 70v]
- iv. 71–94 [71–82, 83–94]
- v. 95–99 [=1 quire]
- vi. 100–112 [=1 quire]
- vii. 113–148 [113–125, 126–136, 137–148]
- viii. 149–170 [149–159, 160–170]
- ix. 171–182 [=1 quire]

Location: Venray, likely Canonesses Regular of the Convent of Jerusalem in Venray (dedicated to Saint Ursula and Saint Anthony). One scribe refers to St. Augustine as 'our glorious father Augustine, founder of our order' (22r, see below); most of them use feminine prououns.

Original owner: The contents of fol. 139r–141v (*Een devoete epistel ghescreven tot som-meghen susteren van Jherusalem buten Utrecht die toe Diepenven ghesent waren*) connects this codex to HKB 133 F 22, which contains an analogous text; both manuscripts probably came from the Canonesses Regular of Jerusalem in Venray (dedicated to Saints Ursula and Anthony); see Mertens 1986, 95–96.

Miniatures/decoration: 1 embossed roundel, 34 mm diameter, representing Christ crucified between Mary and John, added to the bottom of fol. 3v. Traces of glue at the bottom of 23r indicate that a roundel was removed. An offset on 35v suggests that a rectangular leaf—a print depicting the Virgin?—was removed.

Selected bibliography: Stooker and Verbeij 1997, no. 1224; Mertens 1986, p. 95; Rudy 2015, pp. 236–237.

1r–11v, **Prayer to the Body Parts of Christ, *beginning missing*** [1v]: *rub: Totten knyen Christi. Oratio.* [2r] *inc:* Weest gegruet heilige coninc der hemelen, een geloevende haep der sunderen... [upper margin: letter M] [3v] *rub: Tot alle den leden ons heren.* [in upper margin, letter D] [5] *rub: Totter borsten Jhesu Christi.* [upper margin: letter W] [5v] *rub: Totten herten Jhesu Christi* [upper margin, letter D] [7v] *rub: Totten handen Jhesu Christi* [upper margin, letter U] [9] *rub: Totten aensicht ons heren.* [upper margin: letter S].

29r–29v, **Prayer to the Relics in a Church, *rub: Een gebet tot alle den heiligen reliquien die inder kerken sijn. Soe lest dit gebet. Ende daer is van Honorius den heiligen paus hondert dage aflaets toe gegeven.*** [29v] *inc:* Alle heiligen gades, west gegruet, weelker reliquien hier in deser alre heilichster steden behoet sijn, in weelker eren ende gehoechnis dese heilige kirke getymmert is ende dese altaer gewiet sijn. Ic bid u dat gi u onser ontfermt die hier to u vlien ende aenroepen die hulpe uwer genaden, comt ende vertroest ons eelleendigen ende verwerft ons absolucie van al onsen sunden op dat als wi geroepen werden uut te doen onsen sterfelicken licham dat wi dan overmits uwen gebede weerdich moeten werden totter ewiger vrouwen te comen.

31v–32v, **Prayer to be read in front of a Crucifix, *rub: Voer een crucifix.*** *inc:* Ic neyge mi voer die voeten mijns heren, in gedenckenis dijnre weerdiger wonden, ende ic omheelse die nagelen dijnre voeten, die di mit groter pinen worden ingedruct. O, lieve here Jhesu Christi, en versmaet mi, arme sundige mynsche, die hier ligge voer dinen cruce ende heb dine voeten ombevangen. Sich mi aen van dinen heiligen cruce ende begaeft mi mitter genaden dijns medelidens. O, weerde hoecheit gades, west gegruet, ontfermt u mijns gi die bermhertich sijt allen mynschen [32r] ende baven gaet alle begeerten. Ende onthaldende sijt alle verdienten, overmits dese sake, soe buge ic die knyen mijns herten ende mijns lichams voer u vader der ontfermherticheit, ende val neder op die eerde voer u goedertieren voeten, danckende u uutten bynnensten mijns herten... Laet ons aenbeden dat teyken des cruces bi weelken wi hebben ontfangen dat sacrament onser selicheit.

34v–35r, **Prayer to be read in front of a Crucifix, *rub: Voer een crucifix.*** *inc:* O, naecte mynschelicheit, O groete martelic, O diepe wonden, O cracht des bloedes...

35r–35v: **Prayer to be read in front of a Crucifix or the Instruments of the Passion, *rub: Voer die wapen ons heer v Pater noster ende dit gebet.*** *inc:* O, heer Jhesu Christi, want gi spraect doe gi hangende waert inden cruce voer ons sonderen tot uwen hemelschen vader, ‘Vader, vergeeft hem, want si en weten niet wat si doen’...

35v: **Prayer to the Virgin, rub: *Ad Maria. inc:*** Gegruet bistu, gebenedide reyne gerweerdige alre oetmoedichste joncfr[o]u Maria, vol alre genaden. Jhesus Christus, onse lieve heer, is mitti. Uwer beyder mylde grondeloze ontfermhertige guedertierenheit si mit mi, in allen anxten mijns lijfs ende mijnre ziele. Ende tot alre tijt in mynen doot. Gebenedijt is die vrucht dijns reynen meechdelicken lichams, Jhesus Christus die gebenedide gods soen. Amen.

36r–37r: **Prayer to the Virgin to be read before her image, rub: *Dit leest voer onser vrouwen beelde. inc:*** Ic gruetti, o, alre selichste moeder gades ende joncfrou Maria, mitter gueten daer die Gabriel die archangel mede gueten, seggende ‘Gegruet sijstu vol genaden, die heer is mitti, die heilige geest sal comen over di, ende die cracht des alren oversten sal di om schinen, want dat heilichge dat van di gebaren sal werden, sal genoemt werden die soen gades...’

37r–37v: **Prayer to the face of Jesus, rub: *Een gruet totten aenschijn ons heren. [37v] inc:*** Ic gruetti, o, heilige gebenedide aensicht ons lieven heren Jhesu Christi, dat doer mynen wil is bespot ende bespegen. Ic bid u, lieve here, doer die weerdicheit ende glorie uwes heiligen aensichts dat alle hemelen verluchtet...

37v: **Prayer to be read in front of the relics, rub: *Voer dat heilichdom lest dit. inc:*** Die lichamen der heiligen sijn begraven in vreden; hoer namen sullen leven in ewicheit... [ends imperfectly.]

39v–40v: **Prayer to the bleeding and sweating Jesus, rub: *Soe wie dit gebet leest alle dage, die verdient also voel jaren aflaets als droppen waters op enen dach regenen mach. inc:*** O, heer Jhesu Christi, ic bidde doer dinen lesten strijt ende dijn alre heilichste gebet dattu deedste inden Berge van Oliveten, doe dijn sweet wart als dropelen bloets lopende in die eerde, dattu die menichvoldicheit dijns blodigen sweets die du van bangicheit des anxtes alsoe overvloedelic voer ons uutgegoten hebste offeren. Wilste god den almechtigen vader voer dijnre dernen ende verloessen se in deser uren oers doets van allen pinen ende bangicheit die si verdient heeft voer hoer sunden. Die leeft. Kyrie. Antiphon. O, here, heilige ons mitten teiken des heiligen crucs dattet ons werde een scilt tegen die wrede gescutten der vianden bescerm ons here overmids dat heilige holt...

46v–47v: **The cries that Our Dear Lady made under the cross, rub: *Hier begynnen Drieroepen die onse lieve vrouwe dede onder den cruce. Soe wie si xxx dage leset voer oeren beelde, die verdient een bede van onser liever sueter vrouwen. inc:*** O, my enige gebaren lief kijnt, troest dijn enige gebaren moeder...

95r–99v: **Litany attributed to Magdalena von Freiburg, rub: *Dese naegescreven Letanien heeft gemaect een devote heilich mensch van genaden ende ingevinge des heiligen geestes genoemt Magdalene ende had tot meerre waerheit die wonden ons lieven heren an horen handen ende voeten ende inder siden gelic als sunte Franciscus. Ende die wonde der siden vloiden van blode alle vridage des noch een waerachtich teiken is in enen doeck die daer van blodich is daer veel van te screven weer. Op een tijt quam die suete Jhesus tot deser joncfrouwen ende apenbaerden hoer ende sprac: ‘Lese mij die Letanien van minen lide, soe salvestu mi mijn wonden’, daer bi machmen merken hoe geneem si onsen sijn. Men mach se spreken voer al saken ende droefnis ende liden ende voer al menschen si sijn doet of levendich of voer ons selven mer dat leste vers salmen aldus verwandelen heer ontferm di overmi of over si of over hem waer voir***

datmen se lesen wil. Ende wie se mit ynicheit leest ist sijnre sielen heil hi wort verhoert ende vercrijcht grote genade daer van, want et is dat nutst gebet dat die mensche vanden liden ons heren lesen mach. *inc:* Heer, ontfermdi onser. Christe, ontferm di onser. Heer ontfermdi onser ende verleen ons cracht onser sielen uutwendich...

136r–136v, *Statistical Revelations made to a Friar Minor*, *rub:* **Dat hier nae volgt apenbaerden onse lieven heer enen mynre broder toe Mechelen.** *inc:* Onse lieve heer gedoechden hondert ende LXXX werf sericheit van spotteliken quetseliken woerden in sinen leven vanden Joden, sonderlinge in der tijt sijnre passie. Jhesus buichden viftich hondertwerf sijn gebenedide knien tusschen dach ende nacht inden voertich dagen dat hi inder woestinen was. Jhesus dede xxv hondert sermonen in sinen leven apenbaerlic onder sinen jongeren. Jhesus sweetten dertich hondert ende drie dropelen waters ende bloets opten Berch van Oliveten. Jhesus ginc hondert ende LXXXVII voetstappen van Jherusalem tot Calvarien doe hi sijn cruce droech. Jhesus trat [136v] x^c voetstappen op gaende Calvarien tot dat hi apt hoechste quam. Jhesus screiden vijftich tranen anden heiligen cruce. Der wonden ons lieven heren waren vi dusent vi^c ende LXVI.

139r–141v, *A devout letter written to some of the sisters of Jerusalem*, *rub:* **Een devoete epistel ghescreven tot sommige susteren van Jherusalem...**

IG 52

Book of hours, with calendar for Utrecht

2 + 206 folios on parchment; 178 × 125 mm, 17 lines

Made 1488 (according to a computational circle, fol. 13v); the border decoration points to South Holland. Original binding of stamped leather over boards, with two eagles surrounded by a textual frame bearing the words 'O mater dei, Maria, mememto me' at the sides and 'Jhesus' and 'Maria' at the top and bottom. For an analogous binding, see Weale and Taylor 1922, no. 297.

Original owner: Possibly the woman dressed as a nun depicted with John the Evangelist on fol. 133v

Miniatures/decoration: 9 full-page miniatures, 24 large painted initials, border decoration.

Selected bibliography: Byvanck and Hoogewerff 1922–1925, no. 158.

144v–147v: *Exemplum*, *rub:* **Men leest in een exempel datter was een wairlic mensche ende seer rokeloes doch so plach hi die vijf wonden ons heren dagelix te eeren mit vijf ghebeden hier na ghescreven. Dese mensche die sterft, ende sijn siel en stond niet langher dan een ure in die lucht verbeidende die ontfermherticheit gods. Doen quam onse lieve here selver ende [145r] haelde die siel mit groter vroechede ende sprac: 'Want ghi mijn heilige vijf wonden mit desen ghebeden geert hebt, so en sel di noch hel noch veghevier liden. Ende al die gheen die mi hier mede eeren, dien wil ic selver weder eren'. Totter rechter hant. Ghebet.** *inc:* Lof ende seer grote eer si di, lieve here Jhesu Christe, hondert dusent werf voir die alre heilichste wonde dijns rechteren hants ...

VJ 2

Prayerbook

130 folios on vellum, 88 × 65 mm; 16 lines

Codicological note: Although the manuscript is bound in a stamped leather binding with two clasps that may date from the sixteenth century, the binding appears not to be original: it is 4 mm larger than the folios, and some of the folios are missing and have been rebound out of order.

Copied c. 1450–1500 by 2 hands: 1–127r; 127v–128v. The colophon at the end of the section written by the first hand states: ‘Bidt voer den scryver om Jhesus wille. *Ave Maria gratia plena*’. The male form of ‘screver’ suggests, but does not prove, a male copyist.

Location: Hoorn

Original owner: Hoorn, Tertiariissen S. Cecilia (Fol. 2: ‘Item dit boeck hoert toe Hoern in sinte Cecilien closter ende is in Gheertruud Gherijt dochter beware mijn ghemynde suster’); furthermore, there is an extra prayer to St. Cecilia (123r/v).

Selected bibliography: Stoker and Verbeij 1997, no. 693.

30r–31v, **Verses of Saint Gregory (7-verse version)**, *rub*: *Sixtus die vierde paeus heeft dit vierde ende dit vijfte ghebet van desen seven naescreven ghebedekins ghemaect. Ende daer mede hevet hi alle die oflaten hier toe ghegheven dubbelt ghemaect, alsoe dat die somme vanden naeghescreven oflaten is XLVI dusent jaer et XL daghen. Item, die niet lesen connen, die sellen op horen knyen devotelic lesen xv Pater noster ende xv Ave Maria voer den wapen ons heren, soe verdienen sy dit selve oflaet. Deo laus.* [30v] *inc*: *O, here Jhesu Christe, ic aenbede di inden cruce...*

123–123v: **Prayer to St Cecilia**, *rub*: *Van sancta Cecilia.*

VIII D 26

Book of hours, with a calendar for Utrecht

177 folios on parchment; 100 × 73 (58 × 43) mm; 14 lines

A table for computing the date of Easter bears the year 1467 (‘M Cccc ende lxxvii’), as noted in Gumbert 1988, no. 320. Penwork points to North Holland (possibly Haarlem), which is also confirmed by the calendar

Miniatures/decoration: penwork; full-page, tipped-in images, including 2 illuminations by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible, a full-page ‘Jesus-Maria’ design on an inserted leaf, a trimmed drawing the *arma Christi*, a marginal painting depicting the IHS monogram in the sun

Selected bibliography: Defoer et al. 1989, p. 233; Korteweg 1992, no. 84; Rudy 2006, pp. 66–67; Rudy 2015, pp. 202–203.

84r–86v: **Prayer for souls**, *rub*: *Dit is een ghemene memorie voer een ziele of voer veel zielen. Alstu voer een ziele of voer veel zielen bisonder wat lesen wilt so les die psalm Miserere mei deus, als God ontferme di mynre, welc die vierde psalme is, ende De profundis, als Heer vanden diepen, welc die seste psalme is in Die Seven Psalme. Ende int eynde van dese twee psalmen, so en les niet Glorie biden vader, mer Heer ghif* [84v] *hem die ewighe rust. Ende dat ewighe moet hem lichten...*

137v: **Prayer to the IHS-monogram** (in a later hand from the late 15th century, inscribed on what would have been a blank page): *Dit heft broeder Jan Brucman vercreghen vanden paeus. Wie dattet leest verdient vii iaer oflaets ende vii karenen alsoe dicke alsment leest. Amen. Ende die IHS naem ansiet verdient drie hondert daeghen van ghesetter penitencien. Der onverscheidender heiligher drievoudicheit IHS Christus die ghecruyt is, sijnre menscheit ende der waerder moeder maghet Maria, die si lof ende eer van allen creaturen nu ende tot alre tijt. Amen.*

170v–171v: **On the Translation of the Pater Noster**, *rub*: *Dit is Van dat Pater noster.* *Dat Pater noster* in Latijn is in hem selven alsoe goet in een onghelerden menschen monde als in een priesters of die gheleert is. Maer een priester of een gheleert mensche diet verstaet, die mach daer meer ynnicheit in hebben dan een leec dies niet en verstaet

ende niet en weet wat hi spreekt. Want een goet scarp zwaert is also goet in een kints hande als in een scermers hande, [171r] maer het is den ghenen nutter die daer mede vechten can. Ende oec een licht schijnt also claer in eens blinde oghe als in eens sien-den menschen oghe, mer het is den ziende nutter dan den blinde. Hier om sel een yghelic mensche also sijn ghebet spreken dat hi dat verstaet op dat hem daer ynnicheit ende devocie of comen mach. Want onse here Jhesus Cristus die en maecte dat *Pater noster* niet in Latijn, [171v] mer in ghemene tale, dat is in Hebreusche also als die ghemene lude in dier lande spraken. ¶ Du selste oec weten dattet *Pater noster* alle ghebeden boven gaet, want die andere ghebeden hebben die kinderen der menschen ghemaect. Maer dat *Pater noster*, dat heeft gheset Jhesus Cristus, die zone goods ende wijsheit des vaders. Hier om selste dijn *Pater noster* spreken mit alre neersticheit wanttet vol is alre devocien ende zoeticheit.

172r–177r, *The Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Twelve Articles of Faith, the Credo, and other common prayers*, *rub*: *Dit is dat Pater noster in Duytsche*.

Antwerp, Plantin Moretus Museum (Antwerp, PM)

14.17 (formerly Zaal III, 47)

Book of hours, with a calendar, in Latin and Middle Dutch

230 folios on parchment; 140 × 100 (110 × 75) mm

Copied by two hands in the early sixteenth century (after 1503, according to the reference to Pope Julius II, fol. 216r), in the Southern Netherlands

Original owner: unknown; later belonged to the comte De Renesse (voorplat: 'Ex Bibliotheca Renessiana. No 11') ; Antwerpen, Museum Plantijn-Moretus

Selected bibliography: Meertens 1930–1934, vol. I, pp. 140–141; vol. VI, no. 2; Rudy 2011.

75r–78r, *Prayer worth the same as all the indulgences of Rome, Cologne, and Trier*, *rub*:

So wie dit navolghende ghebet spreekt met innigher herten met warachtighen rouwe van sijnen sonden ende wille hebbende die te biechtene ende niet meer te loene verdient alle die aflaten die binne Rome, Cuelene, ende Triere sijn. Ende die paus Benedictus de XII heeft toe noch ghegheven also menich jaer aflaets also ons lieve heere Jhesus Christus wonden hadde. Dat waren VI^m VI^c ende LXVI, sonder sijn heilighe v wonden. Ende dit ghebet wert ghepreect te Rome van spaus wegghen int gulden jaer do men screef MCCC ende L, daert menich dusent menschen hoorden diet leerden ende droeghent met him. inc: O, alder suetste lam Christe..., ic vermane dij ende dancke dij vanden allindeghen bitteren staen...

216r–218r, *rub*: *Item Julius die tweedde paus heeft ghegheven allen den ghenen die dese thien ghebeden lesen sullen met thien Pater nosteren ende x Ave Marien voer die wapenen ons heeren Jhesu Christe hondert ende LXXXIIII duysent jaeren aflaets ... inc: O heere Jhesu Criste ick aenbede di hangende inden cruce...*

Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek (Bruges, SB)

319

Assorted prayers for Katheryn van Grouv

261 folios on paper; 100 × 70 mm; 11 lines

Copied in 1557 by 'FNK' (see colophon, below)

Original owner: 'Sister Katheryn', apparently a Grey Nun (Franciscan)

Decoration: rubrics

Selected bibliography: De Poorter 1934, cat. 319.

244v–261r: **Prayer to read before a crucifix**, *rub*: Hier nae volgen v schone gebeden die men leesen leesen [sic] sal voer dat crucifix ons heeren. Ende men verdient v duysent jaeren aflaets ende seven karenen. F.n.k. [245r] *inc*: O, lieve heer Jesu Christe, hier knyell ick voer dyn oeghen als een misdadich mensche voer eenen scherpen richter ende bidde dy lieve heer om dyns ordels will dat over dy gegeven ward om mynen wille...

261r: *colophon*: Gescreven int jaer ons heeren xvc ende lvii tot gebruyc van suster Katheryn van Grouv doer my f.n.k.

334

Book of hours, with calendar for Utrecht

203 folios on parchment; 137 × 98 mm; 17 lines

Made in Delft (as indicated by decoration), c. 1440–1460; with an added section (fol. 3–14, 183–203) from the Southern Netherlands, c. 1475–1500

Miniatures/decoration: Penwork in two styles, including one from Delft.

Selected bibliography: Gailliard and Vreese 1907–1914, no. 2; De Poorter 1934, cat. 334.

1r: **Prayer to Jesus** (added in a later hand), *rub*: Sint Augustijn seit dat dit ghebet beter ghelesen is dan iii^m boecken. *inc*: O, suete Jhesus maect my dat ick niet en ben...

183r–190v, **Indulgenced Prayer to be read before an image of Saint Anne**, *rub*: Dit es een goet daghelijcs ghebet zeer oirbaerlijck ghelesen voir alle menschen, want die paus Sixtus die vierde ende meer andere pausen na hem vervolghende hebben verleent alle den gheenen, die dese navolghende ghebeden selen lesen devoetelijck met berouwe van haren sonden voir dat belde van onser liever vrouwen ende Anna hairder heiligher moeder by malcanderen staende inden raye vander [183v] sonnen lxxi dusent jaer aflaets ende xl daghen, alsoe menich werf als mense leest ter eeren van Jhesus ende Marien ende der heiligher vrouwen sint Anna. *inc*: O, werde heilighe drieluldicheit, gheloeft ende ghedantc moeti sijn dat ghy hebt gheschapen hemel ende aerde ende al dat dair in is besloten tot onsen behoef. O, suete minlijcke heere, gheloeft ende [184r] ghedantc moeti sijn dat ghij mij hebt gheschapen ende ghemaect dat ick niet en was ende alle des gheens dat mij behoefelijck is. O, werdighe heere gheloeft ende ghedantc moeti sijn dat ghij mij hebt ghecocht ende verlooft met uwen edelen bloede dat ick verloren was. Weest ghegruet alder scoenste ende suerste maget Maria ...

191r–191v, **Prayer for the sweet name of Jesus in the Sun**, *rub*: Sixtus die vierde paus heeft ghegeven allen menschen die dit ghebet lesen vor den sueten naem Jhesus inde sonne ghemaelt xi^m jar aflaets. *inc*: Weest ghegruet, o, goedertieren heere Jhesu Christe...

191v, **Prayer for the Virgin in the Sun**, *rub*: Dit navolgende gebet heeft gemaect papa Sixtus ende gheeft den genen diet devotelij ck leest vor onser liever vrouwen beelde inde sonne xi^m jaer aflaets. *inc*: Weest ghegruet, o, alderheylichste Maria...

Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (BKB)

2905–09

Prayer book in Middle Dutch and Latin

196 folios on parchment; 163 × 115 mm; apx. 18–22 lines

Copied c. 1400 by several hands, including that of the *Librarius* of the Rooklooster (fol. 1–106); see Biemans 1984.

Original owner: the Canons Regular of St. Paul (Augustines) in Oudergem bij Brussel (Rooklooster), (fol. 107: colophon: 'Dit boec es der broeders van sente Pauw in Zonien gheheten Ten Roeden Cloestere')

Miniatures/decoration: drawing in pen-and-ink depicting the Five Wounds of Christ

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. I, no. 836; Biemans 1984, no. 64; Oosterman 1995, vol. II, p. 330, no. 22; Stooker and Verbeij 1997, no. 1006; Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, no. 6; Kohl et al. 1976, vol. I, p. 115; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 15, pp. 9–15.

173v–174v: **Spiritual wine tavern.** *inc:* Die es ghebonden / Met swaren sonden / Ende los wilt wesen ...

3059

Prayerbook, with the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin and in Middle Dutch (with 2 supernatural texts in Latin)

96 folios on paper [fragment; begins in medias res]; 139 × 99 (94 × 74) mm; 13 lines

Copied in 1549 by Lijsbeth van Elderen (fols. 1r–90v, 95v, see Glorieux-De Gand et al. 1991, no. 846)

Location: Brussels, Convent of Canonesses Regular of St. Elisabeth (Prayers to 'St. Elisabeth our mother', and 'Augustine our Father')

Original owner: Lodowijca van Brigille, according to a colophon on 95v: 'Dit boeck heeft ghescreven suster Lijsbeth van Elderen int jaer ons heren MV^c ende XLIX, ter bede van suster Lodowijca van Brigille Donatinne gheproffessijt int clooster van sint Elyzabeth in den berch van Synay binnen Bruesel int jaer ons heren MV^c XLIX den XXV dach van Augustus op sint Lodowijcks dach. *Laus deo in sempiternum*. Om gods wil eenen *Ave Maria* voer diet ghescreven heeft'. Deaths notices on fol. 96: '*Die xi. Novembris. Anno dni Mcccc.lx.vij. Obyt dni Jacobi de Brigillis dni de chasteau militis. Et dne Helene de Hinckaert cius broris. Obyt anno dni Mcccc.lxxxvi die xxvi mey*'.

Miniatures/decoration: penwork; 1 painting on parchment (St. Catherine), for which see Rudy 2015; and 5 hand-colored prints, for which see Stock 2002, nrs. 071, 090, 094.

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. III, no. 2425; Stooker and Verbeij 1997, no. 249 and 792; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 11, pp. 9–12; Rudy 2015, p. 159–162.

91r–94v: **Prayer for 15 years to honor every drop of blood**, (change of hand). *rub:* Soe wie ter eeren ons heere Jhesu Christi ende sijns uutghestorten preciosen bloets dwelcke hij uut minnen voer menschelijcke gheslechte ghestort heeft. *inc:* Die eenen yghelijcken druppel eeren wilt die sal xv jaer lanc alle daghe lesen hondert *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria*. Oft enich ander ghebedeken ende ten eynde vanden xv jare sal hij elcke druppel ghegruet hebben met eenen *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* oft ghebedeken.

94v: **Anima Christi**, with an indulgence granted by Alexander VI, *rub:* Dit naevolghende ghebedeken salmen op elcke x gueten eens lesen ende mit desen ghebede verdientmen x^m jaer warachtighe aflaets alsment leest voer een crucifix ghegheven vanden paus Alexander die seste ter bede des conincks van Vranckrijcke. *inc:* O, lijden groot; O, wonden diepe; o, uutstortinghe des bloets, o suete sueticheit, o doot alder bitterst gheeft ons dat ewich leven eynde alle gheloevighe ziele die ewighe ruste. Amen.

4459–70 (Villers Miscellany)

Miscellany with devotional texts and saints' Lives, including Life of St. Aleyde de Schaerbeek (d. 1250), Willem van Mechelen's *Vita venerabilis Beatricis*, and Arnulf van Leuven's *Carmen de sancto cruce*, in Latin

261 folios on parchment; 166 × 131 mm; 2 columns; 22–25 lines

One codicological unit of this composite manuscript was made in 1320. According to the colophon added on fol. 1v, Brother John of Saint-Truiden commissioned the manuscript in 1320: 'Anno domini. MO.COCOCO.XXO. frater Johannes de sancto Trudone monachus Villariensis fecit hunc librum conscribi. dum constitutus fuit confessor in parco dominarum tempore domini Jacobi abbatis pro communi armario de elemosinis sibi largitis quam obrem precatur lecturos in eo quod dicere uelint anima eius cum animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum per dei misericordiam et per Jhesu Christi sanguinis aspercionem et per intercessionem beate Marie ac omnium sanctorum sanctarum que requiescant in pace amen'. See Masai and Wittek 1968, nrs. 34, A35, A53.

Codicological note: According to the records held at the BKB, this manuscript is a composite volume in 6 parts: I. fol. 2–158; II. fol. 159–166; III. fol. 167–180; IV. fol. 181–244; V. fol. 245–251; VI. fol. 252–261. I believe, however, that the manuscript is a composite volume in ten parts: I. 2–144v; II. ff. 145–152; III. fols. 153–158; IV. fols. 159–166; V. fols. 167–180 (where fol. 167r, fol. 167v, and fol. 180v are each written in a separate hand); VI. fols. 181r–207r; VII. fols. 207v–210v; VIII. fols. 211r–244v; IX. fols. 245–251; X. fols. 252–261. When it was first accessioned, it was apparently thought to have 12 parts, as the librarian then gave it 12 signatures (4459–70). Regardless of the number of booklets in the composite volume, all the parts were written by various contemporay hands in *littera textualis*.

Location: Sint-Truiden

Original owner: Cistercians of Saint Mary in Villers, according to a note of ownership on fol. 1v: 'Liber sancte Marie de Villari in Brabantia'

Miniatures/decoration: Booklet II (fol. ff. 145–152), which addresses the *arma Christi* and the wounds of Christ, is the only one that contains illustrations, which are drawings in ink depicting the *arma Christi*

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. v, no. 3161; Ampe (et al.) 1981, no. 6; Kohl et al. 1976, vol. 1, p. 145; Axters 1932; Axters 1950; Berliner 1955; Dogaer 1980; Gessler 1939; Oliver 1994; Reiffenberg 1846; Reiffenberg 1842.

150v: *Hail, wound prayer, with indulgence: rub: Quicumque hoc cotidie inspexerit in commemoratione passionis et armorum Jhesu Christi, habebit XL dies indulgentiarum, datas a Leone papa et ab eodem confirmatas.*

Salve plaga lateris nostri redemptoris,
Nam ex te fluxit unda rosei coloris
Et vera medicina totius doloris.

Salve plaga sacra salus peccatorum,
Tu es consolatio perfecta mestorum
Et vera refectio, via bonorum
Ac pacis fruitio portaque celorum.

Salve plaga recens semper et fecunda,
Emanabit ex te salutaris unda,

Per quam liberantur a morte secunda
Cuncti servientes tibi mente munda.

Ave plaga sancta, domus requiei,
Tu tutum refugium, anchora fidei,
Per te jam purgantur a crimine rei
Et intus ducentur in conspectu Dei. Amen.

O fons aque paradisi,
A quo quatuor divisi
Dulces fluunt rivuli

Per quem demones invisi
Sunt confracti et elisi
Et effecti tremuli.

Dulce vulnus laterale,
Inter fontes nullum tale
Nectar unquam poculi.

Ave, salve, gaude, vale,
Contra venenum letale
Medicina populi.

Around the large, red image of the wound:

Hec est mensura vulneris lateris Domini mei Jhesu Christi. Nemo dubitet, quia ipse apparuit cuidam et ostendit ei vulnera sua.

Then, in larger letters:

Lancea, crux, clavi, spine, mors quam toleravi—Ostendunt quam miserorum crimina lavi.

Below that, rubric:

Cetera penalia quaere post duo folia.

152va: **arma Christi indulgence and enumeration, continued:** Quicumque intuebitur haec arma Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, quibus nos redemit, de peccatis suis contritis, habebit tres annos a beato Petro Apostolo. Item, a triginta summis pontificibus a quodlibet centum dies. Item, a viginti octo episcopis a quolibet XL dies. Item, a domino Leone papa XL dies. Item, ab Innocencio papa, qui in quodam concilio erat, confirmans omnia predicta, superaddidit quatuor annos et ducentos dies indulgentie. Item, a Veronica XL dies. Item, qui cotidie devota mente inspexerit, nonquam mala morte peribit. Item, mulieribus in partu laborantibus prestat optimum remedium.

Summa annorum indulgentiarum de veneratione armorum passionis Jhesu Christi, trecentis sexaginta quinque diebus pro anno computatis, extendit se per unum diem ad XVIII annos et dimidium cum tribus diebus. Item, per ebdomadam centum et XIX annos cum dimidio. Item, per mensem quingentos XVIII annos cum duodecim septimanis. Item, per annum sex milia septingenti quinquaginta anni cum dimidio et tribus diebus. Sex sexaginta sexcentaque milia quinque vulnera, que vere nostras lues expiavere.

152va: Notandum: quicumque quolibet die quindecies dixerit *Pater noster* per annum, unicuique vulneri unum solum dicet *Pater noster*.

[The images have the following inscriptions:]

Manus dans alapas

Triginta argentei

Lantern

Gladii et fustes

Lingula Jude

Facula

Vestis alba

Vestis purpurea

Tunica inconsutilis

Cutellus circumcisionis

Dyadema

Arundo

Missio sortis

Vulnera cordis vides

Trusio pedum

Virge

Pedes sanguinei

Conculcaverunt me inimici mei

Notandum: Christus fertur fecisse mille passus ferens crucem et in quolibet vestigio passuum effudit sanguinem.

4919

Prayerbook and Meditations on the Passion, including Suso's Hundred Articles

182 folios on parchment; 120 × 85 (73 × 50) mm; 18 lines

Copied c. 1450–1500 by a single hand in *littera textualis*

Binding: medieval, with stamped leather over boards.

Location: Comes from the St. Elisabeth convent in Grootebroek (tertiaries, North Holland), as a note on fol. 182r indicates: 'dit boec hoert in ...e broec in sinte Elisabeths conuent', which was later covered with a woodcut print. A note from the nineteenth century on fol. 1 indicates 'Ex Bibliotheca Patrum Discalceatorum seminarii Missionum'.

Original owner: Probably a nun from the St. Elisabeth convent in Grootebroek, given the selection of texts, including that on fol. 178v–181v, an invitation to 'my sister' on Good Friday to come to the Mount of Calvary (O mijn alre liefste suster Ic noede u uut godliker mynnen te comen opten gueden vridach opten berch van Calvarien ...)

Miniatures/decoration: 1 hand-painted woodcut print representing Christ Carrying the Cross, on paper, glued to fol. 182r, for which see Stock 2002, no. 021.

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. 1, cat. 838, p. 535; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 1, p. 21; Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, pp. 34–39, no. 12; Paquay 1933; Axters 1938; Baaij 1962, Hs. C; Marrow 1979, p. 245, no. 212; Leloux 1987; Deschamps 1989; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 1, pp. 19–21; Rudy 2015, pp. 130–131.

47v–59v, **Prayer to the Body Parts of Christ**, *rub*: Hier nae volghet een ynnich ghebet dat sinte Barnaert ghemaect hevet om mede te be^[48r]screyen [sic] ons heren passie. Ende men seit hoe in eenre tijt sinte Barnaert dit ghebet las voer den cruce, ende het wart ghesien hoe dattet vanden cruce hem lossede ende gaf hem neder ende omhelsede sinte Barnaert; ende is van den stole van Rome mit schonen oflaten begavet

ende ghestadighet, alsment leset mit weerdigher devocien, drie dusent jaer ende drehondert jaer ende LXX jaer ende LXX jaer [sic] ende LXX daghen. *Inc.* Ghegruet sijstu mijn salicheit o, du lieve here Jhesu Criste, wes ghegruet ende wil mi bequame maken te beden tot dinen cruce wanttu weetste wel [48v] waer om ic dit begheer...

4944–47

Prayer book with added prayers in French microscript (166r–190v)

191 folios on paper; 143 × 105 mm; 19–23 lines

Copied c. 1500 by several hands (terminus post quem 1446, the date of canonization of St. Nicolas de Tolentino) in the Netherlands

Original owner: unknown; was owned by the Carmelites in Mechelen in the seventeenth century, who added Carmelite saints to the calendar (including St. Berthold, St. Cyrille, St. Albert of Sicily, St. Thierry Algmanni)

Decoration: penwork initials

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. 1, no. 853; Ampe 1963; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 14, pp. 15–19.

71r–75v, **Prayer to the body parts of Christ, based on the days of the week (translation of Arnulf van Leuven: *Salve meum salutare*)**, *rub*: Hier beghint een ynnich ghebeth dat ghemact heeft sinte Beernaert om te bescreynene [sic] die passie ons heren. Men seyt, dat hij eens dit ghebet las, doen wert ghesien dat hem dat cruyce neder neyghde vande cruyce ende omhelsde hem. Ende vanden stoele van Rome eest mit schoenen aflaet begaeft diet ynnichlijc leest twee M jaer LXXIII ende LXXI daghen. *inc*: Weest ghegruet mijn zalicheyt, o lieve heer, Jhesu, weest ghegruet ende wilt my bequaem maecken te aenbeden tot dijn cruyce... *rub*: Des sondaechs tot Jhesus voeten... Des maendaechs tot Jhesus knyen... [72r] Des dijsendaechs tot Jhesus zijde... [72v] Des goensdaechs [sic] tot Jhesus borst... [73r] Des donderdaechs tot Jhesus herte... [74r] Des vridaechs totten handen Jhesus... [75r] Des saterdaechs totten aenschijn Jhesu... [75v] *Item*. Bot des voerseydens ghebets totten crucifixe.

11059

Book of hours, with calendar for Utrecht and extra prayers in Middle Dutch and Latin

218 folios on parchment; 132 × 95 (77 × 54) mm; 17 lines

Copied c. 1475–90, but definitely after 1455, as there is a mention of Pope Callistus III; Pope Clement VII mentioned on fol. 18v must refer to the antipope. Made in Arnhem (to judge by the decoration).

Early owner: Pelle Staeckebrans, according to a note of ownership from the sixteenth (?) century on fol. 2r: 'Dyt boeck hoert toe Pelle Staeckebrans. We dyt fynt dye gyfset hoer weder umme goedes wylle'.

Miniatures/decoration: painted and gilt marginal decoration; hand-painted prints, glued into the manuscript, with painted and gilt borders.

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. 1, no. 785; Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, no. 13; Axters 1946; Stock 2002, nrs. 196–202; and Weekes 2004, pp. 234–238, cat. 7; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 5, pp. 9–14

18r–19r, The Five Gregorian Verses, with a postscript rubric

1. O, Here Jhesu Christe, ic aenbede u aenden cruce hangende ende een doernen croen op uwen hoofde dragende, ende bid u, dat u cruce mi behuede voerden slaenden engel. Amen. *Pater noster*.
2. O, Here Jhesu Christe, ic aenbede u aenden cruce gewont, mit gallen ende mit edick gelaeft. Ic bid u dat dijn wonden sijn een salve mijnre sielen. Amen. *Pater noster*.

3. O, Here Jhesu Christe, ic aenbede u inden grave liggende ende mit edelre salven gesalvet. Ic bid u, dat u doot moet sijn mijn leven. Amen. *Pater noster*. [18v]
 4. O, Here Jhesu Christe, guede hirde, behuede den rechtveerdigen, den sunder maect rechtverdich, allen gelovigen weest barmhertich ende mi, sunder, genadich. Amen. *Pater noster*.
 5. O, Here Jhesu Christe, ic bid u om die bitterheit dijns lidens, dattu ledes aenden cruce ende alre meest doe u alre edelste siel vanden lichaem verscheide, weest barmhertich mijnre sielen, als si verscheiden sal.
- [18v] *rub*: Pauwes Gregorius hevet gegeven allen den genen die mit gebogeden knyen ende mit berou ende biechten in tegenwoerdicheit der [19r] passien ende wonden ons lieven heren Jhesu Christi devotelick lesen dese vijf voerscreven gebedekens mit vijf *Pater noster* ende mit vijf *Ave Maria* XIII duseut jaer aflaets. Pauwes Innocencius die vierde ende pauwes Clemens die sevende hebben dit confirmiert ende daer toe gegeven dattet te samen beloept XX^m jaer XIII jaer ende XXIII dage. Pauwes Nycolaus die vijfte heeft dit oec confirmiert inden jaer MCCCC ende XLIX, des gelijcks heeft oec gedaen pauwes Calixtus die derde inden jaer MCCCC ende LVI.

143v–145, **Prayers for approaching, entering, and sitting in Church**, *rub*: Dit salstu lesen alstu toe kerken wilt gaen, ende sunderlinge toe missen, soe suldi spreken devotelick. *inc*: Weest gegruet, stad gades, di ende mi moet gebenedien die heilige drievoldicheit. Alle die heiligen die daer sijn in di die moeten bidden god voer mi ende al gelovigen levendigen ende doden. Amen. *rub*: Dit salstu lesen als ghi in die kerke siet van voers[creven]. [144r] *inc*: O, heer, ic gae in dinen huse ende sael onder dinen anxt in dinen heiligen tempel di te aenbeden seinde dinen engel mi te helpen ende beschirmt mi van allen ydelen gedachten. Amen. *rub*: Dit suldi lesen als ghi wye water neemt. Dit gebenedide water ons heren vijf wonden dat si mi een volcomen vergiffenisse van alle minen sunden. Amen. *rub*: Dit suldi lesen als ghi in die kerck sit ende grueten onsen lieven heer daer mede. *inc*: God gruet u lieve heer Jhesu Christe een woert des vaders een soen der maget...

217v–218r, **Prayer to be said in a churchyard**, *rub*: Dit navolgende gebet salmen lesen in tegenwoerdicheit der doden ende oeck op den kerchof ende die pauwes Innocencius hevet tot desen gebede gegeven drie jare aflaets in verlatenisse hoerre ingesetter penitencien. *inc*: Weest gegruet alle ghi gelovige sielen welker lichame hier ... rusten...

1171

Prayers and texts by Eckbert van Schoenau, Thomas a Kempis, and others

192 folios on parchment; 147 × 103 mm; 22 lines

Copied c. 1475 by a single scribe writing in a very neat *libraria*. Made in the Netherlands, possibly North Holland; the penwork decoration is very close to that in BKB 12081, which can be localized to Enkhuizen.

Miniatures/decoration: red/blue penwork

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. I no. 839; Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, no. 14; Meertens 1946; Ampe 1964.

34v–37v: **Excerpt in Middle Dutch from Thomas a Kempis's *Orationes et meditationes de vita Christi***. *rub*: Totten leden onse heren een ghebet ende eert totten voeten xp. O duer schone voete mijns gheminde heren Ihesu Christi weest ghegruet die van vele gaens dicwile ghemoet hebben gheweest ende van hetten ende van [35r] colden ende van oneffenheit der wegghen ghepinicht ende dicke bestoven ende beslicket waren. Ende in der tijt der crusinghe te gader doer steken mitten inslaen eens alte harden

groten plumpen yseren naghels. Ende uut gavet overvloedelike dat preciose bloet. Ic aenbede u weerdelike ende cusse u ynnichlike ende bidde verghiffenisse van alle dien dat ic gaen de of staende ye ghesondicht hebbe.

153v–164r: **Prayers to the body parts of the Virgin, with a prologue.** 153v: *rub:* **An onser liever sueter vrouwen ghebet.** *inc:* God gruet u Maria vol ghenaden, die here is mit di. Ghebenedijt bistu onder allen wiven ende ghebenedijt is die vrucht dijns bukes, Jhesus Christus, dien ghi o suete moeder soe weerdelike ontfenghen in uwen joncfroulik-en lichaem [154r] ende mit soe groter vrouden ghebaerdeste. O, vriendelike oghen, die dat suete kijndeken eerst bescouweden. O, guedertieren oren, die daer hoerdeste dat wenen des lieven kijnts. O, heilighe herte, dat soe wonderlic verblijft wort doe ghi den coninc der glorien als een cleyne kijndeken voer u saghet liggen. O, honichvloierende suete lippen, die Jhesus ierst aenbeden ende menichwerve soe vriendelike ghecusset hebben. O, suete armen, dien Jhesum soe suetelic ontfenghen. O, maechdelike handen, die dat heilighe kijnt soe weerdelike te dienste waren. O, joncferlike suete borsten, die den sone godes ghevoedet hebben. O, gebenedide voete, die Jhesus altijt bereit waren te dienen. O, gloriose joncferlike lichaem, daer die schepper hemelrijcs ende eertrikes ix maenden in rustede. O, minlike suete moeder, hoe lieflike lach dat suete kijnt in uwen armen di vrien[154v]delic ansiende ende ghi hem weder. Ende dine suete wanghen mit begheerten an hem vriendelike ghedruct, want nye en quam soe sueten lieven kijnt op eertrike noch soe lieven moeder. O, guedertierne moeder, versoent ons arme wesen mit dat suete cleyne kijndekijn, want hi sulken lieven moeder niet weygheren en mach. Daer om, o, alre moederen moeder, wil u verweerdighen mi moederlic in uwer hoeden te nemen in allen tijden. Ende sonderlinghe in die ure mijns dodes, soe wilt mi, lieve moeder, ontfanghen in uwen armen vriendelike daer die sone godes soe lieflick in ghelegghen heeft die daer leefste in vrouden mit dinen lieven kijnde. Amen. **Dat is prologus hoe men gueten sal alle die lede onser liever vrouwen.**

Dit is Een gruetinghe tot allen den leden der glorioser maghet die in schoenheiden ende sueticheiden overclaer [155r] blenckende sijn, welke schone suete lede sijn elx bi sonder daghelix te loven, ende te benedien, ende te gueten mitter enghelscher grueten, ende mit gheboghen knyen. Ende also si segghen dies besocht sijn ende tughent dat heilighe manne dat ghehoert hebben, datmen ghene maniere van dienste vinden mach, die onser vrouwen soe behaechlic is, ende daer soe grote devoecie uut vloyet als dese is. Ende daer sin alte samen xxvi gueten te samen gheset om te verwecken die herten der goddienstigher menschen. Soe sal dan een devoet dienst knecht of deerne der sueter moeder ende der coninghinnen hemelrijcs ende eertrikes segghen, dat hier nae volghet.

An onser liever vrouwen. O, weerdighe moeder des ewighen godes ende des almachtighen conincs, nu gheweerdighe di te ontfanen die dienste dijns onweerdighen **dienres** ende den lof uut minen onreynen monde, dien ic [155v] te love dijns heilighen sueten names begheer te offeren mit ynnigher herten dijnre heiligher onbevleeter maghedelicheit. Ende o, mijn alre suetste vrouwe, om dattu die alre oetmoedichste biste, soe en wil dijn minlike ende graciose ansichte van mi, dinen armen dienre, niet kieren, mer wilt mijns ongevallighen sondighe mensche, die voer die doer dijnre ontfermherticheit cloppe, ende oec alte gheerne ghehoechnisse ende ghedenckenisse hebben inden hemel die dijnre ghedencken inder eerden. Amen. *Ave Maria. Weest ghegruet, Maria vol gracen ende ghenaden.* Sekerlic wel vol ende ghebenedijt wies volheit der gracen ende benedictien hevet wonderlic verdreven dat weeder ouder maledictien waerlike wel vol, want mit ghenoechliker onderscheit van gracen bistu rikelic vervult an alle dinen heilighen leiden. *Die here is mit di.* Hi is mitti in dinen lichaem, in dinen [156r] scoet ende

inden sueten omme helsen. Ende hi is mitti in der herten. Die here is mitti inder glorien ende mitti in dat ewighe gheselschap. Ende evermits di soe moete die here mit ons sijn beide hier ende in dat toecomende leven. *Ende daer om bistu oec boven allen vrouwen ghebenedijt*, ende du biste van allen ghelovighen zielen altoes te loven ende tot alre tijt te benedien. Alte male bistu suverlic, alte male suete, alte male begheerlic boven al minlic, alte male gracioes ende ghenoechlick, alte male salich ende ghebenedijt, ende van allen herten ende monden te loven ende te benedien nu ende to alre tijt.

Totten glorosen houede. Ghebenedijt soe moet sijn dijn alre glorioste hoves mitter cronen der overster keiserlicker werdicheit over alle die werlt in tijt ende in ewicheit ghecroent in een teiken dattu biste een keyserinne van hemelrijck ende van eertrike. Ende oec gheciert [156v] wonderlic mitter oversuveliker cronen der maechden boven allen heilighen maechden, welkes schone hoves du, anbedende die ghebenedide vrucht dijns maghedeliken lichaems, ende oetmoedich boven alle creatueren, soe weerdelick ende soe menich warf op hem, soe verwendelic hebste gheneighet ende doerwondet van sijnre minnen strale, soe ghenoechlic ende suetelick mit dinen maechdeliken hoofde op sine godlike hoves gheruust hebste. O, salighe moeder ende maghet, dijn gloriöse hoves in gheestliker wisen was als claer blenckende golt ende dat haer van dinen hoofde was ghelijc sonnen raden, want die alre suverste maechdelike reynicheit die in di was als een hoves alre doechden ende die puerheit teghen alle onghoorlofde becornighen behaechde gode in di ende schenen mit oetmoedicheit overclaer voer sijn anschijn. Dijn voerhoves was [157r] wit sonder ghelijc, beteikende die cuuscheit ende die scamelheit dijns consciencien daer volheit in was der menscheliker consten, ende daer die sueticheit der godliker wijsheit boven al in scheen.

Totten ansichte. Ghebenedijt moet sijn dijn oversuvelike ansichte, dat hemel ende eerde vervult mit vrouden ende mit blijscappen, dat also menichwerpe den cleynen Jhesum, dine liefliken sueten soen, onsen vreesamighen coninc mit gracioser ghenoechliker vrolicheit ghetoghen hebste.

Totten oghen. Ghebenedijt moten sijn dijn overclaer oghen, mit welken du hem, die waerachtighe sonne der gherechticheit, die daer schulde onder die wolken des vleisches, ende sijns godliken lichaems overschone lusteliken suverlicheit, hoe naerre, hoe claerre hebste boven allen creatueren angestaert, [157v] ende sijn oversuete heymelicheiden hebste verdient te scouwen voer allen heilighen. O, suete Maria, dijn oghen waren voer des hemelschen vaders anschijn soe claer, dat hi daer in sien wolde, want in dijn gheestelike ghesichte ende in dat verstant dijns zielen, soe doer sach hi alle dinen willen ende dattu anders niet en begheerdes dan dat was nae dinen willen.

Totten oren. Ghebenedijt moet sijn dijn overheiliche oren, doer welken du ontfanghen hebste den dienste der engelscher groute. Ende daer nae overmits den ghelove ende medewerken des heilighen gheestes wonderlike ontfanghen hebste den sone godes in dinen maechdeliken lichaem, ende waer mede du oec wtten monde des ghebenediden Jhesum, die honichvloyende woerde des levens, om die in dijnre herten te sluten, ende inden werken te bewisen, soe menichwerpe hebste verdient te ontfanghen ende te horen. O, alre suetste Maria, [158r] dijn oren waren sonderlinghe reyne ende op ghedaen als sonderlinghe vensteren, doe Gabriel di godes wille ver-toende ende god in di onse menscheit an nam.

Totten wanghen. Ghebenedijt moeten sijn dijn oversuvelike wanghen, ghelijc der duven overbetoghen mit lusteliker roetheit der maechdeliker scamelheit, die du also menichwerf toevoghende anghedrucket hebste, den wanghen ende den kenebacken des te deren ende oversueten Jhesu, dijns liefliken kintdes. O, suete Maria, dijn

suete wanghen waren vander alre bester verwen wit ende roet, want dat gheruchte ende roke dijnre liefliker werke ende die schone bequaemheit dijnre seden, daer du mede begavet waerste, waren den hemelschen seer bequaem. Ende vander cierheit dijnre schoenre seden wort hi verblijt. Ende nye en keerde hi sijn godlike oghen van di. Ende van dine liefde ende caritate [158v] hebben alle godes vriende minne ghewonnen ende verworven.

Totter noese. Ghebenedijt moet wesen die schone wit blenckende nose mit gheenre scadeliker oft ghebreckeliker roeke bevanghen of bevlect. Ende ghebenedijt moeten sijn die seer welrukende gaten dijnre noesen, waer mede du verdient hebste te ghevoelen die suete ende welrukende roke der menscheit dijns sueten lieven soens, van wies roke der predicacien alle die werlt ghetoghen wort totten ghelove. Ende die doet sijn vander dwalinghen der onghelove werden weder levendich totten leven.

Totten monde. Ghebenedijt moet sijn dijn overheilghe mont vervult mit alre wijsheit ende daer toe mit sinen sueten roke. Ende ghebenedijt soe si dijn honich vloyende suete tonghe, waermede du mit den ewighen woerde dat den vader [159r] inder godheit ghelijc, ende mede ewich is, ende dat uut di mensche gheworden is soe ghenoechlic woerde, ende oversuete mede sprake soe lustelic, ende soe menichwerf ghehadt hebste. O, Maria, dijn mont was een lampe van binnen barnende ende lichtende van buten, want dijn woerde ende die begheerten dijnre sielen waren inrelic bornende van godlike verstandnisse ende buten claer schinende wt die bequamelike loeflike tamelicheit dijnre schoenre seden ende wtter schoenre overdracht dijnre heiligher duechden. O, waerde vrouwe, dat suete woert dijns monts toech den godes sone in di. Ende die brant der godeliker sueticheit ende dede di nye van gode scheiden want die woerde dijns maechdeliken mondes waren suete boven honich ende honich roeten.

Totten lippen. Ghebenedijt moeten sijn dijn alre heilichste lippen, waermede du dinen sueten sone Jhesum soe minlic ende soe suete menich[159v]werf ghecusset hebste. Ende also dicke op gheloken hebste mit devoter ynnigher jubilatien inden love ende glorien onses beholders.

Totten tanden. Ghebenedijt moeten sijn dijn oversuete blenckende suerlike witte tande, ghelijck den snee waer mede du dinen sueten sone sukenden Jhesum, den tederen godes sone soe dicke sijn voetsel hebste bereyt ende ghemaect.

Totter kelen. Ghebenedijt moet sijn dijn over suete kele, van wies suetludende suete sanghe du soe menichwerf uut ghegheven hebste, die binnenste blijscap dijns herten sonderlinghe solaes dijns eengeboren soens. Ende mede du oec suetelike singhende soe dicke dedeste dinen cleyen jonghen sone Jhesum Christum swighen als hi plach te screyen nae maniere der kinderen.

Totten hals. Ghebenedijt moet sijn dijn overblenckende hals, welc du [160r] mit oetmoedigher reverencien ende eer weerdicheit also menichwerf gheneyghet ende gheboghen hebste voer dinen gheminden sone, die enighe des ewighen vaders. Ende waer du oec dijn suete kijnt Jhesum, onser alre heil ende salicheit, overmits dijn oversuete ommehelsen soe dicke hebste an di ghetoghen. O, Maria, dijn suete hals was recht, edelic ende suerlic verheven gheestelic te spreken, want die gherechticheit dijnre zielen was tot God ghekiert. Ende na sinen wille beruerlic ende nye en was sie gheneyghet tot enich quaet der houer dien. Want ghelikerwijs als die hals hem weynt ende neyght mitten hoefde, also wort al dijn meninghe ende dijn werck gheboecht ende gheneicht nae sinen willen.

Totten scolderen. Ghebenedijt moeten sijn dijn overheilghe scolderen gheset ende gheschicket mit alre eersamheit [160v] der seden, waermede du dinen liefliken sone, Jhesum, onsen heren, die alle dinc mit sinen woerde vermach regiert ende

ontholt, soe blidelic ende soe menich werf ghedragen hebste. [!!] Ende ghebenedijt moet oec sijn den schonen behaechliken rugge dien du mitten selven ghebenediden scolderen om te dienen den coninc der coninghen, die here der heren, dinen sueten sone also bereit dicwile gheboden hebste.

Totte armen. Ghebenedijt moeten sijn dijn ghebenedide armen waermede du dinen sueten tederen sone Jhesum een so ghe-naem ende bequame berri [=dragen] ghemaket hebste. Ende waer mede du oec die sueticheit des omhelsens soe moederlike, soe dicke bewiset hebste. O, suete Maria, moeder ende maghet, dijn armen waren schone overmits ghewarighe ghehoersamheit ende lidinghe des arbeids. Ende daer om hebben dijn lieflike armen die menscheit Christi dijns kijndes ghedraghen ende onder dijn [161r] armen hevet hi gherust mit sijnre godheit.

Totten handen. Ghebenedijt moeten sijn dijn alre suerste handen, mit welken du den meyster der reynicheit dinen ghebenediden sone nae eysche dijnre moederliker sorchvoldicheit, soe menich werf sorchvoldelick ende devoetelic angetastet hebste, ende suetelike ghehandelt ende mit moederliker begheerten bewesen hebste enen sueteliken dienste.

Totten heilighen borsten. Ghebenedijt moeten sijn dijn alre puerste borsten waer mede du den ghebenediden Jhesus dijn suete lieflike kijnt die met en hadde daer hi sijn hovet op neyghen mochte een suete leve soe dicke bereit hebste. O, maechdelike moeder, dijn heilighe borst was vol sueticheiden alre doecheden also dat gheen guet in gode en was dattu niet en togheste in di, want overmits die sueticheit dijnre seden, soe hebstu alle guet in di ghetoghen [161v] doer der hogher godheit behaghede te comen, in di ende mensche te werden, in di ende melc te drincken uut dinen maechdeliken borsten.

Totten borsten. Ghebenedijt moeten sijn dijn suver maechdelike, vruchtbaer borsten waer mede du den ghenen overmits wien dic den voghelkijn gheen ghebreck en hebben mit dijnre maechdeliker oversueteliker melc dijcwile soe suetelike ende ghenoechlic hebste sughen ghegeven.

Totter herten. Ghebenedijt moet sijn dijn alre goddienstichste harte daer du mede soe sorchvoldelike ende soe wackerlic en waer naemste. Hoe du dijn suete lieflike kijnt Jhesum in sijnre noetdrifticheit dienen mochtste, ende waer mede dijn ghelove in hem vast was dijn compassie [sic] ende medeliden tot hem groet was ende hem also barnentlike [sic] mindeste.

Totten buuck. Ghebenedijt moet sijn dijn suvere maechdelike buuc, [162r] een elpenbeenen throne des waerachtigen Salomons dat is Jhesus Christus dijns weerden soens, waer in du neghen maenden lanc in droeghes ende besloten hieldeste den ghenen die hemel ende eerde ende alle dinck ontholt. O, suete Maria, dijn buuc was suver ende reyne als elpenbeen ende was oec als een schone stat die van costeliken ghesteenten overclaer blenckende ende schinende is, want die volstandicheit dijnre conscientien ende dijns gheloven en verslapte nye ende in ghenen liden en mocht sie ghebreken. Die gheestelike wande van desen buuck, dat is dijns gheloves, dat was als bijen bleckende golt, in welken wanden te verstaen is, die stercheit dijnre doecheden, dijn wijsheit, dijn gherechticheit, dijn soberheit ende dijn volmaecte volstandicheit, want alle dine doecheden waren volbrocht inder godliker liefden ende caritaten.

Totten inghewaenden. Ghebenedijt moeten sijn dijn oversalighe ende [162v] overheilighe inghewaeden in welken du die schone is van formen voer die sonen der menschen, die heilich der heilighen, hem den sonen godes alre salichlicste omme schinende ende medewerkende den heilighen gheest uut dinen alren puersten bloede mit alre reynicheit ende cuuscheit hebste ontfanghen ende ghevoet. Ende als een sterre hore radien uut ghevet sonder enich breken ende verdervinghe dijns

maechdoms ende sonder enich wee ende seerricheit onsprekelic ende onbegripelic hebstu ghebaert, o suete moeder ende maghet.

Tot ten benen. Ghebenedijt moten sijn dijn overheilighen salighe joncfrouwelike bene, waer mede du den coninc der hemelen ende here der eerden ende des meers een edel ende een eerwaardighen stoel ende throne soe ghenoechlic hebste gemaect om te sitten.

Totten knyen. Ghebenedijt moeten sijn dijn alre edelste knyen, die du voer den ghebene[163r]diden sone godes, den ghebenediden vrucht dijns lichaems, die sueticheit alre sueticheit, om hem an te beden, om hem om te helsen ende te cussen ende oec weerdlike te dien soe menichwerf gheboghen hebste.

Totten schenen. Ghebenedijt moeten sijn dijn overheilighen schene, die in godes tempel als columpne van mormur steene waren gheset, waer mede du den tabernakel die mit ghenen handen ghemaket was, als dijn kijnt Jhesum onthouden hebste ende sterckelic ghevestet.

Totten voeten. Ghebenedijt moeten sijn dijn overschone voete, waermede du hem den ghewaerighen Salomon, dat is dijn lieflike kijnt, dicwile soe dienstelick hebste bi ghestaen ende hem mit puerre minnen naevolgende doer menighen steden die selve heilighe voete willichlike ende gheerne vermoeyt hebste.

Totten lichaem. Ghebenedijt moet sijn dijn maechdelike lichaem, dat voert gebracht [163v] hevet die mandel des godliken bloyens, dat overmits dijnre maechdeliker suverheit heeft gheweest een gulden throne ende een lene [sic] des ewighen hoghen ende almachtighen conincs hemelrijcs ende eertrikes, welke maechdelike lichaem du onder dat juck der ghehoersamheit in Jhesus dijns godliken kijndes, om hem te dienen an sinen heilighen lichaem mit alre eerwerdicheit gheheelick ghegheven hebste ende bewijst.

Totter sielen. Ghebenedijt moet sijn dijn alre ghebenedijste ende heilichste ziele, overvol van allen gracen ende doechden ende een paradijs van allen weelden die uutghenomen die stadelike moederlike sorchvoldicheit, ende der bornen der minnen overvloedicheit ten laetsten inder stonde, doe die alre suetste Jhesus, dijn lieve sone, anden cruce starf van alte groten mededoghen mede starf ende wort doer-steken mitten sweerde des bitteren rouwen ende bitteren hertseers. [164r] Ende daerom bistu ghebenedijt onder die wiven ymmer sekerlic boven allen wiven ende meer ghebenedijt dan alle wiven ende alle creatueren der werlt, die aldus hem allen boven gaeste in soe vele sonderlingher gracen, vordelen ende ghenaden, ende die die hemelsche vader ghebenedijt hevet in ewicheit.

Et Jhesum. Ende ghebenedijt is die vrucht dijns bukes, dien du tot onser behoef, tot onsen gheesteliken eten, tot onser salicheit, verlossinghe ende glorificieringhe hebste ghebaert Jhesus Christus, dinen sone, wien mitten vader ende mitten heilighen gheest sy glorie ende eer altoes. Ende di, o suete coninghinne der guedertierenheit ende der ghenaden, moet sijn blijscap ende lof van ewen to ewen. Amen.

11231–36

Franciscan Prayerbook in Middle Dutch and some Latin

399 folios on paper; 137 × 95 (95–105 × 65–75) mm; 18–22 lines

Made c. 1520–1530 (to judge by the watermark, Briquet no. 8159, c. 1520–25)

Copied by several hands, probably in Maastricht

Binding: 16th-century panel-stamped binding, with repeated image depicting Christ on the cross between Mary and John and a image-wide INRI inscription; the image is 18 × 34 mm and is repeated 10 times on the front of the binding, along with two impressions of another stamp of the same size depicting Christ's resurrection; the entire program is repeated with slight variation on the back of the binding. Clasps are missing

Original owner: Probably made by and for the women Tertiaries of Maagdendriesch, dedicated to Sts. Andreas & Barbara, in Maastricht (a sermon preached there on 17 September 1476 is copied on fol. 75r–82v), along with a reference to ‘our patron St. Francis’ (Vanden berch van Alveernen daer ons eerwerdige heilige vader sancte Franciscus dicwijle plach te beden ende die wonden ontfinck, fol. 75r).

Decoration: red and blue initials; one hand-colored print (Christ as Good Shepherd, 193v)

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. 1, no. 840; Vooys 1904; Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, no. 17; Gessler 1939; Stooker and Verbeij 1997, no. 892.

132r–137r: *rub*: Soe wie inder eren des lijdens ons lieven heren Jhesus Christus dit gebet leest dat die enghel bracht den paus sunte Silvester, voer die figuer der martelien ons heren Jhesu Christi, die verdient x^m jaer aflaets. Ende daer toe waert hem weder vanden enghel ghecundicht dattet soude wesen *pena culpa*. Dat is van pijnen ende van schout. Ende wie dit ghebet leest mit ynnicheit sijns herten des vridaechs op sijnen knyen voer die martelie ons heren, die verdient dit aflaet van pijnen van schout. Leest een *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* op elck *Pater noster*. *inc*: O, alre mijnlicste heer Jhesu Cristi, ic danck dy ende bid di doer dijn alre onbegrijpelijcste goedertierenheit dattu ons gheveste te verstaen...

175r–182r, St. Bernaerd's Prayer, about Embracing the Crucified Christ, *rub*: Men leest van sante Bernaert, die dit gebeth dat hier na volghet gemaect heeft, dat tot eenre tijt doen hi voer den heiligen cruce lach, gesien waert van enen heiligen mensche die van veers stont, dattet beelt hem seelven [sic] vanden cruce losten ende sanct Bernaert suetelijc omhelsede. Ende men vint bescreven dattet gheconformeert wort vanden stoel van Romen. Ende die gheen diet leesen devoetelijc mit berouwenisse hoerre sunden ende met meedeliden ons heren lijden, die verdienen twee M jaer drie C jaer en LXX daghen aflaets. *gebet*. [175v] *inc*. Ghegruet so sijstu mijn salicheit, O, du lieve heer Jhesus Christus, weest ghegruet. Ende wilt mij bequaem maken...

192r–196v, Prayer for Christ's body parts, while looking at his image, *rub*: Soe wie dit navolgende gebeth leest mit devocien en [sic] ynnicheit ter eren des lijdens ons heren ende ter eren onser liever vrouwen xv dage achter een, die sal verhoert werden wat saken hi bidt, die salich zijn hoe si zijn. Ende men begint aldus: die mensche sal hem selven setten teghen een crucifix mit inwendigen begheerten en versuchten des herten totter bermherticheit gods. Ende slaen sijn ogen op die ogen des beeldes Christi ende lesen desen navolghende salm, den III inden souter. *Inc*. H [read O], Heer wat sijn si ghemeenich voldicht die my pijnen weel staender teghen my op... [193v: hand-colored engraving, depicting Christ as the Good Shepherd] [194r] *rub*: Dan leestmen *Pater noster*. Ende mit geneichden hoofde spreect den voerscreven psalm ‘Heer wat sijn si’ ende dan slaet u oghen op dat hoeft Christi ende leest dese oracio. *inc*: O, du hoeft der ontfermenissen, die om ons neder comen biste inder maget Maria lichaem, ende aenden hout des ghebenediden cruce genaghelt hebste geweest mit plompen naghelen, ende dijn cleeder ghedeilt mitten lote... [194v] *rub*: En nu leest een *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* ende den voerscreven psalm ‘Heer wat, etc’, dan slaet u ogen op die borst Christi ende leest dese navolghende oracie devoetelicken. *inc*: O, heer Jhesus Christus, overmits dijn heilighe godtelike borst, daer sante Johannes ewangelista op rusten inden [195r] avontmael... *rub*: Nu leest *Pater noster* ende den voerscreven psalm ‘Heer wat sijn si, etc’, ende dan siet aen den rechteren arme des cruijc[e]s ons heren ende leest dese navolghende oracie. *inc*: O, heer, Jhesu Christi, overmits dijnen rechteren arme ende hant, daer ten jo[n]xten daghe onder vergaderen sullen allen dijn uutvercoren ende horen sullen dijn stemme spre[195v]kende ‘Coemt, ghebenedide,

besittet dat rijck mijns vaders...' *rub*: Nu leest *Pater noster* ende den voerscreven psalm item, dan siet aen ons heren luchteren arme ende leest dese navolghende oracien. *inc*: O, heer Jhesu Christi, overmits dijn lichterhant ende arme, ende biden drien namen [196r] die du haddes eer du gheboren wordest, hoer mi heer, hoert mij... *rub*: Nu leest *Pater noster* dan siet aen dat aensicht ons heren ende leest desen navolgenden psalm al uut ter eeren Jhesu Christi psalm. *inc*: God wilt dencken in mijn hulpe heer tot mij te hulpen haest, sij moeten weer den confuijs ende beanxt die min ziel sueken, etc. [196v] *rub*: Item, dan sich aen die voeten ons heren ende sijn lichaem ende leest dese oracie gebet. *inc*: O, heer Jhesu Christi, overmits dijn heilige lichaem ende dijn heilige voeten daer du mede ghincste voer die doere des paradijs, hoert mij, hoert mi, hoert mi... Amen. Item. Nu leest *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* ende leest *Salve regina* al uut mitter Collecten *Deo laus*.

337v: **Prayer for the Length of Jesus**, *inc*: Soe wie mit oetmoedicheit knyelende mit devocien leest een *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* voer die lengde ons liefs heren Jhesu Christi ende cust die mit devocien, hi is seker dat hi van dieen dage gheen onversienige doot sterven en sal. Ende is hi getempteert mit eniger duvelscher tempacien, doer die werdicheit van ons heren lengde sal hi verloest worden. Ende gheen valsche getuygen en mach over hem niet comen. Ende also dick als men die met werdicheit ende mit devocien cust, soe vercricht hi van onsen heer dat hi tot sijnder salicheit begeert. *Item*, wie werdelick aenbedet ende devotelic denct op god en op sijn lengde, die wort bescermt in siel ende in lijf van allen periculen ende wort minsaem mit sijnen even mensche. Item, die paus Pius ende die paus Innocencius hebben verleent alle die geen die mit berou gebiecht sijnde ende cussen mit devocien en aensien die lengde Jhesu ende lesen i *Pater noster* verdienen telken VII jaer perdoen ende VII carenen.

338r–343v, **Marian prayer, with a rubric about an unhappy nun**, *rub*: Het was een jofferouwe in enen cloester ghegaen ende had horen maechdom god geloeft. Des waren hoer vrienden toernich ende seer verstoert. Doe openbaerden hoer die engel Gabriel ende seide tot hoer, want si doe alte seer bedruct was, ende hi leerden hoer dit gebet ende sprack: 'Soe welck mensche dit gebet sprect, die duet onser liever vrouwen enen alte danckeliken dienst en[de] des sijn ziel in allen noeden wael getroest mach werden. Ende moegeliker waert dat hemel en[de] eerde verghinghe, dan dese mensche in redeliken saken ongetroest solde blijven. C *Ave Maria* sal een spreken als hier nagescreven staet ende hueden sich voer sunden als best can, soe mach hi waerlyc werden verblijt, ende hi sal vercrijgen dat hi begheert. Het waer onmogelick dat die mensche ongetr[338v]oest bleve, die dat gebet ynnichliken leest. Ende wanneer du dit gebet lesen wilst, so salstu staen voer onser liever vrouwen beelt, ende setten een bornende kers voer onser vrouwen beelt, ende spreken x *Ave Maria* al staende tuschen elcke oracie, ende die oracien salment al knyelende lesen'. *inc*: O Maria, suete maget, ic vermaen u der groter eeren die dij onse lieve heer ghedaen heeft...

345v–345v: **Marian prayer to be read for 30 days before an image**, *rub*: Soe wie dit gebet leest xxx dagen voer onser vrouwen beelt op syn knyen, hi wort verblyt van sinen gebede ist hem salich hier beghint dit gebet. *inc*: O alre glorioste maghet end ontfermhertige moeder...

11237

Prayerbook with Passion devotions, prayers to be said at the canonical hours, and many indulgences

144 folios on paper; 74 × 101 mm, with variable ruling, 17–21 lines

Made in the sixteenth century, to judge by the watermarks (Briquet 1836, att. 1557–1569); the mention of Pope Leo x (1513–21) and king Charles v, King of Spain (who became emperor in 1519), suggest that the manuscript may date between 1513–1519, with additional leaves added later.

The main text written by a single hand, with other hands on the small pieces of inscribed paper interleaved throughout the manuscript.

Location: uncertain

Original owner: intended for Poor Clares

Miniatures/decoration: miniatures, and hand-colored prints

Selected bibliography: Stock 2002, no. 002, 006, 075, 088; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 11, pp. 21–26; Rudy 2015, p. 266.

50v–57r, **Prayer to be read before an image of the Virgin**, *rub*: *Soe wie dit navolghen ghebet alle daghe leest voer een beelt van Onser Liever Vrouwen vanden eenen saterdach totten anderen, die sal seker sijn dat hem Onse Lieve Vrouwe sal troosten sonder twyfel inden achten dach van welcken saken wij biddende zijn, ende die redelicken sijn tot onser salicheit voer ons oft voer een anderen.* [51v is tipped-in hand colored woodcut; 52r] *inc*: Ick bidde dy heylige jonckfrouwe Maria door die goote [sic] genade die dy god gegeven heeft, ende door die wonderen die god dy gedaen heeft...

74r–74v, **Prayer to be read before an image of the Virgin of Milan**, *rub*: *Die dit ghebet xv daghen leest voer Maria van Melanen beelt op sijn knyen voer eenighe sake, die sal vercrygen dat hi bidt.* [74v] *inc*: O, Gloriose ziele Maria, verlicht my met uwer heyliger liefden. *Ave Maria*. O, edel trouwe herte Maria, besorcht my. *Ave Maria*. O, wererde [sic] reyne jonckfrouwelijcke kuysche heylighe Maria, behoet my ende bewaert my in mynen lesten eynde staet mij bij...

12079

Book of hours, with calendar for Utrecht, and extra prayers, in Middle Dutch and Latin 186 folios on parchment; 147 × 111 mm; written on 2 columns

Made in the sixteenth century. The mention of Pope Clement vii may refer to the pope (1523–34) or to the Avignon antipope Clement vii (1378–1394) but probably to the former. Possibly made in Brielle.

Original owner: According to according to Ampe 1962, p. 34, this manuscript was made by the Birgittines of Marientroon in Dendermonde, but this is erroneous. Mulder's suggestion that this comes from the canons regular dedicated to St Elizabeth in Rugge bij Brielle makes more sense, given the rubrics indicating patronage to St. Augustine and St. Elizabeth: 'Van onse heilighe vader Sinte Augustinus' (fol. 174v); and 'Van onse heilighe moeder sinte Elisabeth' (fol. 182v).

Miniatures/decoration: Red/blue initials, some floriated initials; decorated 'strewn flower borders'; one miniature (phlebotomy man, fol. 10v).

Selected bibliography: Meertens 1930–1934, vol. 11, p. 20 (with several transcription errors) and vol. vi, no. 19, p. 37; Ampe 1962; Olsen 1990; Stooker and Verbeij 1997, no. 306, who follow Meertens 1930–1934; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 13, 2011, p. 11 and 19; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 15, pp. 41–47.

108va–111ra, **The Verses of Saint Gregory (10 verses plus a collect)**, *rub*: *Alle die ghene die staen in die staet der graciën ende devotelic op haer knyen lesen dese tien navolghende ghebeden voer die wapenen ons [108vb] heren mit berou van haren sonden, die verdienen van veel pausen veel aflaten, als van Gregorius die eerste, Innocentius die vierde, Nicolaus die vijfde, Calixtus die vierde, Clemens die sevende, Sixtus die vierde, Innocentius die achte, ende Julius die tweede. Summa is hondert dusent vier ende*

tachtich dusent jaren, acht ende viertich jaren, hondert ende sestich jaren daghen.
[109ra] *inc*: O, here Jesu Christe, ic aenbede di hanghende inden cruce...

111ra–111rb: **Prayer carved into a rock, indulgenced**, *rub*: Dit cleyn navolghende ghebedeken is te Romen tot sint Jans te Lateranen uut ghehouwen in een steen. Ende die het devotelic lesen, die verdienen **xxiiii^m** jaren warachtich aflaets voer dootlike sonden.
inc: O, Here Jhesu Christe, alder liefste vader, ic bidde di doer die blijscap ende vrolicheit die dijn lieve moeder Maria hadde doe si di sach ende doe du haer openbaerdeste opten heili[111rb]ghen paesnacht. Ende doer die blijscap die si hadde doe si di sach in een verclaerden lichame mitter godliker clærheit, soe bid ic u lieve here datstu mi wilste verlichten mit den seven gaven des heilighen gheestes dat ic dijn wille volbrenghe mach soe langhe als ic leve. Amen.

117vb–119vb, **Prayer to the Five Wounds of Christ**, *rub*: Sinte Gregorius die eerst paeus maecte dese vijf navolghende ghebedekens ter eeren die v wonden ons heren tot welcken hi gaf vc jaren aflaets ende seven karenen. Ende sijn oec guet ghelesen teghen den onversien doot. [118ra] *inc*: Weest ghegruet, rechterhans ons liefs heren, Jesu Christi, die wreedeliken doerboert sijt met een harde naghel...

148vb–149ra, **Prayer to the Virgin in the Sun** (Middle Dutch translation of *Ave Regina celorum*), *rub*: Julius paeus die twede heeft wat toeghedaent tot dat ghebet dat Sixtus die vierde hevet ghemaect om te lesen voer dat beelt van onservrouwen in dersonnen ende heeft dat aflaet verdubbelt, soe dat die summe is **xxii^m** jaren. *inc*: Weest ghegruet, alder heilichste maghet [149ra] Maria, moeder ons heren Jesu Christi, coninghinne des hemels, poerte des paradijs...

12080

Book of hours, with Utrecht calendar

153 folios on parchment and paper; 150–157 × 109–111 mm.; 20 lines

Copied c. 1460 in Delft (as the script and distinctive red and blue penwork testify). Agnes is the first virgin in the litany. This and the particular penwork in the book point to the Augustinian convent of St Agnes in Delft as the place of production.

Codicological note: several folios removed (including between 54 and 55); ending incomplete

calendar note: annotations added to calendar in sixteenth-century script

Early owner: several names appear on the flyleaf in late sixteenth-century script: Jangen Thomesdr en Maryen Thomesdr (fol. 1r: 'Jangen Thomes dochter', 'Maryen Thomes dochter')

Miniatures/decoration: Red and blue penwork typical of Delft; penwork initials

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. I, no. 790; Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, no. 20; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 12, pp. 37–39.

45r–54v, **Short Hours of the Cross, indulgenced**, *rub*: Die paeus Johannes, die heeft gegeven die dese ghetide daghelics lesen een jaer oflaets die buten dootsonden sijn ende oflaet verdienen mogen. Te metten tijt. *inc*: Heer, du selste op doen mijn lippen, ende mijn mont sel voertkundighen dijn lof...

54v-[folio removed after 54; prayer ends imperfectly]: **Prayer to read when one sees the cross**, *rub*: Dit selmen lesen als men dat heilighe cruus siet. *inc*: Heer, Jhesu Christe, om alle dier bitterhede die du leedste om minen wil anden cruce ende sonderlinge doe dijn edel siel sciet van dinen waerden lichaem...

100r–101v, **The 5 Verses of Saint Gregory**, *rub*: Inden tiden doe sinte Gregorius paeus was te Romen, op een tijt doe hi misse dede inderkerken ghehieten Poorta Crucis opten outaer van Jherusalem, ende doe hi soude consacreren ons heren lichaem, doe openbaerde hem onse heer in deser figueren, ende van groter vruechden uut rechten medeliden dat hi hadde, aensiende dat jammerlike lichaem in vleische ende in bloede in also vrese-
liken schijn, so seech hi ter aerden in alte vuerighen gebede ende begheefde alle kersten menschen, ghebiecht mit waerachtighen berou ende voldoen der sonden ende oetmo-
edelic ende devotelic knielende lesen vijf *Pater noster* ende vijf *Ave Maria gracia* mit overdencken deser grondeloser bitterheit ende sware pijn, dien gaf hi vijf dusent jaer oflaets, ende [100v] daer toe alle dat oflaet dat doe was binnen Romen, sint soe hebben daer noch twalef pausen gheweset, dye elc bisonder hier toe ghegheven hebben drie-
hondert jaer oflaets ende hondert carinen, ende die paeus Clemens heeft al dit oflaet gheconfirmeert ende vast ghemaect ende heeft daer toe ghegheven vijfhondert jaer of-
laets ende driehondert carinen, op dat dye bitter ende duerbaer passie ons lieves heren Jhesu Christi te bet by ons gheert ende gheofent worde, ende dat wi oec deelachtich worden alle der verdienten ons liefs heren Jhesu Christi. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.* Ende dese navolghende ghebeden selmen lesen alle vijf mit devocien ter eren der passien ons liefs heren Jhesu Christi. Ghebet. *Domine Jhesu Christi. Adoro te.* [101r] *inc*: O, heer Jhesu Christe, ic aenbede di hanghende in den cruce mit eenre doernen crone...

111r–112v, **Prayer to the Face of Christ**, *rub*: Dese bedinge gaf ende maecte die twalefste paeus Jan. Ende die paeus die na hem quam confermeerdese. Ende so wie datet leset ende dat Vronica aensiet, die heeft xl daghe van dootliken sonden ende dusent daghe van daghelischen sonden *vry. inc*: Wes ghegruet, o, heilighe aenschijn ons verlossers, in welcken blencket die ghedaente des godliken schijnsels gedruet inden doke dat wit van verwen was als snee...

112v–118r, **Prayer to the Virgin, before her image**, *rub*: Soe wie dit naghescreven gebet mit gewarighen rouwe ghebiecht ende mit geboeghen knien **voer dat beelde van onser vrouwen** dertich dage anmalcander leset, die mach sonder twivel hopen te vercri-
gen dat hi eyschet. Ende diet simpelic leest ende niet en eyschet, die worden gegeven xxx dagen oflaets. Die paeus Innocencius confirmeert [113r] dese oraci ende geeft den genen diese daghelics leest vc daghe oflaets ende een quadrageen. *inc*: O, ghebenedide vrouwe sinte Maria, ewighe maget der maechden...

12081

Book of hours, with Utrecht calendar

150 folios on parchment; 169 × 117 mm; 21 lines

Made 1475–1480 (terminus post quem 1471, given mention of Sixtus IV, fol. 96r)

Copied by one scribe in *littera textualis* in North Holland, probably Enkhuizen (St. Gumarus appears in red in the calendar, 11 October)

Codicological note: Ms is closely related to Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms 61 in its texts and format

Original owner: Possibly someone named Jacobs (on the third flyleaf: 'Jacobs')

Miniatures/decoration: penwork initials and border designs (above all, red and blue penwork, with green brushwork) at major text openings

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. 1, no. 791; Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, no. 21; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 3, pp. 8–12; Hülsmann 2000, pp. 263–264.

96r: **Indulgenced prayer to Mary** (usually Maria in sole), *rub*: Item Sixtus die Vierde heeft ghegheven alle die in penitencien staen die dit ghebet leset mit devocien elke reyse

xim iaer aflaets. *inc:* Wes ghegruet alte heilichste Maria, moeder godes, coninghine des hemels, poerte des paradijs...

96r–96v: **O, Naked humanity, to be read before a crucifix:** *rub:* Item, men vint bescreven alsoe wie dit naghescreven ghebet leset **voir dat crucifix of in ghehuechnisse des li-dens Christi, die verdient. iij.^m iaer aflaets ghegheven vanden vierde paeus Bonifacio.**

Inc: O, naecte oetmoedicheit! O, grote martelie! O, diepe wonden...

141v–142v: **Salve sancta facies,** *rub:* Hier beghint een ghebet dat ghemaect is in die eren ons heren aenschijn. Ende Johannes die paeus die xxii heeft ghegheven alle kersten menschen alsoe dicke als sijt lesen mit berouwe van horen sonden van ghesetter penitencien **ccc daghen aflaets ende alsoe menich karijn.** *inc:* God gruet u, heilighe aenschijn ons heren, in welken blenket die ghedaente des godliken lichtes ghedruct in een laken wit als snee dat ghegheven was Veronica in een teiken der minnen...

150r: **Indulgence for saying the Magnificat,** Item, soe wie *Onser vrouwen lof sanc* leset in Latijn, of in Duytsche, dat is *Magnificat*, of *Mijn ziel maect groet*, als in die vrouwe ghetiden staet in die vesper, die verdient elkes daghes xxx jaer aflaets ende also vele weken.

15078

Book of hours, with calendar for the Southern Netherlands, with extra prayers, mostly related to Christ's Passion, in Latin with Middle Dutch rubrics and some Middle Dutch prayers

167 folios on parchment; lines spaced 5.5 mm apart; 155 × 105 mm; 17 lines

Copied c. 1510 in the Southern Netherlands (see note under *early owner*)

Localization note: The calendar lists in red the following saints: Eloi (Eligius, the patron of Bruges, 25 June), Margaret (13 July), Augustini epi et doctoris (28 August) Barbara (4 December)

Early owner: probably made for a nun or sister, as the book contains instructions for burying a sister (fol. 143v–152r); furthermore, a nun is pictured adoring the sacrament (fol. 153r). There is a reference on 38r to 'nri augustini', suggesting that the manuscript was made for an Augustinian canoness or nun, which is consistent with the dress in which the donor is represented on 153r. Extra attention to St. Margaret in the calendar and on 45v and 61v suggests that the convent was dedicated to that saint. In the sixteenth century, the manuscript belonged to Lysbette van Huerne (fol. 1v: 'Lysbette van t Huerne' and her device 'Sans sangement').

Miniatures/decoration: 'strewn flower' borders, typical of Ghent/Bruges; decorated and historiated initials;

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. I, no. 776 (where the foliation is off by 1)

162r–164v: **Fifteen Pater nosters,** *rub:* Onse behaudere Jhesus Kerst leerde eenen sinen vrient xv *Pater noster* ende xv *Ave Marien*. So wie dese sprake alle daghe met goeder herten, hi mochter groote salicheit bi vercrighen. Ende so wiese nu sprake alle daghe ter eeren ende ter weerdicheden alle minen doeghene ende minen liden, ic woude hem xv sielen gheven buten vagheviere, ende ic woude hem xv goede menschen hauden staende in goeden levne, ende ic woude hem xv sondaren, ende ic woude hem selve bitteren rauwe gheven ende kennesse van al haren sonden, ende ic woude hem vii daghen voer sine doot teenre spise gheven minen helegghen licha[162v]me voer dien oghen gods, ende wille hem drinken met minen helegghen bloede voer den eewegghen durst, ende ic wille mijn cruce setten jegghen alle sinen vianden, ende ic wille selve comen voer hem gaen als een brudegoem voer sine

bruut ende bringhene van hier neder in hemelrike. Ende als ickene daer hebbe brocht, wil ic hem schincken sonderlinghen dranc buten burne mijnre godheit, dat ic den ghenen niet en sal doen *die met deser bedinghe niet omme en hebben ghegaen*. Nu hoert welc sijn dese xv *Pater nostren* daer men dese voer sei[163r] *de loen mede verdienen sal*. *inc*: Ghi sult spreken eenen *Pater noster* ende een *Ave Maria*, ende vermaent mi des ontreckens dat mi alle mine leden ontrocken worden also datter ne gheen in sine stede ne bleef. Then anderen *Pater noster* spreekt ende vermaent mi in der eeren der drie plompe naghelen die duer mine handen ende voeten ghinghen. Ten derden *Pater noster* veraent mi dat mine aderen uut gherect ende alle mine leden ghescuert worden... *expl*: ...Ten xv.^{STEN} vermaent mi der menichfoudicheit mijnre wonden *rub* (*underlined*): *Dies was.vi.^M ende.vi.^C ende.LXV. sonder die heleghe.v. wonden dier waren. So wie die leest, hi ontfaet.vi.^M ende.vi.^C daghen afaets also dickent als mense leset.*

18270

Prayerbook with calendar for Bruges, in Middle Dutch with some Latin

2 + 128 folios on parchment; 160 × 110 (97 × 65) mm

Made c. 1425 in the Southern Netherlands (probably Bruges)

Miniatures/decoration: 12 full-page miniatures attributed to the Masters of the Gold Scrolls; painted border decoration

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. 1, no. 859; Dogaer 1977; Bousmanne 1987; Lievens 1994–95; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 7, pp. 19–25.

45r–48v, *Obsecro te*, *rub*: *Die paeus Innocentius heift ghegheven elken meinsce die dese devote bedinghe daghelicx leist.c. daghen oflaet, ende daer toe, so sal hi sonder twifel wie se met devotien daghelicx leist, sal onser vrouwen sien drie daghen voor sine doot, alsoot geviel enre heligher abdesse, die dese oratie alle daghe plach te lesene, doe si lach in haer vonnesse doe so sach si commen eene grote scare [45v] van duvelen omtrent haer bedde, ende si wort wonderlike vervaert doe began si sonder merren dese oratie te secghene oetmoedelike ende met devotien ende doe sach soe commen een groot soete minlic gheselschap van ingelen singhende met grooter melodie, ende die glorieuse maget Maria in die middel staende die haer seide: Ic hebbe di ghehoort overmids deser oratie want menichvoudelike hebstu mi aen gheroupen, ende hier secghic di dattu sult eer drie daghen sterven ende dine ziele sal behouden bliven in dat ewighe rike daer boven, ende secht dit dinen susteren. Also alstu nu van mi gheoordt hebs *et cetra*... [46 blank] [46v: full-page Annunciation, where Virgin kneels on pillow, and God, in cameo blue, blows the holy spirit through the window]. [47] *inc*: Ic bidu vrouwe sinte Marie moeder alder vulst van goedertierheden...*

54r: *Rhyming Middle Dutch translation of the Salve sancta facies*, *inc*: Ic groetu spegel der salicheit/ Figure van den godliken ansine / ...

58v–59r, *Prayer to read while facing east*, *rub*: *Als ghi dese bedinghe leist so keret hu aenscijn oostwaerd ende lese met innigher herten...*

inc: O heere bi der heligher stede daer die zonne eerst rijst

Die met rechte al die werelt prijst

Ende menige meinsche es bekent

dat es dat lant van orient

ende in occidenten daeltsi neder

ende rijst in orienten weder

ende al heere bi uwer cracht

ic biddu heere bi der selver macht
 wan den rauwe die mi noost
 dat ic daer in meete werden vertroost
 ende heere dat ghi ghehinghet
 ende van mi den viant dwijnget.

18982

Prayers and spiritual exercises in Middle Dutch and Latin (Fragment)

75 folios on paper; 102 × 138 mm; 13 lines

Copied c. 1520 by probably a woman (fol. 60r, 'deerne', and fol. 74v and 75v, 'sondersse'), possibly at the Carmelite Convent of Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe ten Troost (in Vilvoorde, outside Brussels)

Miniatures/decoration: decorated initials, 3 hand-painted prints tipped in: Christ crucified (fol. 12v); Christ on the column, holding 2 scourges (16v); Christ and Mary in a crown of thorns with an inscription 'Gheprint te carmelytersse Ten Troost *vive deo*' (23v); for the prints, see Stock 2002, no. 058, 064, 067.

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. 1, no. 860; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 7, pp. 25–29.

22v–53v: **Christ's Crown**, *rub*: Hier beghint Die dorne croone ons liefs heren diemen sondachs eeren sal [24r] mit LXXII *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria*. Ende men salse nuechteren op die knyen devotelijc lesen. Ende soe wie datse alle sondaghe leest en sal niet langher int vaghevuur sijn dan totten yersten sondach al storve hij oec des saterdachs. Leest devotelijc. *inc*: O, here Jhesu Christi, verlosser der weerelt...*Pater noster*...

60v–65v, **Prayer to Jesus**, *rub*: Met desen navolghende ghebede verdientmen alle dat aflaet van Roomen, van Triere, ende van Colen. Leest devotelic. [61] *inc*: O, alder suetste lam gods, goedertieren ...

19551

Book of hours with a calendar for Utrecht

87 folios on parchment; 161 × 107 (99 × 63) mm; 19 lines; the final two folios (86–87) form and added bifolio with different ruling.

Made second half of the fifteenth century (terminus post quem of the final two folios is 1471, given the mention of Sixtus IV), probably in South Holland (given the penwork on 74v), and the calendar, which contains Poncien, Pancrace, Servaas, Boniface, Odulphe, Lebuin, Lambert.

Codicological note: some leaves, presumably those with miniatures, have been cut out (eg, between 29 and 30)

Original owner: De Stembor (fol. 4r: 'Espoir me baille. De Stembor' and device)

Miniatures/decoration: Decorated initials; penwork initials (41v, 74v); 1 painted border (30r)

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. 1, no. 842; Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, no. 23; Axters 1946; Oosterman 1995, vol. 2, p. 331; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 9, pp. 19–23.

85v–87r, **The Gregorian Verses (seven-verse version)**[added in a different but contemporary hand], *rub*: Soe wie dese naervolghende oracien devotelic leest op sijn knien mit berouwe van sinen sonderen in die eere der wapenen der passien ons liefs heeren Jhesu Christi, die sinte Gregorius inder missen vertoent werden, die verdient alsoe dicke ende also menichwerpen als hijse leest dese naervolghende aflaten. Item, vanden paeus sinte Gregorius xxx jaer aflaets. Vanden paeus Clement, VI jaer. Vanden paeus Leo, c daghen. Vanden paeus Innocentius, IIII jaer. Van

XL bisscoppen, van elcken XL daghen ende een carijn. Item de vierde [86r] paeus Syxtus heeft alle dese voirseide aflaten gheconfermeert, ende daer toe soe heeft alle dese voorseide aflaten ghedobbeleert, soe dat alle die aflaten die hier toe gegeven sijn ende te vercrighene, ghedraghen tsamen onder al VI durent jaer aflaets ende VI durent daghen aflaets, ghegheven ende gheconfermeert als boven in tjaer duust vierhondert ende tachtentich. Item, die niet lesen en connen des oratien, die sullen lesen xv *Pater noster* ende xv *Ave Marien* ende daer mede te verdienene tselve aflaet. *inc:* Heere, Jhesu Christe, ic aenbede dy hanghende inden cruce...

19645

Prayers to the Virgin (fragment)

36 folios on parchment; 130 × 90 mm; 21 lines

Copied c. 1420 in Brabant (given the dialect)

Original owner: the manuscript was written for, and possibly by, a woman (*sondersse*, fol. 14v). The original owner may have also been the copyist.

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. 1, no. 844; Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, no. 25; Indestege 1961; Deschamps and Mulder 1998, vol. II, pp. 17–19.

14r–21r, **Prayer to the Virgin's body parts**, *rub:* Hier beghint een seer devote oefeninghe, die onser liever vrouwen zeer ghename is. Dat es Een gruetinghe tot alle den leden der glorioser maghet, die welke scone leden elc bi sonderlinghe te lovene ende te benedien sijn, ende dat voer haer beelde. Ende alsoe, si segghen diet besocht hebben ende tughen dat heilighe mannen diet ghehoert hebben, datmen cume enich manyere van dienste mach [14v] doen, die onser liever vrouwen soe behaghelic is, ende daer soe groote devocie uut vloyende is als dese. *inc:* O, weerdighe moeder gods ende des almachtighen conincs, nu gheweerdigheit te ontfane den dienst dijnre onweerdigher deernen ende den lof uut minen onreynen monde, die ic te love dijns reynen sueten name begheere te offeren met ynnigher begheerten mijns herten dijnre heiligher meechdelijcheit. O, mijn alder suetste vrouwe, om dattu aldus oetmoedichst best, soe en wilt dijn mijnlijc ende graciose aenschijn van mi dijnre deernen niet keeren, maer wilt mijns arme *sondersse*...

21893

Book of hours, with a calendar from Luik

234 folios on parchment; 128 × 90 (85 × 60) mm; 15–17 lines; 5.67 mm/line

Made partly in 1482 for a Beghard of St. Matthew in Sint-Truiden (a male monastery under the Third Rule of St. Francis), as demonstrated by the colophon, fol. 212v: 'Int jaer ons heren doen men screeff MCCCC ende LXXXII doen waert dit boeck volmaect op sinte Thomas des apostels avont. Ende het hoert toe den broederen vander deerder regulen sancti Francisci wonende tSintruden in die Steenstrate. Inden convente sinte Mathijs'.

Copied by written by four hands (A. fol. 1r–6v, 7r–7v, 22r–212r; B. fol. 8r–11v, 213r–233v; C. fol. 213v; D. fol. 6r–6v [sixteenth century])

Miniatures/decoration: red and blue initials; otherwise, none

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. 1, no. 794; Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, no. 25bis; Deschamps 1963, no. 13; Wittek and Glorieux- de Gand 1987, no. 605; Stooker and Verbeij 1997, no. 1133.

155r–156r: **Indulged Marian prayer**, *rub:* Doen onse heer Jhesus Christus vanden cruce ghedaen was ende van onser vrouwen Marien inden schoot ontfanghen was met groeter compassien ende mededoghen, soe sprac sij deese naevolghende woerde.

Ende soe wie datse met devoten mededoghen der herten spreect den gheeft die paus Innocencius die vierde een legioen aflaets, dats VI^m VI^c ende LXVI daghe. *Ave Maria. inc:* O, vloyende fonteyn der ewicheit, hoe [155v] bestu huden aldus verdroeht ende verdroeht... expl: hoe ligstu nu aldus doot in dijnre bedroefder moeder schoot.

199v–201r, **Eight verses of St Bernard**, *rub:* Sinte Bernaert die abt sprac op een tijt metten viant. Doen seide die viant dat hij VIII verse wiste inden souter, wijse daghelijcks seyde, hij soude behouden sijn. Doen vraechde sinte Bernaert welck datse waren, ende hij en woude hem niet openbaren. Doen las sinte Bernaert een [200r] jaer lanck daghelijxcs eenen souter. Nae dat eynde vanden jaer quam die viant weeder ende seide dat hij alle dat jaer met vuerighen ketenen gheslaghen ware om dat hijse hem niet en seede, ende alsoe seide hij se hem. Ende dit sijne. *inc:* Here, verliecht mijn oghen op dat ic nummermeer en slape in dij doot... [The text provides only the first line of each of the eight psalms in Middle Dutch.]

201r/v: **Morning prayer**. *rub:* Des smorghens alsoe volck als ghij onspronghen sijt ende opstaen wilt, soe maket drie crucen, een voer u voerhoeft, ende voer uwen mont, ende een voer u herte in die eere der heiligher drivoldicheit ende spreect deese woerde volghende. [201v] *inc:* Ic stae op inden naem des vaders des soens ende des heilighen gheestes, der ghebenedijder drivoldicheit ende eenre glorioser godheit. Ende inden naem Marien der maghet gods salighe moeder, alre enghelen, heilighen, ende alre gods uutvercorene, ende diet huden haer dach is inder eerden ende inden hemelschen throen. Amen.

21953

Prayerbook

440 folios on paper, interspersed with parchment; 135 × 100 mm; approximately 19–25 lines (only text block, quires are ruled variously)

Made 1450–1500 (Watermarks include Briquet 11423 [att. 1493–1500], Briquet 15162 [att. 1475])

Copied by 8 hands; copied in part (fol. 89r–211v) by Sister Anna Swilden, a Tertiary of Sint-Catharinadal in Hasselt, ca 1480 (see Deschamps 1954)

Binding: Medieval, panel-stamped, with inscription 'Quincunque. vult | salvus. esse. ante. omnia | opus. est | ut. teneat. catholicam. fidem'.

Original owner: probably a tertiary of Sint-Catharinadal in Hasselt

Decoration: red and blue penwork initials, occasional penwork

Selected bibliography: Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, no. 26; Stooker and Verbeij 1997, no. 567; Gheyn 1901, vol. I, no. 845; Deschamps 1954, no. 18; Deschamps 1957; Dun 1957.

241v, **Prayer to Mary's Face**, *rub:* Totten aensichte Maria. *inc:* O, Gloriose maget ende moeder gods Maria, *ich gruete dat suverlijck beelde* ende gedaente dijns mynliken aensichtes, dat die heilige dryvoldich inder ewicheit ghemynt heeft. Och, wie salich was dat geheilichde beelde dat soe gruetelijc was aen te sien, dattet nye te recht van mensche en mocht gernerct werden. Daerom soe bid ic u, werde maget, dattu mi genaden verwerven wilste van dinen lieven kinde dat hi mi myn sonden vergeven. Amen.

357v–363v, **Prayer to the Virgin (gloss on the Salve Regina)**, *rub:* Willen wi ons hier naemaels met Marien verbliden, soe moeten wi nu met Marien hertelic dragen medeliden. Sullen die sterren in onsen herten blincken, soe moeten wi dese sterren niet haestelic overlopen ende overdencken. [358r] *Als Salve regina* wort gesongen, soe sie dese love die verblijts inder heileger maget ende erende pine te love die salege onbevleete

maget Maria als ghi comt voer haer figuren, hoedet dat ghi niet voer bi en gaet ghi en leest *Ave Maria*, dus onse lieve vrouwe gruetende sult ghi genade vinden. Salve. *inc*: God gruet u, maget der meechden, morgensterre, ware medicine der onsuverre sonden...

365r–366r: **Short Hours of Our Dear Lady's Pain**, *rub*: Dit sijn *Corte ghetiden op onser liever vrouwen drucke* die Clemens die paus ghemaect heeft. Ende heeft ghegeven diese met in-nicheiden lesen ende alsoevele *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* XVIII duisent daghen aflaets ende drie carinen. Leest *Pater noster Ave Maria*. Metten. *inc*: Te mettentijt waert Jhesus Cristus Marien gheboetscapt vanden apostelen dat hi vanden ongeloeveghen gevangen was...

372v–384v: **Hours of Our Dear Lady's Distress**, *rub*: Hier beghinnen die *Ghetiden vanden rouwe onser liever vrouwen*, welke ghemaect heeft die paus Jan die XXI^{ste} ende heeft verleent alle den ghenen diese daghelix leest inder eren der glorioser maget Maria moeder ons liefs heren Jhesu Christi XL jaer aflaets. Dit *Versikel* salmen eerst aenspreken te metten. Ende na voert tot alle den ghetiden int jaer een *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria*. *Versikel*. *inc*: Heileghe moeder gods, winster suete ende schoene, bid voer ons den coninc die om onser salicheit wills ter doet ghelevert is. ...

396r–397r: **Prayer to Mary's sorrows to be read before an image of a pietà**. *rub*: Dit is *Sinte Ancelmus gebet* dat hierna volcht. Ende Innocensius die vierde paus verleent daertoe VI^m VI^c ende LXVI dagen aflaets alsment leest voer die noot gods. *Ave Maria gracia plena*. *inc*: O, wise lerare der menschen, hoe bestu nu soe ongehoert ende versmaet. *Ave Maria*. O, godlic schijn ende clare speigel des ewigen lichts, hoe bestu nu aldus verdonkert...

II 1512

Rules and Statutes for the Order of Female Poor Clares, in Latin and Middle Dutch

316 folios on paper; 102 × 69 mm; 27 lines (microscript)

Binding: although the ms dates from the sixteenth century, it seems to have been bound in a fifteenth-century binding, panel stamped, with an inscription: 'In.te.Domine./ speravi./ non confundar / in eternum'

Made after 1520 (date of text on fol. 74r–75v); Instructions for calculating the Sunday letter on fol. 7r (gives examples for 1507 and 1508)

Copied by the Poor Clares of Hoogstraten bij Antwerpen (according to Deschamps), very likely for their own use

Decoration: decorated initials, penwork

Selected bibliography: Gheyn 1901, vol. VI, no. 3918; Miedema 1996, p. 147, N6; Stooker and Verbeij 1997, no. 682; Rudy 2011, pp. 174–175; Rudy 2015, p. 293.

29r–52r, **Rule of the Sisters of Saint Clare (Clarissen Urbanisten)**, *rub*: Hier begint dat *Prologus van ons heilighe regule*.

74r–75v, **Mathijs van Dordrecht, Texts concerning the Convent of Poor Clares of Hoogstraten, from 14 October 1520**, *inc*: Hier na volgen sommige ordinancien ende punten by den werdighen broeder Mathijs weynssen van Dordrecht gardiaen van Antwerpen visitator ende commissarius met der volder macht over den custodean van Brabant ende van Vrieslant...

79r–91r, **Calendar with the Indulgences for the Seven Principal Churches of Rome**.

91v–95r, **The Stations of Rome**, *rub*: Item, dit sijn *Die stacien van Romen* die op sekere tijden des jaers vallen na dat Paeschen comt ende diemen inden calengier op haer hoochtijden niet tekenen en mach, en[de] dit sijn die oude stacien die sint Gregorius ende sijn navolgers ingeset hebben. *inc*: Den iersten sondach van den advent stacie tot ons vrouwen majorem. Ende op den selven dach volcomen aflaet tot sinte Peter...

95r–95v: **The Portiuncula Indulgence**, *rub*: Item, dit is den aflaet van onser vrouwen van den engelen gheheten *Porcunicula*. *inc*: Dese kerke buijten Assijsen ende was sint Franciscus eerste convent. Ende daer is heden warachtigen aflaet. Also, wat mensche comende in die kerke van die vesperen des eersten daghes des oestmaens tot die ander vesper des ander dages insluitende den nacht tusschen die twee dagen, hem worden dan vergeven alle haer sonden daer sij af ghedenken mogen. Oec daer sij niet af gedenken en moghen van den dage des doopsels totten dage ende ure des ingancs deser kerken. Ende dat is so te verstaen van die sonden daer sij ganselijc berou of hebben ende ghebiecht sijn van haren sonden voer haer priester ende penitenci daer voer ontfangen hebben. [95v] Ende desen aflaet sal alle jaer op den voerghenoemden dach inder ewicheit duren. Ende want die broeders ende susters daer niet comen en mogen, soe moghe[n] sy den selven aflaet die daer te verdienen is in haer kerke verdienen voer levende ende dode met v *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria*. Ende desen aflaet is ons heilich vader Sinte Franciscus van onsen lieven heer ende sijn lieve moeder Maria selve gegeven, so dat doer veel mirakulen oec ghevesticht als in sijn grote legende staet. Amen.

152v: Prayers to St. Francis and St. Clara

153r–153v: **Prayer to be read while shaping the body as a crucifix**, *rub*: Dat is een sonderlinge crachtich ghebet. Men salt lesen voer sonderlingen saken met devocien met uutgherecten armen voer een crucefix met dri *Pater noster* ter eeren der borrender liefden die die soon gods hadde om ons te verlossen doe hi sijn minliken leden ruech [153v] aenden cruce. Men macht oeck lesen voer die sielen en[de] die in her uuterste ligghen. *inc*: O, lieve minlike heer Jesu Christi, ick bidde dij, ghedenct des onbermhertigen werpen dattu also olisachte gheworpen wordes opten harden boom des cruce...

II 1332

Passion meditations and exercises, calendar for Luik

307 folios on paper, with occasional parchment folios interspersed; 132 × 112 (92 × 65) mm; 21 lines

Copied by one hand, c. 1510, in Maasland, possibly Maaseik, Canonesses Regular of St. Agnes (Deschamps 1967)

Original owner: Maaseik, Regularissen S. Agnes (evidence of calendar)

Miniatures/decoration: painted 'strewn flower' border (fol. 8r); 1 miniature (8r); decorated initials, penwork.

Selected bibliography: Stoker and Verbeij 1997, no. 800; Rudy 2011, pp. 130–131.

214v–222v, **Crown of Thorns 'Rosary'**, *rub*: Soe wie des nagescreven bedinge alle sondage leest ter eren der doernenre cronen ons heer Jhesu Christi ende der pijnen die hi in sijnen gebundiden hoeft geleden heeft, die duet goede eynen genamen dienst. Ende men vercrijcht daer mede voel graciën. Ende men sal dese croen knyelende lesen of staende ende niet sittende, die dat vermach, voer dat beelde ons heren. Ende leest ierst dit naevolgende gebet. *refrain*: Ave, goedertierne heer Jhesu Christi, vol genaeden, ontfermherticheit [215v] is mitti; gebundijt is dijn pijn, dijn passie, dijn wonden, ende dijnen doet, ende gebundijt is dat bloet dijnre heiliger gebenedider wonden. Amen. ...

[222r] *rub*: Nu leest der bedructere moeder *Regina celi* ende dan offert die croen mit desen gebede. *inc*: O, lieve here Jhesu Christi, dit lauwe gebet offer ic u in die eer der groter liefden in welker liefden gi alle dese voergenoemde pijnen in dijnen gebundenen hoeft geleden hebt...

II 2348

Book of hours with a calendar, and Hours of the Virgin for the Bishopric of Camerijk; Offices in Latin (from 1–125v), and extra prayers (126r–end) in Middle Dutch

164 folios parchment; 190 × 130 (100 × 69) mm

Copied in 1497, probably in Geraardsbergen

Original owner: Lijsbett van Steengracht, a sister at Onze-Lieve-Vrouwgasthuis (hospital) te Geraardsbergen, according to the following note: 'Desen boec behoort toe den hospitaale binnen der stad van Gheerarsberge[ghescre]ven int jaer ons heeren.M.CCCC.XCVIJ. by procuracien van joncvrou Lijsbetten van Steengracht' (This book belongs to the hospital in the city of Geraardsbergen, written in the year of our Lord 1497 by authorisation of Miss Lijsbetten van Steengracht).

Miniatures/decoration: five full-page miniatures: 13v: Annunciation, with border; 64v: Crucifixion; 71v: Pentecost; 91v: death holding a casket with no border; 130v: patron kneeling before the Virgin

Selected bibliography: Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 2, pp. 29–30.

125v–127v, **The Verses of Saint Gregory**, *rub*: Innocentius de viii^{ste} heeft tot desen ix oracien ghegheven xcii duyst xxiiii jaer ende lxxx daghen, sijnde in state van gracien voer die wapene ons heeren. *inc*: O Heere Jesu Christe, ic aenbede u hangghende [sic] aenden cruyse ende up u hooft een doorne croone draghende.

II 2923

Prayerbook

74 folis on parchment; 100 × 66 (67 × 42) mm; mostly 12 or 13 lines

Made c. 1500–25

Location: Netherlands

Miniatures/decoration: rubrics, penwork initials.

Selected bibliography: Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 3, pp. 24–27.

41v–47v: **Prayer to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin**, *rub*: Alsoe dicke als men dese vii *Pater noster* ende *Ave* [Maria] mit desen vii gebeden ynnichlike leset, die verdient dat derden diel [sic] verghiffenisse van allen sonden, ghedubbeliert tseventich werf, noch cc ende xxx jaer, noch c ende xii carenen [sic], noch lxxx dage. Die enen anderen daer toe trect ende leert, die verdient xl dage aflaez. Twee werf des jaers doet men gedenckenisse in welen kerken voer die bruederen ende suster deser bruederschap die gestoerven sijnt. Men mach sie oec les[en] voer dijne vrende sielen in die wecke. [42r] *Pater noster Ave Maria*. *inc*: O, weerde moder godes Maria, dit Ijerste *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* offer ic u in die eer der droeffenisse die hadden doe u Sijmoen prophentijerde dat dat sweert des rouwen soelde doer snijden u gebenedide hert...

51r–53r: **prayer to the Virgin with the dead Christ in her lap**. *rub*: Soe wie dit gebet leset voer onser liever vrouwen beelde ter noet, die verdient xxx dusent jaer aflates mit enen *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria*. *Inc*: *Pater noster Ave Maria*. [51v] Ic groete dij Maria, o, dijn ioncferlike ende screyende herte, ende ic offer u dit pater noster ende ave maria in die eer des groeten druckes den ghi onder den cruce hadden, doe ghi u lieve kijnt in uwen schoete hadden...

II 3688

Prayerbook with a calendar for Luik

335 folios on paper, 142 × 98 (97 × 77) mm; 22 lines

Made after 1514 (mentions Pope Alex VI (1492–1503) and Julius II, And Leo X (1513–21, fol 324?))

Copied by three hands: 1–151v; 152–331v; 332–335v, in the Bishopric of Luik, probably by Franciscan women, as several exempla have to do with enclosed sisters

Codicological note: fol. 180–181 comprise separate bifolium, added to accommodate a long rubric.

Binding note: sixteenth-century stamped leather binding, with clasps, and old Latin/parchment text as flyleaf.

Miniatures/decoration: Red and blue rubrics; decorated initials and borders; pasted-in hand-colored round engravings with scenes from the Passion, the Sacred Heart, and the Virgin of the Sun Standing on the Moon, made by the Master S, for which see Stock 2002, no. 466–471.

Selected bibliography: Rudy 2011, pp. 124, 126, 193–195, 411–415.

58v–64v, **Colnish Pater Noster**, *rub*: Dese nabescreven bedinge salmen eysschen uutten wonden Christi, want hi heeft se gelaeft den genen diese mit groter begeerten in oetmoedicheit eysschende sijn. Du salste in eliker wonden rusten ende bekennen sijn mynnen dijn gebreken. Ende du salste dijns gijchtige vuijle sunden ende wonden, dijnre ongebeterder sunden, ende dijnre onbekender sunden totten honichvloyende wonden ons heren Jhesu Christi drage, ende du salste daer sueken die heilsam salve die die wonden dijnre zielen te gronde moegen heillen. Ende woe du dit gebet mit meerre mynnen ende aendacht leest totten wonden ons heren somen[59r]daer meer gracen ende gaven uutontanget al is dit gebet inden iersten onsmakelic, het sal hem sueter ende smakeliker werden als hi hem meer ende meer daer in oeffent. Ende sal enen nyen mensche verbaeren werden in Christo Jhesu onsen heer, ende men sal ... sunderlinge dese mitte bedinge doen als men wil ontfangen dat heilige sacrament. Nu spreect aldus mit groter ynnicheit: 'Vader ons du biste inden hemel'. [60r] *rub*: Nu spreect totten luchteren voet ons heren Beheilicht werde dijnen naem. *inc*: O, suete vader ende getrouw mijnner... [60v] *rub*: Tot rechter voet: toe comende si ons dijn rijc. *inc*: O, vader end ehere hemelrijcs ende eertrijcs... [61r] *rub*: Totter luchter hant: toecomende si ons dijn rijc. [repeats] [61v] *rub*: Totten gecroenden hoofde: 'Dijnen wil geschie inden hemel also inder eerden'. *inc*: O, vader der ewiger eren, ic arme onweerdige ende snoede creatuer... [62r] *rub*: Totter rechter hant: 'Gijf ons, here, ons dagelixie broet'. [62v] *inc*: O, mijndelike vader ende getrouw brudegom, ic arme ongelaten mensche... [63r] *rub*: Totten herten ons lieven heren: 'Vergijf ons onse scholt, als wi vergeven ons schuldeners'. *inc*: O, alre getrouste vader ende alre liefste lief, ic, dijn arme snoede noetdurftige creatuer vermaen di... [64r] *rub*: Ende en leide ons niet in becaeringen, mer verlost ons vanden quaden. Amen. *inc*: O, milde vader, ic bekenne dat mijn menichvoldige gebreken mi duc gehijndert hebben...

137r–139r, **Prayer to the Virgin for earning the Indulgences of Rome**, *rub*: Het was een cluijsenerster die grote begeerte had te Romen te gaen in dat gulden jaer. Ende si verdienden dese gracie dat hoer apenbaerden een engel gads ende seiden dat si blef in hoer cluijs ende leest dit naevolgende gebet, ende also duc als si dat lees, so verdienden si xxx^m jaer aflaets. Ende so wie dattet leest II^c dagen aen een, die heeft aflaet van alle sunden, ende so voel meer als van elicker reyse xxx^m jaer. Doe dit voerden paus quam, gaf hi noch daer toe xxx^m jaer alle den genen diet [137v] lesen mit vijf *Pater noster* ende *Ave Marien*, ende tot eliker reysen dat sijn te samen LX^m jaer aflaets. Ende teijnden

den 11^e dagen aflaet van allen sunden staende inden staet der gracen, die moegen dit aflaet verdienen. Dit gebet leest ierst. *inc*: O, Alre suetste ende alre begeerlicste Maria, moeder Gads, u edel joncfrouwe, gebenedide gads moeder ende maget...

145r–147r, **Emperor Maximilian's Prayer**, *rub*: Dit navolgende gebet heeft achter gelaten die alre edelste keyser van Romen Maximilaen ende placht dagelix in Duutschen te lesen. Ende ons heili^[145v]ge vader die paus Alexander die seste heeft dit gebet geconfirmeert ende heeft daer toe gegeven elc kersten mensche diet devotelic lesen mit berouwe hoere sunden also menich M jaer aflaets alster menich letter int gebet staet. *inc*: O, almoegende god, gedanct ende gelaet ende benedyt, so moetti syn vander gracen die...

173r–174v, **Joys of the Passion**, *rub*: Een guet mensche lach voerden altaer sijns sceppers mit groter ynnicheit ende mit wenenden ogen ende vermaenden onsen heer des lidens dat hi op eertrijc geleden heeft. Doe sprac onse heer: 'Du vermaenes mi des lidens, mer du en vermaenes mi niet der vrouden die ic had, doe ic hijnc aenden cruce'. Doe sprac die ynnige mensche: 'Heer, ic en weet niet hadstu enige vroude aenden cruce'. Doe sprac onse heer: 'Ic had voel vrouden ^[173v] aenden cruce, doe ic all mijnen noet verwonnen had, ende dat menschelike geslecht verloest had. Welc mensche mi der vrouden vermaent mit xv *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria*, die sal meer loens ontfangen dan of hi mit sijnre eygenre cracht toech over meere ende woen dat heilige graft ende dat dan stichten midden in dat kersten rijc. Ende hi sal oec meer verdienen dan of hi gijnc Sint Jacobs ende tot elke voetstap lese een *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria*. Ende oec meer dan of hi gijnc in Yndien tot Sint Thomas. Ende dat alle bergen waeren pappier ende alle meer ynt ende alle menschen die snelste scrivers, die en conden niet beschrijven dat grote loen'. Doe sprac die mensche: 'O heer, wilt nu doch dat leren ende doen bekennen, daer du so grote loen voer geven wilt'. Doe sprac onse heer: *inc*: Die ierste vroude was dat ic nummermeer uut mijns va^[174]ders rijc...

176r–176v, **Prayer of Repentance**, *rub*: Hier nae suldi overdenckende al suchtende ende slaende voer u herte x of XII van uwen swaersten sunden daer gi u sculdich in bent. Ende daer na suldi vallen op u knyen ende valden u handen te samen ende bidden onsen lieven heer om volcomen vergyfenisse van allen sunden seggende: *inc*: O, barmhertige god, mynlic boven al bequaem te begeren boven al ende die alre suetsten, ic bid u doer dy...

II 5443

Prayerbook in Latin and Middle Dutch

326 folios on paper, 117 × 86 (95 × 65) mm, with variable lines, often 13/14

Made c. 1550 (watermarks: Briquet 9613, att. 1547–1566)

Copied by a woman named Marie Kelreman (colophon, fol. 146r)

Miniatures/decoration: decorated initials, painted borders; engravings added much later (17th century),

Selected bibliography: BNM

79r–79v, **Prayer to Our Lady of Milan**, *rub*: Soe wij dij naevolgende gebet leest voer onse leve vrouwe van Melanen, die sal verlost werden in wat perikel dat hij is, eest hem salich. *inc*: O, gloriose ziele Maria, verlicht my...

110v–116r: **Indulgenced prayer**: *rub*: Dese bedinge plach dagelix te leesen Maximilianus die edel keyser van den roemschen rijck te saligher gedachten van synder zynder

zielen, ende onse heylighe vader die paus Alexander die seste heeftse geconfirmiert ende [111r] heeft daer toe gegeven elcken goeden keersten menschen lesende den almogeden God dese voerseyde beedinge alsoe menighen durent afflaets alsoe menich letter in bedinge staet. *inc:* O, Almogende godt, gedanckt geloeft ende gebenedijt moet ghy syn van der gratien die ghy my verleent [111v] hebt dat ick een keersten mensche ghewoorden ben, dat ick myn vyff synnen behouden heb, ende dat ghy mij gesontheit verlent hebt...

152v–154v, **The Three Pater Nosters**, *rub:* Item, die heylighe paus Calixtus heeft afflaet gegeven tot desen drie *Pater noster*. In den iersten heeft hij gegeven xxx^m jaere afflaets dagelike sunden... [153r] *rub:* Tot die twede *Pater noster* heeft hy gegeven xxx^m jaeren afflaets dagelike sunden... [153v] *rub:* Dit is die derde *Pater noster*. Ende hier toe heeft hy gegeven xxx^m [154r] jaere afflaets ende xxx carenen. Een carene is seven jaer wuellen ende barvoets gaen en[de] water en[de] broet vasten, en[de] seven jaere die ander nacht niet te slapen daer ghij een nacht geslaepen heeft, ende seven jaer onder gheen dack te comen, ten weer dan dat men misse hoerde in die kercken, ende vii jaere te drincken twater daer hij sijn voet in gewas[154v]schen hadde, die alle dese puncten wel doet, die verdient en caren afflaets.

217r: **Prayer for the Holy Sacrament**, *rub:* Item, ghij en sult dat heyligh sacrament niet lange in uwen mont houden om meniger hande periculen die daer aff comen moechten. Als ghij dat heyligh sacrament nut, *inc:* Gaet in my u ziele ewighe leven...

II 5573

Book of hours

188 folios on parchment; 130 × 95 (95 × 67) mm; 18 lines

Made in 1523 (according to a dated colophon, see below) in Zierkzee, in the province of Zeeland (reference to St. Lebuin as 'our patron' in the calendar, 25 June and 12 November)

Original owner: Mariken Hubrecht, the wife of Ocker Sijmons (or possibly Mariken, the wife of Hubrecht Ocker Sijmons), according to a note of ownership appears on fol. 1r: 'Dit boeck hoort toe Mariken Hubrecht Ocker Sijmons z. huijsvrouwte wonende binnen die stede van ziericxzee. Ghescreven int jaer ons heren xv[^e] ende xxiiii In agosto'; f.188v: 'Nota. Dit boeck hoort toe Mariken Hubrechts Ockair Sijmon z. huijsvrouwte wonende binnen Ziericzee. die hem vindt brenghen weder ter rechter handt om gods wille ende om eenen drinck penninck. Ghescreven int jaer ons heeren Jesu Christi durent vijfhondert ende drientwintich in agosto'.

Miniatures/decoration: decorated initials, 2 full-page tipped-in miniatures (Christ falling under the cross, fol. 107v; St. Barbara, 183v)

Selected bibliography: Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 3, pp. 32–37.

76v–79r, **10 verses of St. Gregory**, *rub:* Thien ghebeden te lesen voir die wapenen ons heeren Jhesu Christi, dair sinte Gregorius ende nae hem veel pausen ghegeven hebben veel durent jaren oflaets, den ghenen diese lesen staende inder gracie. [77r] *inc:* O, heere, Jhesu Christe, ick aenbede di in den cruce hanghende...

79r–81v: **Prayer to be read before a crucifix**, *rub:* Dese ghebeden salmen spreken voir een crucifix. *inc:* O, heere Jhesu Christe, ick knijele hier voir uwen heylighen cruce ende voir uwe heylighe vijf wonden ende voer uwe grondeloose bermharticheijt...

81v–82v: **Prayer to be read before a crucifix (selection from Thomas a Kempis: *Orationes de passione domini*)**, *rub:* Een ghebet voir een crucifix beelt. *inc:* Ick bughe mijn

knijen tot dij, o, heere Jhesu Christe, dien ick hier zien om mijnen wille uut gherect aenden cruce. Ick gruete dij, o, wairdighe beelde mijns ghesontmakers...

II 6907

Prayerbook, with indulgenced prayers, and exercises for each day of the week

210 folios on parchment, 139 × 100 mm, 17 lines

Made after 1503 (mention of Julius II, 1503–13)

Copied by Pierre Paludanus, who used the device 'niet zonder Gode'. He inscribed feminized noun forms, such as *sondersse*, fol. 11v

Location: A Franciscan monastic context seems likely for several reasons: the presence of the 'Colnish Pater Noster' as the first text in the ms (fo. 4r–6v); the apotropaic text invoking the INRI titulus to ward off sudden death (8v); the mention of a 'minnebroeder' in an exemplum (fol. 159r); a prayer Saint Francis was said to have read and taught his brothers (81r); and a prayer to St. Francis is prominent among the suffrages (fol. 129r).

Miniatures/decoration: 2 full-page tipped-in miniatures with painted borders, including the heavily kissed St. Anne

Selected bibliography: BNM; Rudy 2011, pp. 228–230.

9r–12r: **10 Verses of Saint Gregory**, *rub*: Ghelijc dese navolghende *Sinte Gregorius ghebenden* vermeedert sijn int ghetale van diverse pausen, also sijn sij oeck vermenichfuldicht met weerdighen ende costelijken aflaten, als dat de somme van desen aflaet is XCII^m ende XXIIII jaer ende LXXX daghen, die welcke aflaten een yegelijc kersten mensche verdienet sijnde inden staet der gracen also dicwijls als hij knielende leest devotelijc dees *Sinte Gregorius ghebekens* met also vele *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* voer het beelt metter wapenen ons heeren Jhesu Christi. Ende desen aflaet heeft ghedubbelleert den paus Julius de tweetsten met sijnder oracien.

25v–26v, **Prayer to the Wounds of Christ**, *rub*: Dit ghebet sprack *Sinte Gregorius* doen hi onsen heere sach met alle sijn bloedighe wonden ende gaf daer toe den selven aflaet dien hi gaf totter wapenen ons heeren. *inc*: O lieve heere Jhesu Christe, ic sincke mi in die diepheit dijnre heiligher wonden...

120v: **Indulgenced prayer to Mary**, *rub*: Den paus Julius de tweede heeft ghegeven die dese ghebekens leest als men de bedeclocke clipt LXXX^m jaer aflaets. *inc*: O, alder gloriose coninginne der ontermherticheit, ic guet den...

IV 190

Hours of Katherine Thomaes, in Latin and Middle Dutch

133 folios on parchment; 170 × 115 (102 × 68) mm; 19 lines

Copied c. 1500–1520 in Brabant (Antwerp?)

Original owner: Katherine Thomaes, who appears with her confessor in a full-page miniature on fol. 96v; her ownership is confirmed by a note of ownership on fol. 1r: 'Dit boec behoert toe Katherinen Thomaes wonende tot Antwerpen', and entries added to the calendar in the same hand, on 26 February: 'Op desen dach int jaer M.CCCC. XCIX. sterf Jan Thomaes mijn beminde vader', and on 2 May: 'Op den ersten dag van mei anno.LXXXIIIIJ. sterf Corneli Mathisen myn lieve moeder', and on 13 October: 'Hier wert mijn sone bruer Jacob geboren ano[?]', all written in a hand from c. 1500.

Miniatures/decoration: 4 historiated 7-line initials; 6 full-page miniatures, with painted borders

Selected bibliography: Deschamps 1977, p. 664; Smeyers et al. 1996, no.40; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 13, pp. 59–63.

89r–91v: **Adoro te, with 8 verses and a collect.** *rub:* So wie dese gebeden leset voer die wapen ons heeren wesende inden staet der graciën verdienet afaet van XCII ende XXIII^m jaeren ende LXXX daghen, van vele heilige pausen verleent. *inc:* O, heere Jhesu Criste, ic aenbede di hangende in den cruce ende een doerne op dinen hooft. Ic bede di dat dijn cruce mi behuede voer den slaenden engel. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

O, heere Jhesu Criste, ic aenbede di aen den cruce gewont met galle ende edic gelaeft. Ic bede di dat dine wonden moeten sijn mijnre zielen een remedie ende medecijn.

[89v]

O, heere, Jhesu Criste, ic bede di om die bitterheit dijns lidens dat ghi leet aent cruce ende alre meest doen u alre heilichste ziele van dinen lichaem versciet. Ontfermet mijnder zielen als si versceeden sal. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

O, heere Jhesu Criste, ic aenbede di doot inden grave liggende ende met ende met [sic] edelder salven ghesalvet. Ic bidde dat u doot sijn moet mijn leven. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

O, heere Jhesu Cristie, ic aenbede di neder dalende ter hellen ende verlossende die gevangen. Ic bede u dat ghi mi daer nommer meer inne en willet laten comen. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.* [90r] O, heere Jhesu Criste, ic aenbede u verrisende vander doot ende opvarende ten hemele, ende sitten di ter rechthert hant dijns vaders ontfermet di onser. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.* O, heere Jhesu Criste, goede herde behuet die rechtverdighen den sonde [sic] maect rechverdich, alre gelovige et menschen ontfermet, ende mi, **arme sonderse**, weset ghenadich. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

O, alder beminste heere vader, ic offer u die onnosele doot van dinen alder beminsten sone, ende die liefde sijns goddelics herte voer alle scult ende pine die ic onghewallige mensche ende van allen sondaren die meeste overmits minen swaren sonden. [90v] Ende voer alle mine vrienden leven ende dode. Ic bede u ontfermet mijnder. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*

rub: Versicule. Wi aenbeden u Criste ende benedien di. Want ghi overmits u heilighe cruys hebt de werelt verlost.

rub: Collect. Heere Jhesu Criste, levende gods sone, set u passie cruys ende doot tussen u oordeel ende onse zielen, nu ende als si van hier selen sceiden. Ende wilt u ghewerdigen te geven den levenden gracie ende ontfermherticheit, den gelovigen zielen ruste ende ghenade, der heiligher kerken vrede ende eendrachticheit [sic], ende onse arme menschen het ewighe leven. Die levet ende regneert ewelic sonder eynde amen. [91r]

rub: Een ander devote collecte. *inc:* O, heere Jhesu Criste, levende sone gods, die den heiligen man Gregorio dinen dienare wonderlic hebt vertoont die verholentheit dijnre alder heilichster passien. Verleent ons volcomelic te verdienen den afaet ende vergevenis dien de pausen allen gelovigen menschen de welc de wapen dijnder passien eerende sijn ende om hare misdaet rouwich sijn, mildelic hebben verleent. Die leves ende regneres ewelic sonder eynde. Amen.

IV 263

Fragment of a prayerbook, this section containing prayers to the Virgin

90 folios on parchment; 150 × 102 mm; 19 lines

Copied in the early sixteenth century in the Eastern Netherlands, probably Cleves

Original owner: a woman, possibly the nun represented on fol. 42r

Miniatures/decoration: 2 full page miniatures, 12 historiated initials, 23 illuminated initials

Selected bibliography: Deschamps 1977, p. 668.

Note: According to the Schoenberg database, this manuscript was sold on June 10, 1963 from Sotheby's Selden Sale, Lot 145 for \$3,360.00. BKB was the purchaser. The 90 folios in this

manuscript represent only a fraction of the original manuscript, which was broken up before 1963. Other segments are now in Berkeley, Toronto, and private collections. The section in Brussels contains exclusively Marian prayers. The section in Berkeley contains prayers to Christ's passion. Many of the individual leaves in private collections contain illuminated suffrages to saints.

42r: *rub*: Hier mede salmen grueten onse lieve [vrouwe] van Meylaen als men voer hoer belt. *inc*: God gruet u, heilige Maria hoge gelaefde tempel der heiliger drivoldicheit van gade voer syen ein ewicheit tot onser noet bewaert ons nu ende inder uren onser doet. Amen.

IV 410

Book of hours with calendar for Utrecht. Incomplete, bound out of order.

58 folios on parchment; 100 × 155 (59 × 106) mm; 22 lines

Copied by one copyist c. 1513–25; Leo X (1513–1521 is mentioned on fol. 47v, thus, it must date after 1513).

Location: Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 4, pp. 55–56, citing Anne Korteweg, notes that the decoration suggests the Fraterhuis te 's-Hertogenbosch (St. Gregoriushuis).

Miniatures/decoration: 1 incomplete full-page miniature (Mass of St. Gregory, fol. 45v); borders and initials decorated with penwork.

Selected bibliography: Deschamps 1977, p. 674; Deschamps and Mulder 1998-, vol. 4, pp. 55–56.

46r–47v: **Adoro te, in 9 verses, plus a collect**, [47v]: collect. Here Jesu Christe, des lewendige gaeds soen, dye die verhoelenheit dijnre alre heilichster passien sinte Gregorio dienen dienre wonderlicken getoent hebste, gheeft mi onsalige **sundaer** te vercrigen die volcomen verlatenisse mijnre sunden, welke die selve eerwerdige dijns vander volheit der paeuseliker machten mildelic gegheven heeft allen gheloevigen menschen in wairachtiger penitencien staenden ende dye die wapen dijnre passien eerende sijn. Die mit gade den vader ende mitten heilighen gheest leveste ende regneirs een god inder ewicheit. Amen.

47v–48v, 55r–56v, **Prayertoberead before the Arma Christi**, *rub*: **Item. Onse heilichste vader die paeus** [48r] **Leo geeft allen den ghenen die lesen dese nabescreven v Psalmen myt Antiffe Vers ende Collect al soe groet aflaet als men verdient van Sinte Gregorius gebeden voer die wapen der passien ons heren. Dese v psalmen beginne vanden v litteren des suete naems ons heren: Jesus.** *inc*: *Psalm. Jubilate deo omnis terra, etc.* Hebbet toe gade al eerrijcke volhertielike blijtschap...

IV 455

Indulgences from Rome, with a calendar for the Station Churches, and other prayers

119 folios on parchment; 117 × 81 (77 × 55) mm

Made after 1481 (fol. 62v, see below), in the Netherlands

Original owner: A Franciscan community

Selected bibliography: Deschamps 1977, p. 677; Jansen-Sieben 1989, no. B1230; Miedema 1996, p. 149, no. N7.

1r–16r, **Calendar with the Roman churches and their indulgences.**

16r–23v, **Stations and Indulgences for Rome**, *rub*: **Dit zijn Die stacien ende oflaten van Romen.** [16v] *inc*: Opten eersten sondach van den advent...

23v-, Descriptions of all the 7 churches, and what relics are in each of the altar, *rub*: Dit manchmen lesen als men die VII hoeft kerken van Romen ende stacien versoecken wil als men in enich vanden kerken coemt.

61r–62v: **Porcunicula indulgence**, *inc*: Te Assijs inden convent vander mijnre broeder oerden van den observanten is een cleyn capelle inder kerken. Ende is ghehieten tot onser vrouwen vanden engelen daer sinte Franciscus eerst die oerde bagan. In dat capelliken is volcomen vergiffenis van allen sonden. Als onse lieve here een sinen broederen eerst geopenbaert heeft ende verleen ende dair nae oec vanden paeus Honorio voert gheconfirmeert ende ver[61v]leent daertoe. Ende voert van veel paeusen. Ende nu sonderlinge soe heeft onse heilighe vader paeus Sixtus die vierde muldelike ghegeven ende verleent all den broederen ende susteren van sinte Franciscus oerde dese voerscreven kerke visetierende, is mit ynnicheit ende ghebede als een mensche toe behoert, die warachtighe penitencie begheret te doen. Ende inder tijdt des dages dat die voerscreven capelle ghewyct weert welke kermisse gheviert ende ghehouden wert jaerlix op St Steven paeus ende martelaers dach. Des dages na sinte Pieters dach ten bande op dien dach verdient een mensche volco[62r]men vergiffenisse ende oflaet van alle sine sonden. Ende dat begint an sinte Pieters dach te twee uren na middach ende duert sinte Stevens dach te twee uren na middach. Onse heilighe vader die paeus heeft gegeven alle die van sinte Franciscus oerde zijn op alle onser vrouwen avonden ende dach op alle der apostelen avonden ende dach, op sinte Nycolaus avont ende dach, ons heilighen vader Franciscus avont ende dach, ende oec den avont ende dach dat hij die wonden ontfenc, die op alle daghen ende avonden leest vijf ynnighe *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* op zijn knyen mit berou [62v] mit uutgherecten armen gelijk een cruce inder kerken inder teghenwoerdicheit des heilighen sacraments, die verdient tot elker tijdt voerscreven oflaet van alle sonden. Men sel tot elker tijdt toe als die *Pater nosteren* ghelesen zijn bidden voerden staet der heiligher kercken ende dat die prelaten in doechden voert moeten gaen. Dit voerscreven oflaet machmen oeck verdienen op St Anthonius avont ende dach die daer hiet van Padua ende was een mynre broeder.

62v–64v: **Indulgence for Franciscans**, *inc*: Inden jaer ons heer M IIII hondert ende LXXXI, des xv dach inden winter maent des [63] smorgens vroe ter sevender uren, soe heeft onse alre heilichste in Christo paeus Sixto de vierde vanden namen om beden wille des eerliken broeders Engel van Clavasio, ter tijt een ghemeen vicario der mynre broeders orde vanden observanten, heeft verleent ende ghegeven den mynre broeders, den claren, ende den brueders ende den susteren vander derden regelen sinte Franciscus volcomen aflaat van alle sonden in sonderlinghe steden als die comen, soe zullen sij alleen dencken op die kerke te Roem, ende beden dat sij willen ende verdienen [63v] daer oflaet recht of zij te Romen waren. Alle die gheen die hem tot desen oflaet voeghen willen, die zullen ten eersten tot eenre tijt spreken xv *Pater noster* drie werve. Die eerste xv *Pater noster* selmen offeren ter eeren ende te loven voerden eerwaardigen geesteliken vader den paeus Sixto die vierde, die dit oflaet ghegeven heeft. Die ander xv *Pater noster* selmen offeren gode te loven ende te eeren voer alle die gene, die dit oflaet verworven hebben. Die derde xv selmen lesen ende bidden voerden staet der heiligher kerken ende dat die prelaten voert moeten ghaen in [64r] doechden. Die sondaghe vanden seven hoeftkerken diemen verdienen mach op enen dach die is IIIJ^m jaer ende xv jaer ende xv hondert carinen ende vj hondert daghen oflaets. In wat kerke dat die stacie is, dan is dat oflaet gedubbelt. Ende oec is op alle der apostelen daghen IIJ^c jaer oflaets ende drie hondert carinen dit selmen voer die xv *Ave Marien* lesen. *Inc*: O, alre soetste maget Maria, ic vermane u dattu staetste

voer dinen lieven zoen ende toent hem u jofferlike borsten [64v] ende u lieve zoen staet voir sinen hemelschen vader ende toent hem zijn sijde ende wonden...

71r–74r: **Prayer to St Francis**, *rub*: Dese navolgende ghebeden plach altoes te lesen die heilige vader **Sinte Franciscus** mit groter ynnicheit, soe wijde datse leest, die sel onsen here vleischeliken sien eer hij sterft. *Oratio*. *Inc*: Heer, ic stae voer uwen oghen als een arme misdadich mensche die mit sinen sonden zijn...

Cambridge, Trinity College

B.14.6

Book of hours

221 folios on parchment; 172 × 125 mm (95 × 63 mm), 21 lines

Copied c. 1475–90 by at least two hands, writing in a similar style, in Delft

Miniatures/decoration: Penwork initials and pen flourishes; painted border decoration

156r–159r: **Prayer to the Five Wounds**. *rub*: Men leest een exempel [156v] datter was een waerlic mensche ende seer rokeloos mar doch so plach hi die vijf wonden ons heren dagelics te eren mit vijf ghebeden die hier nae gescreven staen. Dese mensche die sterf ende sijn siele en stont niet langer dan een ure inder lucht verbeydende die ontfemherticheit gods. Doe quam onse lieve heer selver ende haelde die siel mit groter vruechden ende sprac: 'Want gi mijn heilige wonden mit desen ghebede gheeert [sic] hebt, so en sel di noch helle noch veghevier lyden. Ende die ghene die mi hier mede eren dien wil ic selver weder eren'. Totter rechter hant ons heren Jhesu Cristi.

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek (Copenhagen, KB)

Thott 129 octavo

Prayer Book

130 folios on parchment; 145 × 115 (95 × 60) mm, 20 lines

Copied c. 1440–1460 in South Holland

Location: This manuscript has no calendar to help with localization. The first suffrage to a male saint is an especially long one dedicated to St. Jeroen, patron of Noordwijk in South Holland on the coast, and the first two suffrages to virgins are directed to Sts. Catherine and Barbara. The Canonesses Regular of ss. Catharine & Barbara in Noordwijk may have been ordered the manuscript in Delft, which was the closest major center for manuscript production. However, this suggestion is somewhat weakened by the masculine forms of the word 'sinner' [(44r) *Ontferme di mijns onwaerdighen sondaers*]. [It should be noted that women often read books with male pronouns, but men rarely read books with female pronouns.]

Original owner: Canonesses Regular of Sts Catharine & Barbara in Noordwijk?

Miniatures/decoration: penwork initials and border associated with Delft; painted border decoration; one full-page miniature with border decoration

Selected bibliography: BNM; Borchling 1899–1914, vol. 11, p. 38; Venner and Chavannes-Mazel 1979, p. 138.

38r–41r: **Prayer to the arma Christi**. *rub*: Van die wapenen ons heren daer veel paeusen oflaet toeghegheven hebben ende het beloopt te samen drie jaer drie M daghe ende 1j^c daghe oflaets. *inc*: O, waerde messe welc besneetste dat vleische Cristi snijt of alle

dat ons scadelike is. ¶ Joseph nam Jhesus ende voordien in Egipten als ghescreven staet uut Herodes macht. ¶ Tweewerf verbarch hem Jhesus ende vanden scaren der Joden die hem steenen wouden en hevet hi niet ghequetst gheweest. ¶ Jhesus dwoech die voeten sijner jongheren ende custese ende gaf hem die heilighe dienst sijns lichaems. ¶ Jhesus swetede wa[38v]ter ende bloet overmids anxt des doots doe hi sinen vader badt. ¶ Jhesus was droevich ende suchte mer Judas is den scaren der joden ghevolcht soekende dat loon der boosheit. ¶ Judas nam mit hem die scaren der Joden ende om ghelts willen leverde hi Cristum totter doot. ¶ Judas gaf den Joden een teyken ende mit hate custe hi den goedertieren gods soen ende verriet hem. ¶ Swaerden ende stocken brochten die scaren der Joden mit hem opter middernacht doe si Jhesum vinghen. ¶ Jhesus maecte ghesont Malcus ore nochtans stont dat volc op teghens Jhesus ende bleef in sijner quaetheit. ¶ O, du heilighe bant bindende die leden Cristi die welke ontbinden alle pinen. ¶ O, du soete [39r] kinnebacken Jhesu Cristi gheslagen mitter hant, du leerste ons oetmoedicheit. ¶ O, Jhesu Criste, wil ons teykenen mit dinen ghebenediden aensicht welc die quade lippen verspoghen. ¶ O, doec daer dat aensicht ons heren Jhesu Cristi mede bedect wort onder welc dat hi bespot wort mit kinnebacslaghen, wil droghen onse onreynicheit. ¶ Jhesus gheslaghen om sijn hals ende om sijn wanghen, dat hevet voor ons gheweest een welbehaghende offerhande sinen vader. Die coninc Herodes bespote Jhesum ende dede hem een wit cleet an ende sende hem weder onwaerdeliken tot Pylatus als voor die sentencie des doots. ¶ O, waerdighe calumpne, du hiltste Jhesum ghebonden die ghegheven [39v] was te gheselen, wil onse sonden ontbinden. ¶ O, roede ende ghesel slaende of quetsende dat jonghe lichaem Cristi wil ofslaen alle dat ons scadelike is. ¶ O, purpur cleet, welc Jhesum deckeste wil ons vercyeren op dat wi moeten volghen die voetstappen dijnre wet. ¶ O, du salighe riet, welc sloechste dat hooft Cristi ghecroont mit doornen, reyne ende lichte ons van allen onreynicheden. ¶ O, du heilighe croon Cristi, ghif ons die gaven des levens. Jhesus droech die last des cruces also sel een yghelic goet mensche tot inder doot verduldeliken draghen alle dat hem contrarie is. ¶ O, moeder die doe ommehincste die lenden Cristi mit enen doec, wil ons ommehanghen mit starcheit. ¶ Jhesus is ghetoghen [40r] mit repen op dat hi ons ghelijc den enghelen mocht maken in dat ewighe leven. ¶ O, du heilighe ende salighe cruus mitten leden Cristi verciert, wil alle sonden van ons driven. ¶ O, ghi drie naghelen Cristi wilt verteren mit een soete aenheftinghe die dwalinge mijnre ghedachten. ¶ O, leden Cristi die mitten naghelen doer graven hebben gheweest, wilt ons gheven wille te moghen liden alle droefheit. ¶ O, also moet oec die hamer die daer die naghelen indwanc ghesont maken alle opheffende wonden overmids die onreynen sonden. ¶ Jhesus ende dat cruus wort opgeboert in die lucht ende die bequame beneficien der minnen worden doe gheopenbaert. ¶ Die rouwe [40v] wassende ende dat bloet vloeyende ende die sonne liet haer scinen staen ende bedroefde hoer ghevende Cristo horen dienst. ¶ Dat volc riep mitten moerdernaer: 'Bistu Cristus, so doch teyken in die ure der doot'. ¶ Mer die een seide: 'Heer ontferme di mijns' ende die ontfermherticheit gaf hem dat paradijs. ¶ Die maghet weende van rouwen ende bidt voor den pijnres ghevende sijn moeder solaes. ¶ Jhesus sprac: 'Mi dorst', om sijn cleet worpen die pijnres lot. ¶ O, mont Cristi, nem of die doot des quaden woorts welke mont Cristi dat riet ende spongi gaven asijn ende galle. ¶ Jhesus heeft driewerven gheweent ende hi heeft driewerven ontcleet gheweest om onser onsalicheit willen. ¶ Jhesus riep '*Hely he*[41r]*loy*' ende stervende beval hi sinen gheest. ¶ O, doot Cristi, du biste een bitter doot ons ontbindende van die ghierighe macht der vianden. ¶ Die steenen die scoerden ende dat cleet des tempels scoerde an tweeën stucken om die sonden die daer ghedaen worden aenden ghenen die alle dinc onthoudt. ¶ Ende die elementen die beefden ende der doden lichamen sijn ghevonden opstaende. ¶ O, side Cristi doer graven mit een speer, sijn minne doer

di ghegheven moet wedermaken alle onse hardicheit in soeticheit. ¶ O, du speer die levende fonteyn die overmids di ghestort is, moet onse dode hert levende maken. ¶ O, nijptanghe daer die naghelen mede uutghetoghen worden ende die leden Cristi me[41v]de ontbonden wil ofhalen alle doot onser ghedachten. ¶ Die ledder die te vespertijt Cristum vanden cruus dede moet ons op voeren totter ewigher bliscap. ¶ Joseph van Aromathien begroef Jhesum in een reyn lynnen cleet mit vroliken ghedachten. ¶ Die wapenen Cristi moeten ons behoeden in ewicheit. Amen.

50r–51v: **Verses of St. Gregory, 5-verse version, rub:** *Dit is Dat oflaet vanden wapenen ons heren Jhesu Cristi.* Doe sinte Gregorius paeus was ende op een tijt misse dede, openbaerde hem onse heer Jhesus Cristus onder die ghedaente sijnre passien ende doe hi dat sach wort hi mit devocien beroert ende gaf alle den ghenen die dese navolghende ghebeden mit vijf *Pater nosteren* ende vijf *Ave Marien* op haer knyen ghebiecht ende waerachtighe penitencie doende devotelic spreek voor dat voorghenoemde beelde der wapenen Cristi verdient viertien dusent jaeren waerachtich oflaets. Ende daer na hebben veel ander paeusen also veel daer toe ghe ghegheven [sic] dattet te samen belooft [51v] twintich dusent jaren ende viertien jaer mit vier ende twintich daghen. Oec hebben sommighe paeusen dit oflaet gheconformiert, als Innocencius die vierde ende Clemens die sevende. Item, int jaer ons heren dusent CCC ende XLIX conformierde oec dit die vijfte paeus Nycholaus overmids bede broeder Cristofels van Sarlinio minre broeder. Daer bi waren brueder Franciscus van Groppoli ende broeder Dominicus van Rangia, te Romen in sinte Pieters paeus palaes. Ende Kalixtus die derde paeus hevet dit voorghenoemde oflaet gheconformiert vander apostolen macht int jaer ons heren M CCC ende LVI int anderde jaer na dat hi paeus gheworden was. Alsmient vint gheteykent in sijn [51r] register in dat CC ende dertiende blat int anderde boec. *Pater noster.*

Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek (Ghent, UB)

205

Prayerbook, mostly in Middle Dutch, with selected prayers in Latin; calendar for Kamerijk Manuscript on parchment apx. 162 × 117 mm; mostly written with 18 lines; the manuscript was rebound as 3 volumes, c. 1800: vol. I, 70 fols; vol. II, 100 fols; vol. III, 62 fols.

Made 1450–1500

Copied by same as Ghent, UB 607 (according to Reynaert 1984)

Location: possibly Dendermonde, male and female monastery of Birgittines called Mariëntroon

Original owner: possibly Margaret of York

Miniatures/decoration: Highly decorated, with miniatures, painted border decoration, and initials.

Selected bibliography: Reynaert 1980–1981; Stoker and Verbeij 1997, nrs. 307–309

I, 20–23: **Prayer to the Five Wounds, rub:** *Hier volghen devote bedinghen tot den ghebenedijden vijf wonden ons liefs heeren Jhesu Christi, daer alle onse salicheit in leit. Eerst totter rechter hand Christi.* inc: O, alder goedertierenste heere Jhesu Christe, u zij lof ende glorie...

I, 69v–II, 11r: 15 **Pater Nosters, with rubric describing St. Bridget's Vision of Christ, rub:** Als die heilighe bruyt Christi sente Birgitte haer te Roomen in sente Pauwels kercke hadde laten besluyten soe was zij alle daghe met grooter devocien biddende...

11, 56r–57v, **Rosary devotion**, *rub*: Hier volcht een zeer devote bedinghe gheheeten *Rosier van onser liever vrouwen*, die welke wilt des saterdachs gheseyt zijn, vanden welken men leest dat een religioes persoon die canonic gheweest hadde ghenamnt Arnolphi, die oec zeer wel bemint was van gode ende van zijnder ghebenedider moeder Marien, want hij hem lieden bij daghe ende bij nachte was dienende. Alsoe dat op eender nacht ons liever vrouwe op eender nacht [sic] haer vertoon[56v]de ende leerde hem dese bedinghe van grooter devocien ende seide: 'Arnolphe, ontfancst dese bedinghe ende leertse voert alsoe vele menschen als ghij muecht. Ende alle diese devotelijc lesen zullen tot mijnder eeren alle saterdaghe, zeer groote blijscap sal hem lieden gheschien, want zij zullen my vijf reisen sien voer huer lieder doot, tot huer lieder hulpe ende confortacien. Ten eersten, zullen sij my sien in alsulcken staet als ic was, doen my die inghel Gabriel boetscapete die incarnatie vanden ghebenedijden gods sone. Ten tweesten, zoe ic was in mijn [57r] kinderbedde, doen ic zoechede mijnen ghebenedijden sone. Ten derden, zoe ic was in grooter druefheit, als ic sach aenden cruyce sterven mijn alder liefste kint. Ten vierden, zoe ic was, als ic hem sach verrijzen vander doot ten levne. Ten vijften, zoe ic ben sittende inden godliken thron alder naest mijnen alder liefsten sone, als een keiserinne des hemels ende der eerden'. Ende smorghens, als dese wijse man ontwaecte van zijnen visioene dat hij ghehadt hadde in zijnen slaep, soe loefde hij gode ende der maghet Marien, ende vant bij hem dese bedin[57v]ghe ghescreven, die welke Maria hem hadde ghelaten. Ende doen zonder merren stont hij op ende gaef te kennen den bishop van zijnder stede, die welke datse openbaerde ende predictese alle zijn lant duere. Ende aldus zijn se ghebreedt alle kerstenrijck duere. Hier om sal een ieghelijc goet kersten mensche dese bedinghe gheerne alle saterdaghe devoetlijc pinen te lesen, up dat hij die hulpe der moeder gods in zijnder meester noot mach vercrighen, als hier voer ghescreven staet. Hier volcht die bedinghe ghenomt in Latine. *inc*: *Missus est angelus Gabriel ad Mariam ...*

209

Prayerbook

258 folios on paper; 140 × 100 mm; A, 32 lines; B, 20 lines; and C, 20–22 lines; sixteenth-century, panel-stamped binding

Made in 1504 (calendric table on fol. 9r begins with 1504); it has a calendar for Kammerijk Copied by two hands (A. fol. 3r–9v, 43v–103r, 136r–160v, 191v–204v, 219r–219v, 253v–257r; B. fol. 11r–43r, 104r–135v, 162r–191v, 205r–218v, 220r–253v)

Selected bibliography: Derolez 1977; Jansen-Sieben 1989, no. G210; Gailliard and Vreese 1907–1914, no. 4.

12r–34v, **Henry Suso, Hundred Articles**, *rub*: Hier volghen die hondert ghedinckenessen der passien ons heeren Jhesu Christi, die een yghelic innich jongher Christi mach pinen daghelicx met innicheden te *betalen*, ende hem selven daer in onsen heere, die voor hem ghecruyst es, als hy ootmoedelicst mach met begheerten godliker minnen gheestelic te ghelikene. Des maendaechs. Dat eerste artekele.

248r–248v, **Prayer to the relics in the church**, *rub*: **Totten helighen reliquien die rusten in deser teghewoordigher keerken.** *inc*: O, behaude der weerelt, behoud ons; allen heilige moeder gods eewighe maghet Maria, bidt voor ons. Ende wij bidden ootmoedelic dat wij overmids den ghebede der heligher apostolen, martela[248v]ren, confessoren ende der maegden van allen quade verlost moeten werden ende alle goet nu ende eewelic moeten verdienen te ghebrukene. *Versus*. Bidt voor ons, heilige gods moeder, eewighe maght Maria, alle santen ende santinnen, dat wy weerdich werden. *Coll...*

1340

Book of hours

218 folios on paper and parchment; apx. 139 × 94 mm, 21–24 lines

Partly made in 1477 (dated colophon by the fifth hand, fol. 218v: 'Ich was ghescreven op sinte pauwels avont inden jaer XIII^{ic} ende LXXVII')

Copied by Five hands (1. f.1r–1v; 2. f.2r–15v, 17v–25v, 27r–27v; 3. f.16r–17r; 4. f.26r–26v; 5. f.28r–218v.)

Location: The medium (paper and parchment), spelling, script, and the fact that the text block is not ruled suggest that the manuscript was made in the eastern part of the Netherlands. It was possibly made in/for a convent dedicated to St. Ursula, given the highly unusual Hours of St. Ursula (fol. 210r–213v)

Selected bibliography: Derolez 1977; Reynaert 1996.

20r–25v [ends imperfectly], **Pseudo-Bernard's Prayer to Christ's Body Parts**, *rub*: Hier beghint een innich ghebet dat sinte Bernaert ghemaect heeft mede te beschreyen ons heren passie. Ende men leest hoe in eynde tijt sinte Bernaert dit ghebet las voerden cruce ons liefs heren Jhesu Christi. Ende het waert ghesien dattet beelde hem vanden cruce losde ende gaff hem neder ende omhelsde Sinte Bernart. Ende het is vanden stoel van Romen met schoenen aflaet begaeft ende gestedicht, als diet leest met werdicheiden ende met devocien verdient twee dusent jaer, CCC jaer, LXX jaer, ende LXX daghe aflaets. Dit aflaet verdient ynnichlic.

64v–67v, **Colnish Pater Noster**, *rub*: Valt den hemelschen vader te voeten ende sprect: Vader onse du bist inden hemel. *rub*: Nu sprect totten luchteren voet met aendacht: Oitmoedelyc geheilicht werde dyn name. *inc*: [65r] *rub*: Nu sprect totter wonden dess rechten voets: Toecomende si ons dyn ryck. *inc*:... [65v] *rub*: Nu sprect totter luchter hant: Dinen wille gheschie inder eerden als inden hemel. *inc*:... [66r] *rub*: Nu sprect totten ghecroenden hoifde: Ons dagelix broet geeft ons heden. *inc*:... [66v] *rub*: Nu sprect totter rechterhand: Ende vergeeft onss onse mesdaet als wi vergeven onsen sculden. *inc*:... [67v] *rub*: Nu sprect totter herten met aendacht: Ende en leit ons niet in becoringhen in verlost ons vanden quaden. Amen. *inc*: ...

1734

Prayerbook

229 folios on paper; 138 × 100 (100 × 70) mm.

The watermark suggests a date of 1540–50, and the dialect points to Utrecht or environs.

Copied by written by 3 different hands. The first (fols. 1–112v), writes in unregulated script; the next (fols. 113–197v); and the last (198–229) write in more even hand.

Original owner: A note on fol.187 implies a female monastic context: 'vor susteren onser vergaderinge Collecta'.

Selected bibliography: Meertens 1930–1934, vol. VI, no. 29; Rudy 2011, pp. 16, 218–221, 231, 421–423

100r–100v, **Prayer to be read before an image of Jesus**, *rub*: Item, die paus Gregorius hevet gegeven alden geenene die daer leesen voer der figuren daer onse lieve heer sit inden grave of inder wolken een *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* mit requiem xxx dusent jaer aflaets. Ende van XLV pausen ende van enen yegeliken XL jaer, ende van dertich biscopene ende van enen yegeliken 11^c dage. Ende dit aflaet hevet bestelt die pauwes Clemens ende hevet den geenene diet voert sandigt XXIII jaer. Ende men sal dit gebet daer toe leesen. *inc*: O, here Jhesu Christe, also dijn strenge gerichte sal gaen over my ziele,

soe bidde ic di sette dyn hillige lyden ende dyn duerbaer bloet ende dynen dueren swaren bitteren doet voer alle mynen sunden, ende voer allen geloveingen levendigen ende doden. Amen.

2636 (olim)

Book of hours with extra prayers

181 folios on parchment; 145 × 105 (87 × 66) mm, 19 lines, littera textualis

Copied in 1527 by Sr Stine Dutmers, a Benedictine nun at the Thesinge Monastery in Groningen, who wrote a colophon 'Dit boec is geeyndiget in dat jaer ons heren dusernt vijf hundert ende soeven ende twintich op sunte andries avent, gescreven van suster stine dutmers, nunne to tesinge voer teersame joffer ende vrouwe Clare joncfre nonne [...] bride[...][?]'

Location: Thesinge, convent of male and female Benedictines called the 'Zeven Broeders'
Original owner: Sister Clare

Miniatures/decoration: 1 column miniature; 1 historiated initial; decorated initials with border decoration in Groningen style; opening pages of major texts are missing.

Selected bibliography: Hermans 1988, no. 28; Korteweg 1992, p. 142; Stoker and Verbeij 1997, no. 1161.

13v: Indulgenced prayer to Jesus, *rub*: **Item, Sixtus de pawes hevet ghegeven elven dusernt jaer aflates to dit naghescreven gebet.** *inc*: Weset gegruet gude Jhesu, verwynner der doet, ghever der gracen...

Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek (Groningen, UB)

405 (the Zutphens-Groningse manuscript)

Various texts including prayers in Middle Dutch, including one by Jacob van Maerlant
235 folios on parchment; 315 × 210 (230–236 × 138–145) mm; 2 columns, with 40 and 51 lines,

Made c. 1339–1341 (fol. 12r: Easter table for the years 1339–1377; fol. 4r: table with a schedule of eclipses for 1340–1386).

Copied by written by at least three hands: A. fol. 208r–212r; B. fol. 2r–3r, 4r–v (?), 5r–207v, 212v–232v; C. fol. 233r–234r, 3v (?).

Location: possibly 's-Hertogenbosch (according to Deschamps 1972); or the Norbertine monastery of St Mary (Mariënweerd) in Beesd (according to Biemans 1996, pp. 214–218)

Decoration: historiated initials; painted border decoration; penwork; full-page and column-wide miniatures

Selected bibliography: Leendertz 1895–1897; Deschamps 1972; Hermans 1979; Biemans 1996; Byvanck and Hoogewerff 1922–1925, no. 2.

219r: **Middle Dutch translation of the *Anima Christi* with a large indulgence**, Goeds ziele heyle mi. Goeds lichame behuede mi. Goeds bloet drenke mi. Dat water dat uut goeds zide vloyde dat wasghe mi. Goeds martelie sterke mi. O, goede god, verhore mi. Help mi, lieve here, dat ic nemmermeer van di gesceiden en werde. Behoede mi van buesen vianden in minen einde. Trecke mi ende leide mi bi dat ic di loven moghe metten engelen ewelijc ende emmermeer. Amen. *rub*: **Die dit ghebet leest die heeft dusernt dusernt [sic] dage aflaets van doetliken zunden. Ende dusernt jaer van dageliken zunden. Dese gebede metten aflate voorsproken zeinde die pawes der coninghinnen van Cecilien, want zij langhe begaert hadde.**

The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (HKB)

Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen, Ms XXXVI (KA 36)

Prayer book in Middle Dutch and Latin

128 folios on parchment; 205 × 150/153 mm, with 20 lines

Copied c. 1390 in Brabant, possibly Brussels

Codicological note: The manuscript was stolen in the 1970s and later returned; during its absence from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the stamps from the library were painted over.

Original owner: The owner was a woman.

Miniatures/decoration: 29 partial-page miniatures; painted borders, initials

Selected bibliography: Byvanck and Hoogewerff 1922–1925, no. 8; Oosterman 1995, vol. 2, p. 338, no. 76; Hoogewerff 1963, pp. 75–80; Smeyers 1993, p. 225.

11r–12r: **Indulgenced prayer**, *rub*: **Dat hier na volgt spreect omberaden / Dat ghi van zunden wert ontladen.** [11v] *inc*: Du sals spreken enen *Pater noster* der versterffeninghen die des menschen sone, onse behoedere Jhesus Christus, die aenden cruce starf. Ende der vrouwen ende der bliscapen die hi hadden, doen hi sach dat alle sinen noot was comen teenen goeden inde ende soe menich mensche daer mede verloost soude sijn. Soe saltu hebben LXXX^m jaer affelaets van dagheliker sunden ende verlorens tijts. *Pater noster*. Ende noch suldi segghen enen *Pater noster* teeren hem, die sijn lieve vriende hadde int voerboech vander hellen doen hise met godliker ghewelt verlooste. Ende der vrouwen die hi hadde doen hi sach ende verkende dat hi dat vermochte ende niemant el. Soe saltu hebben LXXX^m jaer aflaets ende verlorens tijts. *Pater noster*. Ende noch enen *Pater noster* in die eere [12r] der blijscapen die onse vrouwe hadde in paeschdaghe doen si haren sone verrisen sach. Ende der vrouwen die hi hadde doen hi hem selven sach verclaert met sijnre godliker claerheit. Soe saltu hebben LXXX^m karinen quite. Ende also dicke als een dit ghebet eenen anderen leert, soe heeft hi dit paerdoen. Amen. *Pater noster*.

75v–79v: Rhyming prayer to the Arma Christi, with an image for each stanza

[75v] [image: cross]

Ic gruetu, heileghe cruce ons heren

Daer ghi aen smaket die bitter doot [76]

Welc ons den viant doet verweeren

Ende verloest hebt uter helscher noot

Ic biddu, God, die u gheboot

Dat u cruce ende u heilige bloet

Mi huede vor der hellen stoet

Ende altoes weset in mijn behoet.

[image: face of Christ]

Ic gruetu, heilege Veronike,

Dat na Goods anschijn es gheprint

In een ghedaene, in een gelike.

Alsoe, heer, maect mi bekent

Dat mi die zunden werden ontwint,

Ende ic gedingke, heer, uwer pine,

U gratie, my heere, toesint

Dat ic aenscouwe danschijn dine.

[76v] [image: Five Wounds, on a gilt background]

Ic gruetu, die langhe ende die wide
Der wonden die ghi ontfinct
Met enen speere in u zide,

Daer ghi aen den cruce hinct,
Daer water ende bloet uyt quam gerint
Daer wij alle bi waren verloost.
Lieve heere, mijns ghedinct
Ende weest mijnre aermer zielen troost.

[image: cloak and dice]

Ic gruetu, werde rock ons heeren,
Dien ghi aendroecht al u leven [77]
Ende daer de Joeden in haer sceeren
Slot op worpen, soet es bescreven.
U menschelijc lijf daden si beven
Met spotte ende met groeter pine.
O, God, wilt mi gratie gheven
Dat ic ghedinke der passien dine.

[image: crown of thorns]

Ic gruetu, scarpe doerne croene,
Die gode op thoet was gheduwet,
Daer mi zundeere, aerm persone
Zeere af te sprekene gruwet.
Dat bloet, heer, dat quam ghespuwet
Uyt uwen hoede te LXXII steden.
Lieve heer, al hebbic u gheseuwet,
Toent aen my u ontfermecheden.

[77v] [image: lantern, and two scourges]

Ic gruetu, walm ende lanteerne,
Daer onse heer met was ghesocht
Te vanghen, te doeden met sceerne,
Na datten Judaes hadde vercocht.
Ic biddu, god, die u verwrocht
Dicke hebbe met minen zonden,
Dat ic ontga der hellen crocht
Ende zalich met u werde vonden.

[image: column, and two cat-o'-nine-tails]

[78r] Ic gruetu, gheesel ende calumme
Ende zeel daer mede was gebonden
Donnosel Jhesus, als een stomme
Naect stont ende ontfinct sijn wonden
Alsoe vele te dien stonden
Dat die Joeden muedden van slane.
Lieve here, vergheeft mi mine zonden
Ende in doegden te volstane.

[image: three nails and hammer]

Ic gruetu, hamer ende nagle mede,
 Die gode dor hande ende dor voete
 Gheslaghen worden dor sijn lede,
 Ende scoerden tonser zielen boete.
 Aen tcruce waerdi ghenaghelt onsoete
 Ende opgheheeven om onse mesdaet [78v]
 God heere, hets recht dat ic u groete,
 Want ghi sijt mijn toeverlaet.

[image: ewer and sponge]

Ic gruetu, pot ende spongie mede
 Daer gode drinken met was gegeven,
 Galle, edic, groet bitterhede
 Gafmen hem drinken, soet es besceven
 Verre cort daer na, lietty u leven,
 Doen ghi spraect: 'Hets al voldael',
 Doe ghi den bitteren dranc hadt beseven.
 Soe gheeft mi, heer, in duegden te volstaen.

[image: ladder and tongs]

[79] Ic gruetu, tanghe ghebenedijt,
 Ende leeder die aen tcruce stoet
 Daer ons god mede heeft ghevrijt,
 Dier aen hinc doot naect ende zeer bebloet,
 Doen Joseph van Arimathyen goet
 Met helpen u vanden cruce dede.
 So nemt mi, heer, in u behoet
 Dor uwe groete ontfermechede.

[image: white cloth]

Ic gruetu, heileghe sudarie ons heeren,
 Daer Jhesus in was gewonden zaen,
 Gruetic hem te love ende teeren,
 Doen hi vanden cruce was gedaen.
 U moeder, heer, weende meneghen traen
 Doen sy u in haren aerm ontfinc. [79v]
 Vergheeft mi, heer, dat ic hebbe mesdaen
 Om dat ic dye peise [read: peinse] om eerdsche dinc.

[image: empty sarcophagus]

Ic gruetu, weerde graf ons heeren,
 Daermen u in leide, als men ons leest,
 Ende waert gesalft met groeter eeren,
 Ende ten derden daghe verreest.
 Heere Jhesus Christus, nu soe weest
 Ons genadich als wij verrisen
 Ende daer wij selen staen bevreest,
 Ende wilt ons touwen rike wisen.
 AMEN.

108v–110r: **Prayer to read in front of a crucifix, rub:** Als du in groter noot [*rubbed*], gaet vor een cruce staen ende spreect III werf den zalm *Cum invocarem* den heileghen voetstappen [*sic*] te love ende teeren, die ghi lieve heer deedt doen ghi tote [109r] uwer martielen ghinct. Ende biddu lieve heer dor des heilichs anx [read: anxt] wille, die de u menscheit duer den doot leet, dat ghi sweetet water ende bloet, dat ghi minen anxt ende minen noot ghenadichlijc wilt ghestellen. Tert dan vorwaert drie voetstappen ende knielt neder ende spreect weder den zalm *Cum invocarem* III werf. Ende knielt neder ende spreect aldus: 'Lieve here, desen zalm lesic u teeren ende te **werdichheiden** den heileghen voetstappen dat ghi vor Pylatus ten gherechte ghinct, ende bid du, lieve heere, duer des jammerlijx ordeels wille datmen daer over u dede, dat ghi over minen anxt ende over minen noot ghenadichlijc wilt onfermen.' Tert dan weder vorwart III voetstappen ende valt neder op u knien ende spreect III werf den zalm *Cum invocarem*, den heilighen voetstappen teeren ende te loven, die ghi, [109v] lieve heere, daedt doe ghi toten ghebenediden cruce ghinct, ende biddu, lieve heer, dor des anxtelijx doots wille, die ghi daer om ons allen doen woudt, dat ghi vaderlike wilt aensien minen commmer groot [*great hinderance*]. Ende wilt mijns ghenadichleec [*sic*] ontfermen. Ende wilt nu van desen zaken maken vri ende los. *inc:* *Cum invocarem exaudivit me ...*

73 H 34

Diverse texts, including the Rule of St Francis, sermons, rules for obtaining absolution in the city of Rome and elsewhere

202 folios on paper in an original parchment binding with clasp; 133 × 95 mm

Copied by several copyists, including one named Liesbeth, c. 1500 and slightly later

Location: A female Franciscan convent in the Northern Netherlands

Selected bibliography: Sherwood-Smith and Stoop 2003–2008, vol. 2, pp. 889–891, vol. 5, p. 35.

123r–123v, **Seven points for Christians who want to earn indulgences, rub:** Hier begynnen VII punten die van noeden sijn te wetten allen kersten menschen die aflaet willen verdienen of salmen des aflaets deylachtich werden. *inc:* Ten iersten mael is van noede ende men is schuldich te geloven inden aflaet. Ende dat die paus ende biscoppen die macht hebben aflaeten te geven. Ende dat hij se ontfangen mach ende oec denct te ontfangen want mitten gueden werken die niet en geschien uut meynigen datmen daer aflaet doer verdienen wil so en verdient men gene aflaet. Ten anderen ist van noede dat een mensche devocie of begeerte heb totten aflaet. Ende ynnich totter passien ende bitteren lijden ons lieven heren daer alle aflaet uut comt. Ende oec totten saken waer om dat dat aflaet gegeven, want die pau[s] Innocencius secht hoe een mensche meer devoc[ie] ende liefden heeft totten aflaet, hoe hij meer verlichtenisse criget der pijnen. Ten derden mael moet die mensche berouwe hebben van sijnen sunden want sancte Bernardus secht [123v] nyemant en mach aflaet verdienen wes conciencie die godlike sentencie gebonden helt. Ten vierden mael tot dat aflaet te verdienen is van noede die biecht. Enter mitten monden gesproken of mit gueden opsat dat te doen op bequame tijden want des paus bullen gemeynlic alsoe halden. Ten vijften mael moet daer oec wesen volbrengynge der saken daer om dat dat aflaet gegeven is.

123v–124v, **The virtue and meaning of indulgences, rub:** Wanden doechden des aflaets ende wattet aflaet beduyt of beteykent. *inc:* *indulgencia* in Latijn is in Duytschen te seggen *aflaet* welck woert heeft VII doechden in hem. Dat ierste is dattet vergeeten sijden uut doet. Dat ander dattet dagelixse sunden purgiert. Dat derde is dattet vergeeten penetencien vervult. Dat vierde dattet dat vegevuur af nemt ende cortet. Dat vijfde dattet dat loen des ewigen levens daer mede vermeerret wort. Dat VI is dattet die penetencie [124r] in desen tegenwoerdigen leven verlijchtet. Dat sevende is dattet

den sonder gerynge op doet staen ende vanden sunden doet bekeeren. Alle dese vii doecheden moegen wij verdienen mit aflaet te wijnnen. Niemand en sal dat heilige aflaet verachten, want soe mennich jaer aflaets of dage als men verdien, alsoe menich jaer of dach betaelen wij vander pijnen des vegevuurs, want sancte Thomaes seyt in dat vierde boeck opten meester vanden hoegen sijne dat aflaet is vergijffnisse ende guyttscheldijnghe der pijnen die een mensche nae dien dat hij gesondicht heeft schul-dich is te lijden voer die sonden nae dat gerechte ordel gods ende der heiliger kerken, want daer en is geen sunde soe cleyn daer en moet pijn voer geleden sijn enter hier of hier nae maels. Ende dese pijn moegen wij af leggen ende corten mit dat heilige aflaet, welcke aflaet genomen wort uutten schat der heiliger ...

74 G 3

Book of hours in Middle Dutch and a smattering of Latin

112 folios on parchment, 175 × 122 (80 × 68) mm, 19 lines

Made shortly before 1497 (as per binding). The calendar for Utrecht includes an entry in red for St. Jeroen, patron saint of Noordwijk (17 August). Some of the illumination may have been executed in Leiden.

Binding: Panel stamped, with 2 clasps that are pinned; the pins are attached to small chains. The panel stamping shows 6 small animals in helix branch design, with the date 1497 stamped all around it, and the date 1497 engraved on the clasps

Miniatures/decoration: 6 full-page miniatures (100/115 × 65/70 mm) with border decoration by the Masters of Hugo Jansz. van Woerden, made c. 1490–1497

Selected bibliography: BNM

14r–39r, **Hours of the Virgin**, *rub*: *Hier begint die vrouwe getide. Domine. / Inder eerlijcheit der alre salichster maget Marien / laet ons volhertelike bliscap hebben ten*

39r–42v, **Magnificat**. *Mijn siel maect groet den here, ende mijn geest heeft heen hoge vervroecht in gode minen heiligever, want hi heeft aengesien die oetmoedicheit sijne deenren siet daer van sellen nu salich heeten alle geboerten...*

42v–43v: **Salve regina**, *rub*: *Een suverlijc gebet tot onser liever vrouwen Salve regina misericordie. inc*: *Ghegroet sijstu coninginne der ontfermherticheit des levens soeticheit ende onse hope sijt gegroet [43] we ellendige enen kinderen roepen totti droevende ende screiende ende sijchten totti in desen screienden dale...*

43v, **Quire filler, indulgenced**, *rub*: *Soe wie dit gebet leest verdient xl daghen aflaets. inc*: *Ghegruet sijstu warachtich gods soen gheboren vander maget Marien waerlijc gepasijt ende gecruust ende die mensche dijn side doersteken daer liep uut water ende bloet. Esto nobis pregultatum mortis in examine. O, goede god. O, lieve, o, soete god, ontferm mi arme sondige mensche. Amen.*

96r: **Poem of the arma Christi in red ink, immediately following the Hours of the Cross**:
Cristus, dijn passie, cruus, nagelen, ende doot
Speer, geselen, tranen, wonden root
Sweet, water, bloet, ende pine groot
Moet mijn troest sijn ter lester noet
Als ic moet sterven den bitteren doot.

74 G 9

Book of hours in Latin and Middle Dutch

95 folios on parchment; 183 × 129 mm, with 19 lines

Dated 1535 (fol. 95v); probably made in Tournai, as per the calendar

Original owner: R.W.T. (whose device 'a la mort' appears on fol. 3r, 61v)

Miniatures/decoration: 11 large and 12 small miniatures; 2 marginal images; decorated initials, border decoration

Selected bibliography: de Kruyter 1974; ; Storm van Leeuwen 1983, p. 25 no. 17; Gumbert 1988, vol. 2.1, p. 26 n 66, p. 249 no. 920a; vol. 2.2, pl. 982a; Oosterman 1995, vol. II, p. 239, no. R46, 337, no. H66, p. 370 nt. 71.

94r–95v, **A Spiritual Wine Tavern (Een gheystelec wijnghelaech)**, *inc*: Hier volght *Die taverne* / Vul gheestelicheden / Up Cristus wonden / Goed om te weerne / De beestelichede / Van allen zonden

131 H 4

Prayerbook

II + 210 folios on parchment; 145 × 105/6 (91 × 60) mm; 20 lines

Copied c. 1470–1490 by sames as Leiden UB, Ltk 322 (according to Wierda 1995)

Location: IJsselstreek, possibly: Zwolle, Domus Parva (Wierda 1995). I note, however, that the manuscript contains many extra prayers to St. Francis, and it is also possible that this book came from a Franciscan house in the IJsselstreek.

Early owner: Johanna ter Brugghen

Miniatures/decoration: metallic borders typical of the decoration from Arnhem

Selected bibliography: Wierda 1995, no. 19; Korteweg 1992, no. 108; Stooker and Verbeij 1997, vol. II, p. 238.

fol. 48v–55r: **The Colnish Pater Noster**, *rub*: **Hier beghint dat Colsche Pater noster. Pater noster qui es in celis.** [49r] *inc*: O, vader alre barmherticheit, ic arme ongherechte sondighe mensche, dancke di... [50r] *rub*: **Nu sprec totten luchteren voet: 'sanctificetur nomen tuum.'** *inc*: O, suete vader ende ghetrouwe mynre, ic arme, sieke, ghewonde mensche, vermane di ende dancke di ... [50v] *rub*: **Nu sprec totten rechteren voet: 'adveniat regnum tuum.'** *inc*: O, vader ende here hemelrijcs ende eertrijcs, ic, arme snode creatuer, dancke di der groter mynnen... [51r] *rub*: **Nu spreck totter luchter hant: 'fiat voluntas tua.'** [51v] *inc*: O, suete vader ende ghetrouwe vrent, ic, arme onghelatene mensche, vermane die ende dancke di des oetmoedigen... *rub*: **Nu sprec totten ghecroenden hovede: 'sicut in celo et in terra.'** [52r] *inc*: O, vader ende coninc der ewigher eren, ic, arme onweerdighe mensche, dancke di dijns bitteren doerwonden verseerden hoofdes... [52v] *rub*: **Nu sprec totter rechter hant: 'painem [sic] nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie.'** *inc*: O, mijnlike vader ende ghetrouwe brudegom, ic, arme onghetrouwe dienre vermane di der ewiger mynnen in wilker du mi totti gescapen na di selven ghebeelt hebste... [53r] *rub*: **Nu sprec totter doerstekenre siden: 'et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.'** *inc*: O, getrouwe vader ende alre liefste lief, ic, arme [53v] snode dorstighe creatuer, vermane di des riken verborghen ontelliken scats... [54r] *rub*: **Neyghe di mit oetmoedicheit tot onsen lieven heren ende sprec: 'te [sic] ne nos in ducas in temptationem, sed libera nos a malo. Amen.'** *inc*: O, mylde barmhertighe vader, ic bekenne dat mi myne menichvoldighe ghebreke dicke ghehindert hebben... [55r] *rub*: **Soe wie dit ghebet mit meerre mynnen ende andacht gheschiet [sic] totten wonden ons lieven ghemynden heren Jhesum Cristum, soe men eer meer gaven daer uut ontfaet. Ende al ist dit ghebet enen menschen ten yersten onsmakelic, soe hi hem langher daer an oefent, soe het hem smakeliker wort. Amen.**

132 G 38

Book of hours

152 folios (foliated XII and 140), on parchment

185 × 125 (93 × 65) mm; 19 lines (except final ruled folio—139—which has 18 lines)

Made in three campaigns of work from c. 1480–1495

Location: The manuscript has a calender for Utrecht. It originated in South Holland, with extra decoration added in Leiden, and texts and penwork added in Delft.

Early owners: Diewer Goes (fol. 140: 'Diet bock hoert toe Diewer Goes diet vint die bringtet weder ter recten hant'); the manuscript then belonged to IJosina van Sijdenburch (fol. 140: 'Dit bock hoort toe IJosina van Sijdenburch aensien doet ghedencken sijt ghe-derich ijn liefden vierich')

Binding: fifteenth-century panel-stamped brown leather binding

Note: This had metallic badges pressed into the fly leaf (6 round ones, and 2 arched ones), and 6 additional round badges sewn to fol. 124. Fol. 85, 87, 130, 139 and the quire from 94–105; are added from a different campaign in order to extend existing prayers and have different border

Miniatures/decoration: 5 miniatures by the Masters of Hugo Janszn van Woerden; decorated borders; initials and decoration from Delft.

Selected bibliography: Byvanck and Hoogewerff 1922–1925, no. 142; Defoer et al. 1989, pp. 287, 297; Korteweg 1992, no. 57; Venner and Chavannes-Mazel 1979; Rudy 2011, pp. 241–246, 447–448; Rudy 2016.

100v–101r, **Prayer to Our Lady of Milan**, *rub*: *Item, soe wie dit nagescreven ghebedekijn leest mit xv Ave Marien voor een beelt van onser liever vrouwen van Meylanen xv dagen lanc, knyelende mit een bernende kaers, in die eer dat onse lieve vrou Maria xv graden op clam inden tempel, die vercrijcht daer mede een bede an die reyne maget Maria. Ende die paeus Maertinus heeft gegeven alden genen die haer gebet doen voor dat beelt van onser vrouwen van Meylanen mit ynnicheit sijns herten hondert dagen oflaets. Gebet. inc*: O, gloriose siel Maria, verlicht my; O, edel trouwe hart Maria, besorcht my; O, waerde reyne cuysse lichaem Maria, bescermt my. Ende in allen peryculen ende [101r] noden verlost my van allen quaden. Amen.

139r–139v, **Privileges of Saint Anne**, *rub*: *Dit is Die privilegie vander heiliger vrouwen sinte Anna. inc*: Soe wie sinte Annen beelt aensiet mit devocien, die sel verlost van veel quaden inder sielen ende inden lichaem. Ende soe wie hoor daghelics eert mit aelmisen, mit gebeden, mit vasten, of mit enich licht te ontsteken, ende soe wie sonderlinghe hoor eert des dinxdages mit drie *Pater nosteren* ende drie *Ave Marien*, besluyten[139v] de vanden *Ave Maria* seggende aldus, 'Ende gebenedijt moet sijn u heilige moeder Anna in wes heilighe lichaem sonder enige vlec gecomen is, amen', die sellen hier leven mit eren der titeliker goeden. Ende alle saken sellen tot saligen voerspoet hem comen, want si is een moeder der bedructer. Den armen rijct si. Den drovigen vertroest si. Den sieken maect si gesont. Mit hem allen heeftsi medeliden. Nyement en versmaet si, hoe groten sondaer hi is. Item, soe wie daer doet of hoort doen een misse van sinte Anna die wort uut veel lidens of drucs verlost ist hem salich. Of dat liden wort hem mynre. Soe wie oec een misse doet van sinte Anna voer een siel, die siel wort verlost of sijn pinen vermy[n]ret.

133 D 10

Prayerbook

184 folios on parchment; 138 × 100 mm

Made c. 1450–1500 in Limburg (as indicated by the calendar and dialect)

Miniatures/decoration: 8 miniatures, painted border decoration.

Selected bibliography: Oosterman 1995, vol. 2, p. 338.

172r, **Apotropaic prayer**, *rub*: Soe wie dit ghebet sprict met reijnre conscienaen hi mach verdienen vi^m ende vi^c ende LXvj daghe aflaets. Ende hi en sal niet sterven in wat

noede hi were noch vergheven werden, noch ghevanghen werden van synen vianden.
Amen.

O, cruce alre hoechste
O, myn schelicheit alre bloetste
O, wonden alre diepste
O, Jhesu uutvercoren broeder
Sijt myn bescermer ende behoeder

133 F 8

Prayers for the ecclesiastical year (lectionary)

341 folios on paper; 145 × 103 (90 × 65) mm

Made in 1528 in the Northern Netherlands

Miniatures/decoration: pen-flourished initials

Selected bibliography: BNM

1r: Prayers for the four Sundays before advent, *rub*: Dese oefeninghe salmen houden op die vier sonendaghe vanden advent. Then eersten salmen neder vallen ende cussen die eerde ende segghen 'God vader van den hemel, ontferme di onser'. Den recht di weder op ende spreket dit ghebet:...

133 H 16

Book of hours

123 folios on parchment; 166 × 116 (97 × 67–72) mm, with 20 lines

Copied in c. 1475–1500 by two hands. Hand one (fol. 1–48; fol. 101–123) writes in a 'spikey' script associated with Leiden; Hand two (fol. 49–100) uses rounder strokes.

Location: South Holland; the blue acanthus decoration decoration suggests Leiden

Selected bibliography: Brandhorst & Broekhuijsen-Kruijer 1985, no. 301; Korteweg (e.a.) 1992, no. 51.

fol. 46r–47v: The (seven) verses of St. Gregory, with prefatory poem

Red: Cristus, dijn passie, cruus, nagelen, ende doot

Speer, gheselen, tranen, wonden root

Sweet, water, bloet, ende pine groot

Moet mijn troest sijn ter lester noot

Als ic moet sterven den bitteren doot. Amen.

Blue: O, lieve here Jhesu Christe, warachtich god ende mensche, ick dancke u ende love u hondert dusent dusentich werven van uwer ghebenedider [sic] menscheit, [46v] van uwer bitter passien, van uwer bitter passien [sic], van uwer bitter doot, van uwer liever werder moeder, ende van al uwer goedertierenheit. Ende van al dat ghi mi verleent hebbet ende noch dagelijcs verleent. Ende van al dat ic soude konnen gedencken.

Red: Sixtus die vierde paus heeft dit vierde ende dit vijfde gebet gemaect ende daer mede heeft hij die oflaten gedubbeleert alsoe dat wise leest verdient XLVI^m ende XL dagen oflaets. Ende diese niet lessen [sic] en can macht verdienen mit xv *Pater noster* ende xv *Ave Maria*. *Pater noster. inc*:

134 C 47

Book of hours and Prayers

205 folios on parchment; 160 × 110 (102 × 63) mm; 20 lines

Made c. 1490–1500 in the Southern Netherlands, with a section (fol. 183–205) and miniatures added later, c. 1525

Original owner: owned by a certain Margrieten van Beeringen, the 'huysvrouwe' of Adriaen van Heylwigen, rentmeester van Loenen, in the sixteenth century

Miniatures/decoration: 5 full-page miniatures, 27 smaller miniatures, 1 historiated initial, and painted border decoration in Ghent-Bruges style

Selected bibliography: BNM

171v–172v, **prayer with an exemplum**, *rub*: Dit wert gheopenbaert een der nonne die onsen heere bat om een ghebet, dat hem alre bequaemste ware te horen, ende den mensche alder salichste. God verhoerde haer ghebet, ende daer quam een inghel tot haer ende leerde haer vijf woerde, die hier nae volgen. Dese nonne sterf ende quam sanderdaghes [sic] weder tot haren biecht vader, daer hi sijn ghetiden las. Hi vraghede haer waer om si weder quame. Si sprac: 'Ic heb gode ghebeden om een ghebet, dat hem behaghelicste ware ende den mensche alder salichste. Dit en heb ic nyement voert gheleert, ende heb my selven daer in verhoveerdiget. Ende ic ben in also groter pinen ende sal soe langhe in pinen sijn, [172r] dat soe menich mensche weet als sterren aenden hemel staen. Ick bidde di, priesters ende clerken, dat ghi dit voert wilt condighen ende doent scriven ende hanghen in allen godshusen'. Dit is ghesciet in sinte Gregorius tiden ende sinte Gregorius heeft ghebeden eenen ygheliken mensche den anderen voert leeren sal. *Pater noster. inc*: Ic dancke ende love der wijsheit gods, die my ghemaect heeft, doen ic niet en was. *Pater noster*. Ic dancke ende love der toe comsten gods, die ic verbeidende ben...

135 C 9

Prayerbook and series of calendars

329 folios on paper and parchment; 143 × c. 90 (95 × 58 and 85 × 56) mm; 25 and 18 lines

Made in two campaigns of work c. 1500 in the bishopric of Luik (according to the calendar), probably near Maastricht, with a soft parchment binding from c. 1500, after 1481.

Original owner: One or more Franciscan tertiaries

Selected bibliography: Aelst 2005.

25v–26r: **Definitions of careen, quadragene, and septeen**, *rub*: Item, wat te seggen is *careen, quadrageen*, of *septeen*. *inc*: Item, een carene of quadrageen of septeen beteikenen alle drie gelike voel ende is een penitencie VII jaer lanck te dragen op sijn bloete huut een vullen cleet of een haren hemt. Item, VII jaer lanc bervoets te gaen. Item, VII jaer des vridages mit water ende broet te vasten. Item, nummermeer te slapen des enen nachts daermen den anderen geslapen heeft. Item, VII jaer lanc onder geen dack te come ten waer inder kerken om misse te horen. Item, nummermeer uut enige scottel [26r] te [eten mer?] alleen van oer bloeter eerden. Item, nummermeer te drincken uut enich vat mer alleen uutten hant. Soe wie dat dese penitencie VII jaer doet, die verdient een careen of een quadrageen of een septeen gelike voel alle drie.

26r: **Why indulgences are useful**, *rub*: Waer toe dattet nutte is aflaet te wynnen. *inc*: ¶ Item, *indulgentia* in Latijn is in Duytschen te seggen *aflaet*, welc woert hevet soven doechden in sich. ¶ Die ierste dattet vergeten sunden uuttoet. ¶ Die ander dattet dagelicse sunden purgiert. ¶ Die III dattet vergeten penitencie vervult. ¶ Die IIII dattet dat vegevuer afneemt. ¶ Die v dattet dat loen des ewigen levens vermeerret. ¶ Dat VI dattet die tegenwoerdige penitencie verlicht. ¶ Dat VII dattet geringe den sunder doet op staen ende sich vanden sunden doet keren. Dese VII voerscreven doechden moegen wi verdienen mit aflaet te wynnen.

135 E 18

Book of hours

128 folios on parchment; 170 × 118 (62 × 111); 22 lines

Copied in *littera textualis* c. 1480 in Delft (as per the decoration)

Codicological note: The manuscript may have been bound out of order, and it probably originally had a calendar, which is now missing; it is missing several folios; the end of the book is heavily water-damaged.

Miniatures/decoration: 8 historiated initials, 54 decorated borders; decorated initials and penwork

Selected bibliography: Venner and Chavannes-Mazel 1979, p. 135, 137–138; Korteweg 1992, no. 34.

18v: How venial sin can be forgiven, rub: Hoe dagelicse sonden vergeven worden. inc:

In seven manieren worden dagelicse sonden vergeven. § Dat eerste dat een mensch waerdelic t'heilige sacrament ontfact. § Dat ander dat een mensch dat gewide water ontfact. § Dat derde dat een mensche sijn handen uutreict tot aelmessen te geven. § Dat vierde dat een mensche andachte sijn *Pater noster* spreect. § Dat vijfde dat een mensche sijn *Gelove* nae spreket naden sermoen daer oec niet alleen dagelicse sonden mede vergeven en worden, mer oec dootsonden, die een mensch in sijn gedachten niet en heeft ende vergeten sijn. § Dat seste is dat een mensch vander misse die benedictie ontfact. § Dat sevende dat een mensch voor sijn borst slaet van berouwe sijnre sonden. Ende oec worden dagelicse sonden vergeven dat een mensch dat heilige oyles.

21r–23r: Prayer to the Name of Jesus, which converts purgatorial from eternal to temporary, rub: Die heilige vader Bernardinus bat alle dage mit ghebogen knyen dit seer

devote gebet om die waerdicheit des alren heilichsten naems Jhesu. Ende het is goedertierliken te geloven dat hi salichliken heeft verworven sonderlinge loen der ewi[21v] ger vertroestinge biden selven Jhesum Christus overmits die anropinge des alren hogesten naems Jhesu. Ende het is te weten dat dat ghebet dat hier naevolget hanget te Romen in Sinte Pieters kerke bi dat hoege outaer daer alleen die overste bisscop als die paus plach te dienen of misse te doen. Ende soe wat kersten mensche dit naeghescreven gebet devoteliken lase ende waert dat hi des selven daechs inden staet der verdomenisse waer, soe soude hem verwandelt worden die ewighe pijn in titelike pijn des veghevijs. Ende waert dat hi verdient hadde die pijn des veghevijs, so wort die vergheten overmits ontfermherticheit mit goedertieren verlatenisse. Ghebet. inc: O, goede Jhesu; O, alre soetste Jhesu; O, alre [22r] saftmoedichste Jhesu; O, Jhesu, Marien soen ... O, name Jhesu, soete naem; O, naem Jhesu genoechlike naem...

135 G 22

Book of hours

244 folios on parchment; 169 × 115 (100 × 70) mm; 20 lines

Made c. 1501 (as per the computational circles) in Enkhuizen. It has an Utrecht calendar, with feasts in red including St. Augustine (28 August), St. Gummar 'confessoer ende patroen' (October 11) and the 11,000 Virgins (21 October). Litany: St. Augustine and St. Gummar singled out by red stroke

Sixteenth-century binding, brown calfskin with blind stamping

Miniatures/decoration: 1 historiated initial; decorated and gilt initials, and border decoration; prints or images removed from fol. 15v, 55v, 151v, 168v, where traces of glue still visible.

Selected bibliography: Boheemen et al. 1986, p. 59 no. 9; Rudy 2015, pp. 33–37.

102v–125r, **Hours of All Saints**, *rub*: Hier beghinnen *Die ghetiden van allen heilighen*.

125r–125v, **Prayer for the Virgin in Sole**, with 11,000 years indulg from pope Sixtus IV, *rub*: Die paeus Sixtus die vierde heeft verleent alle den ghenen die dit navolghen^[125v] de ghebet devotelic lesen voer dat beelde onser liever vrouwen inder sonnen elf durent jaer warachtich oflaets also dicke als men leest. *inc*: Wes ghegruet, alre heilichste Maria moeder godes, coninghinne des hemels, poerte des paradises, vrouwe der werlt, du biste sonderlinghe puer suver maghet. Du ontfengheste Jhesum sonder sonde. Du hebste ghebaert den scepper ende verlosser der werlt, in welke ic niet en twivel. Verlost mi van allen quaden ende biddet voer mijn sonden. Amen.

200r–238r, **Office of the Dead**

238v–239r, **Prayer to Read in a Cemetery**, *rub*: Dit ghebet salmen lesen asmen over den kerchof gaet ende daer is toeghegheven soe menighen dach oflaets als daer doden begraven sijn. *inc*: Weset ghegruet alle ghelovighe sielen welker lichamen hier ende overal in Cristo rusten in der eerden...

The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Biblioteca Philosophica Hermetica
Collection (HKB BPH)

134

Book of hours

166 folios on parchment; 185 × 145 (89 × 65) mm; 20 lines

Made after 1470 in North Holland, probably Haarlem

Original owner: the wife of Gelijs Gerijts Soen (or Gerijtssoen)

Miniatures/decoration: Five full-page miniatures by the Master of the Haarlem Bible; historiated and decorated initials; Haarlem borders, animated with birds brandishing scrolls bearing legible blue messages between their beaks

Selected bibliography: Tenschert 1990, no. 29; Korteweg 1992, pp. 84–115; Wüstefeld and Korteweg 2009, pp. 104–105.

154v, **List of Dead Family Members**, *rub*: Int jaer ons heren MCCCCLXIIII op sinte Loureys dach sterf Gelijs Gerijts soen, mijn lieve man.

Int jaer ons heren MCCCCLXX sterf Gelijs Willems soen, mijn lieve vader, des sonendaghes na sinte Franciscus dach.

Int jaer ons heren MCCCC ende L op sinte Gaucolfs dach sterf Katrijn, Gelijs Willems soens wijf, mijn lieve moeder. Bidt voer alle hoer sielen.

Hier beghint *Die vigilie van neghen lessen*.

145

Book of hours

172 folios on parchment + 19 added leaves; 135 × 100 mm; 23 lines

Made c. 1475–1500 in South Holland, probably Delft, judging by the decoration

Miniatures/decoration: 8 full-page miniatures; historiated and decorated initials, penwork, and border decoration

Selected bibliography: Korteweg 1992, no. 52; Wüstefeld and Korteweg 2009, pp. 118–119.

36r–43r, **Prayer to the Body Parts of Christ**. *rub*: Men leest van sint Bernaert, die dit ghebet ghemaect hevet dat hier na ghescreven staet, dat tot eenre tijt doe hijt las voor een crucifix, ghesien wort van een heilich mensche die van verre stont, dat dat beelde hem

selven loste vanden cruce ende Bernaerdus soetelijc omhelsede. Ende het is gheconformeeert van den stoel van Romen. Ende diese lesen verdienen 11^m jaer LXX jaren ende LXX daghen oflaets. *inc:* Ghegroet sijstu mijn salicheit, o, du lieve here Jhesu Criste. Wes gegruet ende wilt mi bequaem maken...

168r–170r, **Prayer for 30 days**, *rub:* Een heilich man seit: So wie dit gebet spreekt mit rechter ynnicheit ende minnender herten xxx daghen voor een siel, hets te hopen dat si verlost sel worden. Ten eersten, spreekt een *Pater noster* ende een *Ave Maria* mit *Requiem* ende een *Miserere mei deus* ende dat op die blote knien, mit groter begheerten, mit gewronghen handen, tot onsen heer aldus: 'O, heer, ghif hem die ewighe rust ende dat ewighe licht moet hem lichten'. *Oratio. inc:* Ic bidde di, heer, door dijn vaderlike naem ende ghenade...

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek (Leiden, UB)

Ltk 303

Prayerbook

228 folios on paper (end missing); 135 × 92 mm

Made ca. 1530 (watermarks include Briquet no. 1049 and 11465) in Tongeren, as confirmed by the dialect and the calendar, which contains Kerkwijngge (church dedication) for Tongeren (9 May); Geruaes bisscop (13 May); Gielis Abt confessor (1 September); Lambrecht bisscop (17 September); Marternus bisscop (25 September); Huybrecht biscop (3 November)

Miniatures/decoration: penwork initials, penwork border decoration; 1 historiated initial (5 wounds of Christ, fol. 156r); on 222v an image, probably depicting Christ's face, was pasted in when the book was made, but it has been removed

Selected bibliography: Deschamps 1954, no. 88.

170r–171v: **Prayer to Christ's body parts**, *rub:* Soe wat mens die dit ghebet met devocien spriect, in dien daghe en sal hy niet haestelich sterven *Pater Noster. inc:* Ghegruet sistu wruchtende hoeft des almechtighen, ons gesoent makers woer ons gecroent metten dornen croenen ende met den riete geslagen. *Pater noster.*

172r–175r: **Prayer from Kaiser Maximilian**, *rub:* Dit gebet heeft achter ghelaten die alre edelste keyser van Romen Maximianus, ende hy plach alle dach in Duitschen te lesen ende onse heilighe vader, die pous Aelixander die sesde heeft geconfermert ende heeft daer tou [sic] gegeven elcken kersten menschen diet devotelick leest met berouwen sinder sonden also mennich [sic] duisent jaer aflats alser menige letter staet int ghebeet. *inc:* O, almoeghede God, ghedanck ende gheloeft ende ghebenedyt moet ghy syn vander [172v] gracen die ghy my verleent hebt... (For this prayer, see Meertens 1930–1934, vol. I, p. 52.)

222r–222v, **Prayer to Christ's wounds and blood**, *rub:* Soe wye dit ghebet spriect, die verdient alsoe weel aflaets als tusschen Paesschen ende Pinxten graes spyren uter erden springen mach. *inc:* O, mynlyck liever heer Jhesu Christi, ich syncke my in die diepheit uwer heyligher wonden. O, mynlike lieve heere Jhesu Christi, ich wassche my met dynen duerbaren bloede...

228v, **Prayer before an image of the Crucifix, with an indulgence given by Pope Gregory III at the request of a queen of England**, *rub:* Die dit ghebet devotelick leest voer een

beelt des crucifix verdint soe weel dagen aflats als Christus mennige [sic] wonde in sy[n] licham ontfinc in zyn passie welcken aflaet ghegeven heeft die paus Gregorius die derde doer bede van een coninghine [sic] van Engellant. *inc*: Ick bid u alder bemintste here Jhesu Christe doer die gron[the ms breaks off at this point]

Ltk 317

Prayerbook

325 folios on paper; 140 × c. 102 (80–98 × 70–80) mm, between 15 and 24 lines

Made c. 1500; the spelling conventions (e.g., *vrient*) suggest the eastern Netherlands, near the German language border.

Although written by a single female scribe, she seems to have written the quires at different times, and they therefore have different rulings. She identifies her gender in the colophon, which reads: 'Nota, bidt voer die scriefster, om gods willen, die dit boeck ghescreven heeft, want het is hoer seer sweer gheworden al en ist niet moey. Deo gracias. Jhesus ende Maria moet ons altoes verbliden, nu ende tot allen tyden amen. God heb lof' (fol. 324r)

Codicological note: There is a petal from an unidentifiable plant pressed between fol. 275–276.

Selected bibliography: Rudy 2011, pp. 125–126, 231.

36v–46v: **Colnish Pater Noster**, *rub*: **Hier beghint een iijnnich ghebet dat men hiet Dat Colsche Pater noster**. Ende hoe men dit ghebet mit meerre minnen ende aendachte des herten spreket totten wonden ons heren Jhesu Christe, hoe datmen daer meer gaven uut ontfact ende hoe hem een mensche daer langher in oefent, hoe dattet [37r] hem selver soeter ende smakeliker wert. Nu valle den hemelschen vader te voete oetmoedelike ende spreek aldus: 'Vader ons, die biste in den hemel'. *inc*: O, vader, alre ontfermherticheit, ic, arme ongheraecte sondighe mensche, dancke dijnre vaderliker ontfermhertigher trouwen die du mi bewyst hebste ... [38v] *rub*: **Nu sprec tot ten lufteren voet oetmoedelic: 'Vader geheilicht'**. *inc*: O, zoete vader ende ghetrouwe minnaer, ic arme sieke ende ghewonde mensche vermaen di ende dancke di der bittere smarte dijnre doergaen der dieper wonden... [39v] *rub*: **Nu sprec totten rechteren voet ons heren mit aendacht: 'Vader toecome ons dijn rike'**. *inc*: O, vader ende heer hemelrijcs ende aerrijcs, ic danc dijn arme snode crea[40r]tuer, dancke di der groter minnen dattu mi tot dinen rike ghescapen hebste... [40v] *rub*: **Nu sprec totter lufter hant: 'Vader dijn wil gheschie'**. *inc*: O, zoete vader ende ghetrouwe vrient, ic, arme ende onghelaten mensche vermaen ende dancke di des oetmoedighen onder gaens dijnre edelre natueren die du [41r] dedeste mit dien woerde doe du dinen vrien wille op gaveste onder den wille dijns vaders te liden den bitteren smadeliken doot voer alle mensche-like gheslachte... *rub*: **Nu sprec [41v] totten ghecroenden hoofde: 'Vader, dijn wille gheschie in den hemel als inder aerden'**. *inc*: O, vader ende coninc der ewigher eren, ic, arme onwaerdighe creatuer, dancke di der bittere smarten dijns doergewonden edelen hoofdes... [42v] *rub*: **Nu sprec totter rechter hant: 'Vader onse, ghif ons huden onse daghelix broet'**. *inc*: O, minnentlike vader ende ghetrouwe brudegom, ic, arme onghelaten mensche ende onghetrouwe romp... [43v] *rub*: **Nu sprec doer die doersteken [44r] side ons heren: 'Vader verghif ons onse scout als wi onse sculdenaers vergheven'**. *inc*: O, alre ghetrouweste vader ende alre liefste lief, ic, dijn arme snode behoefteighe creatuer, ic vermaen di des riken verborghen... [45r] *rub*: **Nu neighe di mit oet[45v]moedicheit voer dat beelt ons heren Jhesu Christi ende sprec: 'Vader en leide ons niet in becoringhe, maer vrie ons van allen quaden. Amen'**. *inc*: O, mildde ende ontfermhertighe vader, ic bekenne dat mine menichvoudighe ghebreken mi dicke ghehindert hebben...

167r–169r: **Prayer to Christ's Shoulder Wound**, *rub*: Een gebet op die wonde op ons liefs heren scouder. [167v] Onsen heer hadde een wonde op sijn rechter scouder drie vingheren diep, daer hi grote pin in leet boven ander wonden. Ende seide tot sinte Bernaert: 'Soe wie se daghelix grote, die soude hi sonderlinghe gracie verlenen. Ende oec alle menschen die hem daghelix eren in deser wonde wil ic vergeven daghelix sonden ende doot sonden ende weel gracie, die ic niet en gheef te kennen'. *inc*: O, heer Jhesu Christi, sachtmoedighe lammekijnt, ic [168r] dijn arme dienre ende sondighe mensche gruete dijn heilige wonde die op dijn ghebenedide scouder stont...

171r–171v: **Passion Prayer**, *rub*: Soe wie dit ghebet mit ijnnicheit sijns herten leest ende buten dootlike sonden is, die verdient alsoe menich jaer oflaets als daer gras wast twisschen Paesschen ende Pinster, dat beschrift ons die paeus Urbanus, die paeus Silvester, paeus Gregorius, paeus Bonifacius, die paeus [sic], die paeus, sinte Pieter ende sinte Pouwels der kerken van Romen ghescreven mit gulden letteren. [171v] *inc*: O, du minnentlike Jhesu, sende in mijnre herten dat licht dijnre godliker mynnen ende wijsheit als dat ic di bekenne ende dat ic dij mijnne. Ende dat ic dij in alle mijnre herten lief vinde Jhesu Christus. Amen.

Leuven, Universiteitsbibliotheek (Leuven, UB)

Ms G70 [destroyed]

For a description, see Meertens 1930–1934, vol. II, p. 43.

151v, **Prayer to Christ's Passion**, *rub*: Onse lieve here hevet geapenbart eyne ynniger personen dat getael synre bloets droepelen, dat hie in synre personen hevet uutgestort om die verloesynghe des menschelicken geslechtes, dat der waeren vijff^e mael M ende XLVI^m. [olim Leuven, ms G70, fol. 151v, from Meertens 1930–1934, vol. II, p. 43]

London, British Library (LBL)

Add. 17467

Prayer book in Middle Dutch and Latin.

277 folios on very fine parchment; beginning and ending missing; 94 × 130 (49 × 70) mm; 16 lines

Made c. 1450 in the Southern Netherlands. The calendar contains feasts for Sts Omer, Bertin, and Rombout; it may have been made near/in Thérouanne but for Dutch speaker

Original owner: A woman, given the female forms in the formula for confession (e.g., sonderse, 197r), possibly the woman shown on fol. 236v.

Miniatures/decoration: 14 full-page miniautres on singletons, with painted borders.

Selected bibliography: De Flou and Gailliard 1895–1897, vol. II, p. 72–73; Pribsch 1896–1901, vol. II, no. 185; Rudy 2015, p. 272.

11r–20v: **Confiteor and Marian Mass** (Prefaced by an image, 10v, depicting the Virgin with child standing on the moon), *rub*: Hier beghint onser vrouwen misse *Et introibo ad altare*. *inc*: Ic sal in gaen totten altare Gods tot Gode die blide maect mijn joncheit ...

22v–27r: Two sequences to the Virgin, to be read during or after Mass.

22v–25v: **Marian prayer to read during or after the Mass**, *rub*: Hier na beghinnen twee sequencien van onser vrouwen welc men wille machmen [23r] lesen inder missen of daer naer. *inc*: Dues ghegruet zeer clare sterre des meers op verresen uut gode totenn lichte der heidene...

25v–27r: **Prayer built around the Ave Maria**, *rub*: Die ander sequencie hier naer. *inc*: God gruete di Maria, zuver maghet, die here si met di. Ghebenedijt bistu onder die wiven du die den mensche vrede ende den enghelen glorie hebste ghebaert. Ende ghebenedijt is die vrucht dijns [26r] lichaems die ons van ghenaden heeft ghemaect. Op dat wi sijn mede erfghenamen zouden wesen. Overmids dier gueten der werelt, zuete hebstu. O, nuwe sterre ieghen des vleeschs recht ghebaert een vrucht een sonne het is een nuwe baringhe. ...

197r–198v: **Prayers to the Trinity (prefaced by a miniature depicting the Trinity, 196v)**: *rub*: Dit sijn goede bedinghen van der weerder heiliger drivoldicheit. *inc*: o, du hemelsche vader al machtege god, ontferme di over mi arme sonderse ende vergeeft mi alle mine mesdaet.

208r–211v: **Prayers to read in church**, *rub*: Alstu inder kerken treedes, soe sprect dit met goeder herten. *inc*: Ic sal gaen in u huys ende sal aenbeden in uwen heilgen [208v] tempel in uwer vreesen. *rub*: Daer na gaet vore dat heileghe cruce ende leest dit ghebeth: *inc*: Dijn cruce salic aenbeden ende dijnre glorioser passien salic ghedencken, ontfermt onser, want ghi sijt ghepassijt voer ons. O, Christe, wi aenbeden u ende ghebenediden u, want ghi met uwen cruce die werelt hebste verlost. Oremus. *rub*: collect. *inc*: O, here, god, die dat heilege cruce opclompt ende der werelt duusternes verlichtet, wilt onse herten ende lichame dore die doecht des heileghen crucen ver[209r] lichten, visenteren, ghebenedien ende ghestercken. Amen. *rub*: Daer nae gaet voer onser liever vrouwen ende guetse metter antiffen *Salve regina*, aldus. *inc*: God gruete coninghinne der ontfermherticheit, des levens soeticheit, ende al ons troest. God gruete tot u, soe roepen wi ellendighe... [209v] *rub*: verse: In allen teghenheiden ende anxten, soe compt ons te hulpen, goedertieren maget Maria... [210r] *rub*: Daer nae ganck oetmoedelijck sitten ende bekinne dijn sinne vanden utersten dinghen dat sidi niet en beletten dien dienst gods te horene. Als die priester ghelesen heeft zinen *confiteor*, dan leest dinen *confiteor* daer du in belies dijn zonden aldus. *inc*: Ic belye den almachtighen god ende der heilegher maget sinte Marien ende alle heilege dat ic, onsalighe sonderse, zeer ghesondicht hebbe ieghens dien wet mijns gods, met ghedachten, spraken ende niet consente zynre woerden ende werken, [210v] mijn scout mijn over groote scout. Daer om soe biddic der heilegher moeder gods, der maghet Marien, alle santen ende santinnen gods, dat si bidden voer mi, arme sonderse, tot god den heere, dat hi mijnre ontferme. [210v] *rub*: Dal saltu misse horen met gansen gheloeve datmen in den outaer consacreert onsen here in vleesche ende in bloede, ende soe waerlike als hi sterf aenden heileghen cruce. Ende als hem die priester omme keert dat dat offertorium, soe leest dit: *inc*: Die heileghe gheest come in die ende [211r] des oversten doecht om vanghe di. [211r] *rub*: Ende als men onsen here sacreert, dan gueten met deser bedinghen ende leset aldus: *inc*: God gruete, zalicheit der werelt, woerdt des vaders, heileghe ende levende offerande, ghewarich vleesch, volcomen godheit, ghewarich mensche. Dat lichame Christi, bescerme my. Die ziele gods, heileghe ende salighe mi. Dat bloet Christi, make droncken mi. Dat water uter ziden Christi, dwa mi. Die passie Christi, ghestercke mi. O, goede Jhesu, ghehore mi, ende en [211v] laet mi niet scheiden van di. Vore den boosen gheest, hoet mi. In die ure mijnre doot, ende roept mi ende set mi bi di, daer ic di metten inghelen mach loven

inden ewighen levene sonder eynde. God gruetu vleesch Christi die doer mi ghepas-
sijt waert daer binnen reynicht mijn vleesch. Bloet Christi ende water daer in worde
ghezuut minen sin ende verclaert. Amen.

211v–214r: Prayers to read during Mass

211v–213r: Passion prayer, rub: *Soe wie dit naevolghende gebeth daghelijcs sprect met de-
vocien die es deelachtich alder missen die men doet alle die werelt* [212r] *dore over al.*
inc: Here Jhesu xpriste, ic aenbede dinen heileghen lichaem die heden alle die werelt
dore gheconsacreert wordt...

213r–214r: Indulgenced prayer to be said during Mass, rub: *Soe wie dit ghebeth leset als-
men onsen heere gheheven heeft inder missen eermen agnus dei seit, die heeft 11^m jaer
aflaets van Innocencius den paeus om beden wille Philippus des conync van Vranck-
erike.* *inc:* Here Jhesu Christe, almechtich eewich gods, ghi die dat alre heilichste
vleesch ontfanen...

Add. 24332

Book of hours with teaching aids, in Middle Dutch and Latin

487 folios on paper; 105 × 143 (77 × 80) mm; 15 lines

Copied in 1500 (date of computational circle) by Jan van Emmerick

Location: Begaarden of St. Michael & St. Bartholomeus in Maastricht (Franciscan).

Binding: panel stamped leather over boards, made at the convent of Begaarden of St.
Michael & St. Bartholomeus in Maastricht

Original owner: The Begaarden of St. Michael & St. Bartholomeus in Maastricht ran a
school and probably used this manuscript as a schoolbook.

Miniatures/decoration: There were dozens of prints pasted in this manuscript, which have all
been cut out, except one small print pasted close to the gutter on 307v, a woodcut depicting
St. John catching the swooning Mary.

Selected bibliography: Pribsch 1896–1901, vol. II, no. 251; De Flou and Gailliard 1895–
1897, vol. II, pp. 103–106; Stoker and Verbeij 1997, no. 878; Rudy 2015, pp. 88–91.

234r–237r (Foliated: cclxiii–cclxvi), List of available indulgences

Inden eersten heeft hi ghegeven xx daghe aflaets allen den ghenen die daer inder missen
hen neyghen als men den sueten naem Jesus of Maria noemt.

Item, xx dage dien die daer reverencie of eer doen den heilighen sacramento.

Item, xx dage di daer bidden voer di dooden.

Item, xx daghe den ghenen die daer eyn ghebet spreken vander heiliger drijvoldicheit.

Item, xxx daghe dien die daer neder knelen als men inder missen inden *Credo* leest: '*Et
homo factus est*', dat is: '*Ende hi is mensche gheworden*'.

Item, xxx daghe aflaets als men inder ewangelien St Jans nader missen leest: [234v] '*Et
verbum caro factum est*', dat is: '*Dat woert vleys gheworden*', die dan neder knielt.

Item, xxx dage aflaets als men inden *Te deum laudamus* leest: '*Te ergo*' etc, '*Wy bidden dy
datstu*' etc, dy dan neicht of knilt.

Item, xxx dage aflaets alsoe dicke als men seit: '*Gloria patri*' ende dan neder neicht.

Item, xl dage aflaets wanneer men sich neicht als men dat leste vers spriect in eenre
yegelijker ymmen.

Item, xl dage den ghenen di recht op staen als men leest *Magnificat* oft *Nunc dimittis* oft
Benedictus dominus inder mettenen. [235r]

Item, die daer lesen *Onser liever vrouwen ghetiden* van enen yegheliken ghetide xl daghe
aflaets.

Item, xl dage wanneer men des avonts luit *Ave Maria* ende dan sprect drie *Ave Maria*.

- Item, XL daghe aeflaets die daer visenteren ende besøeken die crancken.
- Item, XL daghe dien die almoessen gheven den armen menschen.
- Item, XL dage dien die leesen *Dat ghebet vanden VII vrouwen oft blijtsappen onser liever vrouwen*.
- Item, XL daghe dien die daer lesen *Salve regina*.
- Item, die gode den heer [235v] danct voer die weldaden die hem ghedaen sijn, die verdient XL daghe aeflaets.
- Item, L dage dien die uut goeder herten vergeven haeren naesten dat onrecht dat hem gheschiet is.
- Item, die haer biecht doen, LXXX daghe aeflaets.
- Item, die biecht hoert LXXX dage.
- Item, die die ghemein biecht sprekt XL.
- Item, die daer misse hoert mit goeder aendacht, XL daghe aeflaets.
- Item, LXXX daghe dien die dat helighen sacrament ontfanghen mit andacht, of die daer mit vrijen wille vastet.
- Item, LXXX daghe die den *Miserere mei deus* beden. [236r]
- Item, LXXX daghe die daer lesen *Vigilie* mit dri lessen ende laudes voer di do[den].
- Item, C daghe aeflaets die daer predict dat woert gods.
- Item, C daghe die daer hoeren dat wort gods mit aendacht haers herten etc.
- Item, den ghenen die segghen inden eynde vanden *Ave Maria 'Jhesus Christus'*, xxx dage vanden paus Jan XXII^{STE}.
- Ende xxx dage vanden paus Urbano.
- Item, soe wi nae den eten '*deo gracias*' sprickt verdient XL daghe aeflaets.
- Item, soe wi daghelicx leest den salme *Magnificat*, die heeft alle dage XXIII jaer aeflaets ende XXXIII weken ende III daghe. [236v]
- Item, soe wie seet daer nae dat enich goet werck volbracht is 'Ghebenedijt ende gheloeft moet sijn die heilighe gloriose suoete naem ons heren Jhesu Christe, ende den naem der glorioser maghet Marien sijnre liever moeder, ende alle dat hiemelsche heer sij nu ghebenedijt ende inder ewicheit. Amen', die heeft xx jaer aeflaets.
- Item, soe wie des avonts leest III *Ave Maria* met III *Venien*, die heeft xx daghe aeflaets.
- Item, den ghenen die opstaen teghen den priester, v dage aeflaets. [237r]
- Item, den ghenen die lesen voer vrede der heiligher kerken den psalm *Letatus, Ich ben verblijt in desen*, x daghe aeflaets.
- Item, die segghen nae den eten, 'Onse heer Jhesus Christus, doer sijn alder goedertierenste barmherticheit, gheve den levende gracie, den doden raste', xx daghe.

London, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, VA)

Reid 33

Fragment of a book of hours (containing the Vigil of the Dead, talismanic prayers)

106 folios on parchment; 145 × 104 (74 × 63) mm, 18 lines, littera textualis

Copied c. 1480–90 by a woman (60r: 'ick my arme sundersche'; 61v: 'ick dijn arme deenresche')

Location: according to Korteweg, 1992, the manuscript is from the Benedictines of St Catharina in Selwerd bij Groningen; however, Agnes is the first virgin in the litany, which does not fit with this attribution

Original owner: a Franciscan convent sister in Groningen?

Codicological note: The fragments are bound out of order. What is now fol. 89v may have once been the end of the manuscript. The border decoration around the incipit folio

of the Vigil of the Dead (fol. 1r) may have been added when the manuscript was rebound to turn this folio into a frontispiece.

Miniatures/decoration: Contains historiated initials in Groningen style, with penwork resembling that made in Selward. The illuminations and the borders on fol. 1r and 33v are from elsewhere and have been added

Selected bibliography: Byvanck and Hoogewerff 1922–1925, no. 164; Korteweg 1992, p.142.

86v–87r: **Prayer to the Nail of the Passion.** *rub:* Soe wel desen naghel mit devocien ansiet ende spreket vijf *Pater noster* ende vijf *Ave Marien* den worden overmids die barmherticheit godes afghenomen die soeven hovet sunden. *inc:* Ic gruete dy ghebenedide naghel onses leven heren die doorgroeveste die handen ende voeten Christi an den cruce. Nu bidde ick dy, leve here, dattu doorgraves mijn herte vermids dijn lyden ende...

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich, BSB)

Cgm 864

Prayerbook

292 folios on paper and parchment; 103 × 70 (65 × 43) mm, littera hybrida.

Made c. 1500 in Limburg (Maaseik?); made for a convent dedicated to St. Dimphna (?): 'Digna uutvercoeren patroenersche ende sunderlinge hulpster' (fol. 268v)

Original owner: Itgenn vann der Heckenn: a note of ownership in a sixteenth-century hand indicates: 'Itgenn vann der Heckenn gehoirt dyt boech tzo, der it vynt gefft yt weder umb got'. Pronouns within the text reveal that this manuscript was made for a female monastic community.

Miniatures/decoration: Decorated initials with border decoration in Limburg style associated with Maaseik

Selected bibliography: Schneider 1984, pp. 696–712

216r–216v, *rub:* Sixtus die vierde paus heeft gegeven xi^m jaer aflaets ... in der stat van Col-len is hier van een schoen bulle. *inc:* Gegruct systu alreheilichste Maria moeder gods coningynne des hemels ... gy syt een sonderlinge suver maeget...

New York, Morgan Library & Museum (New York, MLM)

M. 485

Book of hours in Latin with Dutch rubrics

227 folios on parchment; 190 × 140 mm

Made 1470s in the Southern Netherlands (Brussels?)

Original owner: Made for a female patron, as evidenced by female noun forms in some prayers

Miniatures/decoration: 9 full-page miniatures, 9 historiated initials, border decoration in a Southern Netherlandish style

Selected bibliography: de Ricci 1935–40, vol. 2, p. 1458, no. 485; Webber and Prins 1991, pp. 71–82; Wieck 1997, no. 103.

179v–182r, **Verses of Saint Gregory**, *rub:* Sinte Gregorius, die heyleghe paus, ende meer andere pausen na hem hebben ontfermelijke verleent alle kerstene menschen staende inden staet der gratien, dats buyten dootsunden, lesende al knijelende met berouwe van haren sunden dese na volghende ghebeden, ende na elc ghebet eenen *Pater noster* ende eenen *Ave Maria* voer dat beelde ons heeren Jhesu Christi ende voer sijn wapene

xx^m ende xxiiii daghe aflaets. Ende het es te wetene dat int iaer ons heeren mccc ende vijftich int gulden yaer, om die bede van sommige devoten minder broeders, hier toe was verleent lxi yaer aflaets ende alsoe [18or] vele carinen. Ende aflaet van schout ende pijnen, dat gaf die paus Nycholaus die vijfste boven al dat aflaet dat sinte Gregorius gaf, dat vermeerdert ende gheconfiermeert es vanden selven paus Nycholaus ende vele andere pausen ende biscopen. *inc:* O, heere Jhesu Christe, ic arm sundich mensche, aenbede dij naect hanghende aender galghen des cruycen hebbende een croene van scerpen doernen op u ghebenedijde teeder hoeft...

221v–222v: **Prayer to Christ's shoulder wound, with female nouns**, *rub:* Een goet ghebet tot der wonden die ons lieve hadde op syn schouwere. *inc:* O lyeve heere Jhesu Christe, saechtmoedich lam gods, ic dijn aerme sundersse groete dijn heilighe wonde die op dijn schouderen stont daer du dijn cruyce op droecht daer ghij sunderlinghe pijnende zeericheit in leet...

New York, Public Library

MA 72

Prayer book

100 folios on parchment; 160 × 110 mm

Made 1513 or shortly thereafter (mention of Pope Leo X [1513–21], fol. 79r); the dialect points to the western part of the Southern Netherlands

Miniatures/decoration: painted initials, penwork

Selected bibliography: de Ricci 1935–40, vol. II, 1326, no. 72.

fol. 78v–82v: **11 Verses of St. Gregory**, *rub:* Hier volghen de pardoenen ende aflaten vanden xi oratien van sinte Gregorius visioen. Sinte Gregorius die heleghe paus heeft verleent xiiii^m jaer aflaets alden ghenen die met devotien in inden [sic] staet van gratie zijnde lesen voor de wapenen ons liefs heeren Jhesu Christi vijf *Pater noster* ende v *Ave Maria* dat zeere vermenichfuldicht es ende ghecomfirmeert van vele pausen na hem volghende, zonderlijnghe vanden paus Nycholaus de vijfste van dier name, die was int jaer ons heeren duust cccc ende xlxi, ende Calixtus de derde van dier name, die was int jaer ons heeren mcccc. ende lvi de welcke daer toe de eerste vijf oratien ghemaect hebben. Dese twee pausen hebben xx^m jaer [79r] ende xxx jaer ende xxx daghen aflaets. Die paus Sixtus de vierde heeft daer toe noch twee oratien met ii *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* gheordineert ende al den aflaet boven verclaert ghedobbeleert. Ende daer na, zo heeft Innocentius de viii van dier name ooc twee oratien met twee *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* daer angeordineert, ende alle den aflaet voorseit ghedobbeleert, also dat de somme van al den aflaten es xcii^m ende xxxiiii jaer ende lxxx daghen. Int jaer ons heeren xv^c ende xiii ordeneerde die paus Julius de tweetste van die name ooc een oratie met een *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* daer toe, ende ghaf daer also vele aflaets toe als tot den anderen ix oratien ghegheven zijn. De paus Leo de tieste [van dier] [79v] name heeft ooc een oratie met een *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* daer toe gheordineert ende gheeft daer toe volcommen aflaet van alle zonden van pijnende schult, so dat die nu die xi oratien met xi *Pater noster* ende *Ave Maria* leset voor die wapene ons heeren met devotie ende berau zijne zonden, die verdient volcommen aflaet van alle zonden van pijnende schult, ende alle dat aflaet dat die voorseide pausen hebben ghegheven, die daer toe oratien ghemaect hebben also dat die somme es c^m jaer ende lxxxiiii^m jaren aflaets ende c daghen ende v^c carinen ghegheven vanden paus

Bonifacius ende Benedictus ende alle den aflaet die te Rome te verdienen was in sinte Gregorius tijden.

Nijmegen, Radboud Universiteit (Nijmegen, RU)

Ms 295

Book of hours

257 folios on parchment; 147 × 100 (88 × 58) mm

Made c. 1440–1460, possibly by a sister from the convent of St Barbara in Delft

Location: Delft, as suggested by the distinctive penwork decoration and by the calendar: feasts in red include St. Hippolytus (August 13) and St. Jeroen (August 17); St. Barbara (December 4) underlined in red

Original owner: Probably used communally by the sisters

Miniatures/decoration: Penwork and painted decoration associated with Delft

Selected bibliography: Venner and Chavannes-Mazel 1979, pp. 135, 138; Korteweg 1992, p. 19; Huisman 1997, pp. 338–349; Stoker and Verbeij 1997, no. 290.

193v–194r: Prayer for processing relics, *rub*: Van die dagen der bedingen als men mitten cruce ende mit der heiligen relyquien uitgaet. *inc*: Stant op, heer, ende hoer ons om dinen heiligen naem, alleleuia! Stant op, ghi heiligen gods van uwen woningen, heilicht die stede, benediet dat volc, ende ons oetmoedighe sondaerschen N behoet in vreden. alleleuia. Van Jherusalem uitgaen die relyquien ende die behoudinge van den berch van Syon...

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale (Paris, BnF)

néerl. 40

Prayer book

236 folios on paper; 140 × 98 mm; 20 lines

Copied c. 1550 by Sister Katrine, given a formula for confessing belief ('... ic, suster Katrine, belove...')

Location: Leuven, Clarissen-Urbanisten (based on calendar and litany)

Original owner: Probably 'Sister Katrine', the copyist, who refers to herself as 'arme sondaerse'

Miniatures/decoration: painted initials, penwork, parchment painting (sewn in), coloured drawing

Selected bibliography: Rudy 2015, pp. 205–206.

95v–97r: Verses of St Gregory (10-verse version, with space filler at the end), *rub*: Soe wij dese navolghende ghebedekens leest voer die wapen ons here verdient hondert dusent ende LXXXV^m jaer aflaets ghegheven vanden paus Gregorius ende van mer ander pausen. *inc*:

O here Jhesu Christe, ick a [sic] aenbede die in den cruce hanghende ende een doornen crone in uwen hooft draghende. Ic bidde dij dat dijn heilighe cruce mij verlosse vande slaende eynghele. Amen. *Pater noster Ave Maria*.

O here Jhesu Christe, ic aenbede dij inden cruce ghewont mit galle ende edick gheleeft. Ic bidde dij dat dij [sic] wonden moeten sijn een medecijne mijnre arme sielen. Amen. *Pater noster Ave Maria*. [96r]

O here Jhesu Christe, ic aenbedde [sic] dij doer die bitterheit dijns heiligen lijdens dattu voer mij gheleden hebste inden cruce ende alder meest doen dijn alder

- edelste ende alder heilichste ziele is ghescheijde van dijne ghebenedide lichaem. Ontfermt u mijnre sielen in haer verscheijden. *Pater noster Ave Maria*.
- O here, Jhesu Christe, ic aenbede dij neder dalende inder hellen ende verlossende die arme ghevanghen. Ic bidde dij dattu mij daer niet en laet comen. *Pater noster Ave [Maria]*.
- O here Jhesu, ic aenbede dij inde grave gheleijt mit mijre ende costelike salve ghesalvet. Ic bidde dij dat dijn doot moet sijn mijn leven. *Pater noster Ave Maria*.
- O here Jhesu Christe, ic aenbende [obviously a scribal mistake] dij opverrijsen [sic] vander doot ende opvarende ten hemel ende sittende ter rechterhant dijns vaders. Ic bidde dij ontfermt dij mijnre. *Pater noster Ave [Maria]*
- O here Jhesu Christe, ic [96v] aenbede dij voert comende ten oordeel, den rechverdighen roepende totten paradise, den sondaren condempnere. Ic bidde dij dat dijn passie ons verlosse van dij pijn der hellen ende brenghe ons totten ewighe leven. *Pater noster Ave [Maria]*
- O here Jhesu Christe, goede herde ende [sic] rechtverdighen wilt behueden, den sondaer maechket rechtverdich ende alle gheloveghe sielekens wilt ontfermen ende mij arme sonderse weest ghenadich amen. *Pater noster Ave Maria*
- O alder liefste here ende wader, ic offere dij dijn den ontschuldighen doot dijns liefsten soens ende die liefde dijne godliker herte voer alle mijn pijn ende schult die ic alder snoetste onsprekelijkste ende alder armste sonderste [sic] verdient hebbe mit mijn sonden ende voer die sonden alle mijnre vrin[97]den ende maghen levendich ende doot. Ende ic bidde dy ontfermt dijn mijnre. *Pater noster Ave Maria*.
- O here Jhesu Christe des levedighe godes sone die dijn verborghentheit dijns heilighen lijdens sinte Gregorius dijnen dienaar wonderlijc hebste gheopenbaert, gheeft mij **arme sonderse** te vercrijghen gheheele verghiffesise mijnre sonden die dij selve eerwerdighe paus ende sijn navolghers eens deels van pauselicker mach [sic] hebben gheheven [sic, it should be *ghegheven*] allen kersten ghelovighen menschen die ghewarighen rouwe hebben voer haren sonder [sic] ende eeren die wapen dijns heilighen lijdens. Die leeft ergneert [sic, it should be *ende regneert*] mit god den vader ende den heilighen gheest inder ewicheit amen. *Pater noster*.
- O, lieve here, in mijnder herten wilt doch comen, in mijnder sielen wilt doech blyven ende alle quaet van mij verdri[97v].

172r–172v, **Pope Leo's Prayer to the Virgin**, *rub*: **Alsoe dick als die heilighe paus Leo voer onser liever vrouwen beelde ghinghe, soe sprack hi dese woerde.** *inc*: Weest ghegruet du maechdelicke sedicheit. Ende du moederlicke eere, du ghetrouwe siele ende du ghetrouwe herte [172v] ontferm u mijnder.

178r–179v, **The 72 Names of the Virgin**, *rub*: **Dit sijn Die twee** [sic] **LXXII namen der sueter maghet Marien die welcken haer toeghescreven waren vanden heilige gheest ende sij gafse selven eenen bisschop van eenre stat die heet Salvonia int Latijn ende seijde hem soe wiese lase des saterdaech inder kercken voer haer beelde mit VII Ave Maria die salse lichaemelijck sien sijn drie daghen voer sijn doot ende sij sal hem delachtich maken int rijc haers soens. Ave Maria.** *inc*: O, rijckelijcke maget; O, schone bloesenie; O, heilighe amandel; O, heilighe conineghinne...

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Paris, BA)

8218

Prayers for Christmastime

42 folios on parchment and paper; 176 × 120 mm

Copied in the early sixteenth century in Brussels (?) by Sr. Lijsbeth van Elderen (?), who is named on fol. 29v. A reference to Sr. Lijsbeth van Elderen also appears in BKB 3059. Binding: folded, recycled parchment, made from a charter from the Hospital of St John in Brussels

Original owner: Canonesses regular of St Elizabeth in Brussels (?)

Miniatures/decoration: Engraving (pasted to inside front cover)

Selected bibliography: Stooker and Verbeij 1997, no. 257

Fol. A: **Instruction:** Item, dit boecxken salmen te kersmisse tot lichmisse opten autaeer leggen ende niet buyter keerke draghen.

11–16r: **Christmastime rosary with instructions for interacting with a crib, rub:** Hier een roosen cransken totter gloriosen sueten kindeke Jesus om te kersmisse te lessen aen die cribbe Jhesu den nyeuwe geboren coninck in Bethleem. Inc: Weest gegruet, o alder hoochste moghenste coninc des hoghen hemelschen Jerusalem een prince des vrees nu wesende een oetmoedich cleyn kindeken alle yngelen archangele ende alle hemelsche gheesten sancten ende santinnen moe[1v]ten u loven ende dancken van uwer sueter minnen die ghij ons, O heilige drivuldicheit, bewesen hebt sonderlinge in den heiligen kerst nacht hier doer bidde ic u, o suete kindeke Jhesu, dat ghij mij wilt gheven gewarige oetmoedicheit ende gedoechsamheit. Amen. Pater noster.

O, suete kindeken Jhesus, ghij hebt u ewich woert vleesch gemaect ende selve in ons gewoont. *Ave Maria.*

O, suete kindeken Jhesus, ic love u suetelijck dat ghij hebt willen rus[2r]ten neghen maenden in dat reyne lichaem der maghet Maria dien die wijde hemelen niet en connen begripen. *Ave Maria.*

O, suete kindeken Jhesus, ic love u seer minnelijck dat ghij voert gecomen sijt in eenen couden nacht geboren van die onbevleete moeder ende maget Maria. *Ave Maria.*

O, life kindeken Jhesum, ic gruete u ende heete u seer hertelijcke willecome, o woert des hemelschen vaders middle der heiliger drivuldicheit. O, ewighe [2v] wijsheit. *Ave Maria gratia.*

O, suete life cleeyn kindeken, ic gruete u liggende op die coude harde erde gevoelende in u teeder cleyne ledemens die couthet des winterschen tijts. *Ave Maria.*

O, cleyne ionghen coninck Jhes, ic gruete u weenende oochskens u screyelijcke stemme die ghij yerst buyt gaest, O, gemiechte des hemels ende der eerden. *Ave Maria.*

O, minnelijcke Jhesu, u gruete u overlopende traentkens op u wangs[3r]kens vriesende van couden, o berrende vier der cheraphinnen. *Ave Maria.*

O, ic gruete ende love u teeder herteken belloten[?] ende bevanghen met banden der minnen bevende van couden in u cleyne lichaemken. *Ave Maria.*

O, sone gods, ic love u ende dancke u dat ghij u geweerdicht hebt ons te visiteeren ende te troosten met uwer sueter toecomst vol minnen. *Ave Maria.*

O, alder suetste kint heden sijt ghij on geboren [3v] vanden ynghelen geaen [sic] bedet ende hooghe mirakelen sijn heden geschiet. *Ave Maria.*

Weest gegruet, o, alder suetste kindeken Jhesus heden sijn doer u oetmoedighe geboorte alle die zodomiten over alle die weerelt haestelijck verslagen om dat ghij god der natueren inden vleesche sijt geboren hier doer bid ic u alder moegenste kindeken Jhesu verlost mij ende alle menschen van alle onsuiverheit ende sundighe liefde der menschen. Amen. *Pater noster.* [4r]

O, hemel ende eerde vervruecht u ende slaet u handen van blijscapen want god heft sijn volck ghetroot ende Jhesu xpus die sone gods es geboren in Bethleem Jude. *Ave Maria.*

O, ic love god die vader want hij heft onser ontfermt ende heeft ons sijn eenigen sone gegeven iae dat merch sijnder vaderlijcker herten. *Ave Maria.*

- O, alle creatueren verblijt ende vervruecht u want god es mensche geworden ende es gecleedt [4v] met onser natueren. *Ave Maria.*
- O, een maghet es moeder geworden ende heft gebaert den gheenen die haer geschapen heeft. *Ave Maria.*
- O, sij heeft hem ontfanghen in haer armen ende gecust aen sijn suet mondeken met weerdicheyt als haren god ende met ontsprekelijcker minnen als haer lief kindeken. *Ave Maria.*
- O, cleyn kindeken Jhum, weest gegruet blijscap mijns herten leven mijnder zielen ende glorie des hemelschen heers. *Ave Maria.* [5r]
- O, ic gruet u nyeuwe geboren coninc ihus sonder wee sonder hulpe heeft maria u be-gaert als die sonne brengt haer stralen door tcristal. *Ave Maria.*
- O, die yngelen songen met grooter vruecht glorie sij god inden hoochsten, ende inder eerden vrede den menschen van goeden wille. *Ave Maria.*
- O, dat heyr des hemels singt, ende die heere des hemels weent, ende die de heiligen versadet inden hemel heeft nu die bors[5v]ten van eender maget gesoghen. *Ave Maria gratia.*
- O, suete kindeken Jesu, ic neyghe mij voer u ende ic bidde u ontfanct mij u arme **die-nersse** ende thoont mij u genade ende vergheeft mij alle mijn sonden. amen.
- Weest gegruet, o, alder minnelijckste kindeken Jesus doer u alder salichste geboorte hevet die fonteyne te roomen olye van olyve gevloyt ende den eewighen tempel es ter eerden ge[6r]vallen. O, alder genadichste kindeken, Jesu, ic bidde u dat ghij u barmherticheyt wilt laten vloyen op alle sondige menschen die in sonden gevallen sijn dat wij vier-chlijck moeten opstaen ende in allen duechden voerts gaen tot in den daghe Jesu xpi. Pater noster. *Ave Maria.*
- O, alder weerste kindeken, ic bidde u slaet mij met uwer minnenop dat ic dij warachtelijc werdden [sic] mach [6v] dwinct mij doerschiet mijn binnenste ende compt, o, suete kindeken in mijnder zielen. *Ave Maria.*
- O, Maria, suete moeder ghij windet hem in doecken metten windelbanden, dien die crachten der hemelen niet houden noch binden en moegen. *Ave Maria.*
- O, Maria, ghij neemt hem in u armkens ende druct hem aen u herte met moederlijcker minnen. *Ave Maria.*
- O, Maria ghij custe dat roode mondeken ende [7r]die cleyn wangeskens daer die tranen overvloedelijck over liepen. *Ave Maria.*
- O, Maria, ghij stilde sijn weenen met vriendelijcken wordekens ende ooc metten sange uwer sueter stemmen trooste ghij den trooster van alle bedructe menschen. *Ave Maria.*
- Och, dat woort gods en can niet spreken in wien wille ende wincken alle die hmelen gehoersam sijn ende daer alle creatueren voer beven die wordt nu ge[7v]wonden ende gedraghen van een ionghe maghet. *Ave Maria.*
- O, Maria, lieve moeder hoe menich vriendelijck cussen hebdi van ihm uwen lieven sone ontfangen van sijnen sueten monde, die vol was van dat alder suetste honich der god heyt. *Ave Maria.*
- O, hoe menichwerve heeft hij sijn minnenlijcke armkens om uwen schoonen hals gesla-ghen ende met sijnen cleynten handekens gespeelt in u mechdelijcke schoone hayr. *Ave Maria.* [8r]
- O, dicwils heeft hij sijn minnelijcke aenschijn gecruet op u suete borstekens nae wijze der kinderkens dwelc ghij aensaget met grooten verwonderen ende liefden. *Ave Maria.*
- O, Maria, want ghij boven alle creatueren bekinde sijn goddelijcke wijsheyt mogentheyte ende goetheyt. die verborgen was onder die teeder onsprekende kintsheyt. *Ave Maria.*
- Weest gegruet, O, alder hoochste coninc der glorien heden sijt ghij [8v] ons geboren, O, alder suetste kint ende verleent vanden oppersten vadere heiden sijn vervult die figueren

- ende prophecien ende ooc die begheerten der vaderen. O, alder milste kindeken Jhus, ic heete u duysent werff willecome int binnenste mijnder ziellen [sic] ende ic bidde u vriendelijc dat ghij mijn herte ende alle herten der menschen wilt vervullen met duechdelijcke ende hemelsche begheerten en verleenen een heylich leven ende een salich [gr] sterven. Amen. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*
- O, wonderlijcke goedertierenheyt ons behouders, al sijdijsuet vriendelijc ende vrolijc int aensien als een ionc cleyn kindeken nochtans bevande ic in u een swaer moedich ende druckelijc herte. *Ave Maria.*
- O, suete Jhesus al schijnt ghij een onnoesel kindeken nochtans es in u wijsheyt groot boven die wijsheyt der seraphinen. *Ave Maria.*
- Och, in u ionck herte[gv]ken was besloten alle u toecomende lijden met alsoe grooter bangicheit datse ynghelsche noch menschelijcke creatuere niet en mochten begrijpen.
- O, cleijn kindeken Jhus, dat vangen der ioden dat bespotten ende bespouwen dat iaghen ende stooten ende dat wreede terden onder haer voeten was u altijt tegewoerdich. *Ave Maria.*
- Och bermhertige ihs die gheesselen die doornen croone ende dat sware [10r] cruys, die naghelen die spongie ende spere ende alle die wapenen uwer passien die saechdij aen met ondinckelijcker passien ende bangicheit. *Ave Maria.*
- Och, alder minnelijckste Ihsus die bitterheyt des wreedens doots ende alle die pijnende smerte uwer wonden dat vuytghieten ws dierbaren bloets en was noyt ogeblie van uwer minnender herten gescheyden. *Ave Maria.*
- O, alder oetmoedichste [10v] Jhesus, wie mach bedincken sonder hertelijcke medelijden des herten dat ghij een teeder cleyn kindeken geboren sijnde wert doerschooten met sulcker bangicheyt. *Ave Maria.*
- O, nyeuwegeboren coninc Jhus hoe menich werff werden die tranen over vloedelijck wtgestort over u wangheskens, ende hoe menich swaer versuchten hebt ghij, O, cleyn kindeken, vuytgeschoten als een stralen doerwondende dat binnenste des moederlijcken herte. *Ave Maria.* [11r]
- O, Maria, wijse maghet vol vanden heylighen gheest met hoe grooten medelijden storte ghij buyt u moederlijcke tranen want ghij wel bekinde sijn inwindich lijden. *Ave Maria.*
- O, met wat grooten medelijden aensien ick den druck van Maria der moeder ende haers cleynen kindekens daer sijn den heymelijcken druck sijns herten beweenden ende daer dat suete kindeken die tranen sijnder liever moeder met sijn cleyn handekens van haren [11v] ooghen strijckendde haer minnelijck trooste. *Ave Maria.*
- Weest gegruet, O, primce der princen, liggende met uwen teederen morwe lichaemken op die bloete coude vervrosen eerde nochtans verciert ghij die hemelen ende die ynbgheelen met uwer glorien, ghij compt wt den lichte uwer grooter glorien in dit allindighe dal der duysterheyt daer toe dwinct u die liefde dijns herten tot ons dragende O goedertieren kint die nu met so [12r] cleynen dinghen te payen ende te versuenen sijt ic bid u als ghij o almoeghende coninck metten viere sult die elementen verbranden ende comen als een strenge rechter ten scrpten ordele ende eenen yegelijcke geven nae sijn verdienste dat ghij doer dijn oetmoedighe ende minelijcke geboerten mijnder zielen wilt ontfermen als sij sal moeten scheyden van mijnen lichaem ende dan haer geven een genadich ordeel ende brenghen in dat ewich leven. Amen. *Pater noster.* [12v]
- O, suete cleyn kindeken iesu, met alle mijnder herten ende zielen soe love ende dancke ic u mijn alder liefste lief van die groote ongemeeten weldaet ende trouwe die ghij ons in deser nacht bewesen hebt. *Ave Maria.*
- Och alder minnelijckste Jesu wat es u weenen u suchten, anders dan mijn sunden ende mijn ongehorsamheyt daer ic in bevonden ben ende daer ghij dus minnelijck wilt voer voldoen uwen hemelschen vader. *Ave Maria.* [13r]

- O, mijn heere mijn god almechtich, ic arme sundighe creatuere ben die sake dat ghij een cleyn kindeken geworden sijt in wijsen ende in manieren om onsen ongenadighen viant alsoe met loosheit sijnen roof te nemen. *Ave Maria.*
- O, oneyndelijcke caritate ghij sijt ons gegeven van den ewighen vader hier omme soe come ic tot u met sekere hoope ende vast betrouwen. *Ave Maria.*
- O, alder vriendelijcste Jesus ic aenbede ende grue[13v]te u ende knyele voer den troon uwer genacichety ende beghere u te omhelsen inden schoot uwer liever moeder maria. *Ave Maria.*
- O, alder suetste kindeken Jhesus ic belijde mijn sonden ic roepe om genade wilt mijnder ende alle kersten menschen ontfermen. *Ave Maria.*
- O, suete moeder gods, Maria ic bidde u gheeft mij toch u suete kindeken ende laet mij hem toch eens neemen in mijn armkens ende drucken aen mijn herte. *Ave Maria.*
- O, Maria, een [14r] kindeken es ons geboren ende een sone ees ons gegeven daer omme O minnelijcke moeder en wilt ons niet weygheren den gheenen die ons met allen rechten toebehoert. *Ave Maria.*
- O, mijn schoon liefelijck suet kindeken Jhesus, ic cusse nu u cleyn voetkens u teeder ledemens u minnelijck herteken ende suete handekens. *Ave Maria.*
- O, lief kindeken Jhesus, ic cusse met vresen ende met minnen u lachende mondeken u [14v] suete wangskens ende u vriendelijcke oochskens. *Ave Maria.*
- Weest gegruet, o alder suetste Jesus, behouder der zielen vertrooster van alle bedructe herten O alder vriendelijcste ende lieff kindeken Jesu, want ghij ons soe minnelijcke ende oetmoedelijcke ons geweerdicht hebt te troosten ende te visiteren met u goeder-tieren menscheit ende met uwer weerdigher godtheyt soe bid ic u slaet u bermhertige oochskens op mij ende doerschiet mijn [15r] herte met dijnder goddelijcker liefden ende doer die liefde uwer liever moeder ende reyne maghet Maria bid ic u dat ghij mij ende alle menschen onse sonden wilt vergeven ende ontfanghen in genaden nu ende in die ure onser doot. Amen. *Pater noster.*
- Collecte.** O, sone gods, gelooft gheert gedanct moet ghij sijn met u eer weerdighe moeder Maria. ic neyghe mij voerden throon uwer liefden ende met dancbarigher herten offer ic u tot een levende [15v] offerande mijn herte mijn ziele mijn memorie mijn verstant mijnen eyghenen wille gedachten woerden wercken mijn leven ende sterven ende alle mijn lijden inwindich ende wuytwindich, mijn vader moeder **S**usters [*this word alone has red decoration*] ende brueders ende alle mijn vrienden levende ende dooden ende alle onse weldoenders daer ic sculdich ben voer te bidden offer ick u dit alle te samen op dat autaer der minnen in alle die verdienste uwer minnelijcker geboorten ws [16r] heyligen levens ende ws bitteren stervens ende ick biddu doer u groote minne oetmoedicheit gehoorsamheyt ende doer u grondeloose bermherticheit soe bidde ic u lieve heere dat ghij mijn ende alle menschen wilt ontfermen ende wilt in onse herte drucken u passie u bitter doot u wonden ende in die ure mijns doots wilt mij thoonen u minnelijck aenschijn reyt mij vuyt dijn rechte hant ende leyt mijn ziele met u in dat hemelsche paleys. Amen.

29v: **colophon, in same hand:** Gheminde susteren, ic bidde u nae gods behagen dat ghij dit boexken vuyter kercken niet wilt dragen, om gods wille voer Sr. Lijsbeth van Elderen eenen Ave Maria

Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek (Tilburg, UB)

641 (=KHS 13)
Prayerbook

192 folios on paper; 142 × 105 (88 × 63) mm; 19 lines

Copied by single hand c. 1505–1515 (terminus post quem 1503, given mention on fol. 171v of Pope Julius II, 1503–1513) in the eastern part of the Netherlands (given the dialect).

The dialect is at odds with the calendar, which is for the county of Utrecht.

Binding: 16th-century leather over wooden boards

Early owner: Houthem-St. Gerlach bij Maastricht, Norbertinessen S. Gerlacus

Selected bibliography: Marrow 1979, p. 215, cat. 12; Ven 1994, vol. 1, p. 86; Stooker and Verbeij 1997, no. 709.

171r–175r: **Verses of St Gregory, with long and short rubrics**,... [in medias res] *rub*: hebben gheconfirmeert ende hebben tot die vijf *Pater noster* voerscreven ghe[?] vijf ghebeden. Daer nae Sixtus die vierde heeft tusschen die voerseide ghebeden ghemaect twee ghebeden als dat vierde ende dat vijfde ende heft alle die voerseide oflaten ghed[...]beld. Ende soe is die summe XLVI^m jaeren XII jaeren ende XL daghen oflaets. Nae desen heeft Innocentius die achste ghemaect dat achste ghebet ende heeft alle die voerscreven oflaten weden ghedubbeld. Ende soe is die summa XCII^m jaeren XXIII jaeren ende LXXX daghen oflaets. Ende ten laesten heeft Julius die tweede dat neghende ghebet ghemaect ende daer toe alle die oflaten voerscreven noch weder [...] ghedubbeld alsoe dat die summa [172r] van al heit te wesen C^m LXXXIII^m jaeren XLVIII jaeren C ende LX daghen oflaets. Item. Dit roet scrift voerscreven machmen aldus scriven opt corste. *rub*: Hier volghen nu die ghebeden voer die wapenen ons heren Jhesu Christi die welcke die heyliche paeusen hebben ghemaect tot welcken staen by nae twee hondert dusent jaeren oflaets te verdienen diese devotelick op sijn knyen leest mit berou van sijn sonden. *inc*: O, heere Jhesu Christe, ick aenbede dy anden cruce hanghende...

Utrecht, Catharijneconvent

Warmond 92 A 2

Prayerbook with the Colnish Pater Noster, Suso's Hundred Articles, the Hours of the Resurrection, and other prayers, in a strong Limburg dialect

316 folios on paper; 141 × 104 mm; text block 93 × 67 mm; 22, 23, or 24 lines [The lines are not ruled, but only the text block is ruled, which leads to an inconsistent numbers of lines]

Written c. 1472 in Bilzen (Limburg)

Binding: fifteenth century, panel-stamped leather over boards, with images depicting Saint John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness, and Saint Michael vanquishing a demon.

Original owner: Bilzen, Tertiarissen S. Maria / Maria ter Engelen (as evidenced by the calendar)

Selected bibliography: Stooker and Verbeij 1997, no. 175.

23r–28r, **Colnish Pater Noster arranged according to the days of the week**, *rub*: Men leest doen Sinte Bernaert dese groeten deden totten crucefyx, dat hem dat beelt suetelick ende oetmoedelic toe neychde. Dese nae gheschreven bedinge salstu lesen ter eeren den wonden ons liefs heren Jhesu Christi, want hi heeftse beloofd te gheven diese met devocien ende met rouwe van haeren sonden lesen. Du sulste te elker wonden rusten ende bekennen sijn mijnne ende dijn ghebrek. Ende du sulste die voerghichtighe [sic] wonden dijnre ongheweterder [sic] quader sonden totten honichvloeyender soeten wonden overdencken ende suycken daer uut die hilsam salve die dijn quade wonden heylen mach. Ende vallet den hemelschen vader te voeten ende sprecket met

ynnicheiden aldus seggende: '*Pater noster qui es in celis*'. Des **soendachs**. [23v] *inc*: O, vader alre ontfermerticheit, ich arme ongheraect mensche vol sonden, dancke dij dijnre vaderliker ontfermherticheit ende trouwen die du mij bewisen hebt... [24r] *rub*: Nu spreckt totter luchter voet met aendechtigher begerten: '*Pater, sanctificetuer* [sic] *nomen tuum*'. **Maendach**. *inc*: O, suete vader ende ghetrouwe mijnnaer, ich arme sieck ghewont mensche, vermane dij ende dancke dij der bettere smaerten dinre [24v] doergravenre dieper wonden die du om mijnre wille ontfanghen hebs... *rub*: Nu sprecket totten rechten voet: '*Adveniat regnum tuum*'. Des **maenendachs**. [25r] *inc*: O, vader ende heer hemelricks ende eertrics, ich arme snoede creatuer, dancke dij der groeter mijnen dattu mij tot dijnen rike gheschapen hebt, ende bekenne dat dijn ricke in mij ghestoert is overmits mijn menichvoldich ghebreck... *rub*: Nu spreckt totter luchter hant: '*Pater, fiat voluntas tua*'. **Dinsdach**. [25v] *inc*: O, suete vader ende ghetrouwe vrint, ich arme onghelaten mensche, vermane dij ende dancke dij des eermoedichs onderganck dijnre mijnliker broescher natueren die du dedes in dinen worden... *rub*: Nu sprekt totten ghecronden hoofde: '*Jhesus pater, fiat voluntas* [sic] *tua, sicut in celo* [et] *in terum* [sic]'. **Goensdach** [sic]. *inc*: O, vader ende coninck ewigher eren, ich arme onwerdich mensche, dancke di dijn bitteren doewonden [sic] verfeerden hoofde ende der verworpenheit dijns mijnliken aensichts... [26r] *rub*: Nu spreckt totter rechter hant: '*Pater, panem nosterum codidianum* [sic] *da nobis hodie*'. Des **donredachs**. *inc*: O, mijnlike vader ende ghetrouwe brudegom, ich arme ongetrouwe dienre, ich vermane di der ewigher mijnnen, die welke du mij tot dij gheschapen hebs ende nae dijnen beelde [26v] ghemaect hebs. Ende dij van mijnnen tot mij verbonden hebs haer bijstaende in alre noet met allen ghenaden... [27r] *rub*: Nu spreckt totter doerstekender sijden: '*Pater, et dimette nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*'. Des **vidachs**. *inc*: O, ghetrouwe vader ende alre liefste lief, ich arme snoede nootdorstige creatuer, vermane dij des rijken verborgen ontelliken schats dijnre grondelooser mijnnen die du ontsloeten ende gheopent hebs inder wonden dijns mijnnenden herten... [27v] *rub*: Nu spreckt ende neycht u voer onsen heer: '*Pater, et ne nos inducas in temptationem* [sic], *sed libera nos a malo*. Amen'. Des **saterdachs**. *inc*: O, milde ontfermhertighe vader, ich bekenne dat mijn menichvoldighe ghebreke mij dicwille ghehendert hebben aender ontfenckelicheit deser riker gaven...

Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek (Utrecht, UB)

5J 26

Book of hours

316 folios on parchment; 115 × 76 (56 × 38) mm; 12 lines

Made c. 1415 (on the basis of decoration) in the Northern Netherlands

Copied by two hands, both *littera textualis*: A. fol. 1–192, B. fol. 193–316

Miniatures/decoration: Miniatures attributed to the Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle; and the Passion Master of Maria van Gelre

Early owner: c. 1500: Kunera van Leeftael (fol. 316v: 'Item dit boeck hort Joffer Kunera van Lefdel Nys van Lefdales dochter')

Selected bibliography: Byvanck and Haye 1937, p. 125; Horst 1989, no. 25; Defoer et al. 1989, no. 15. Pächt and Jenni 1975, p. 16, 20.

161r–168v: *O intemerata* with an indulgence, *rub*: Een goet ghebet of bevelinghe ander ontfarmhartigher moeder goods ende onbevleeter maghet Marien. Ende den uutvercoren vrient goods apostel ende ewangelist sinte Johan ewangelist. Dat ghehieten [sic] is te Latijn '*O intemerata et in eternum benedicta*'. Ende daer is veel [161v] oflaets of diet lesen. [162] *inc*: O, onbesmecte ende in ewicheyt ghebenedijt...

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